916 Kearny St. Suite 603 [NANCE]
San Fran.

Ethel Raymond

Wednesday, Jan. 19th

Dear Andre:

23-5-25

Just a line to say my brother just phoned me from Duluth saying mother passed this morning. My wits aren't about me yet so I can't say whether I can make trip.

Just wanted you to know.

Hope things are going well with you.

Love,

Marielle

Marielle

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 26, 1949

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
916 Kearney Street
Suite 603
San Francisco, California

My dear Marielle:

I have your letter of January 19, and am very sad to hear of your mothers' death; and yet I think both of us are glad that your parents went without long sickness and suffering. I presume that before this gets to you, you will have made your mind up about going to the funeral; but my advice would be not to undertake the expense and strain of such a trip. It would be, of course, a beautiful gesture, but after all rather useless.

I am getting on very well. I have a new office in a penthouse, which is going to be very convenient and beautiful. My financial status is not yet fixed but I am still at hopes. I will write you again a little later.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[ETHEL R.W. NANCE]

Nance

Friday, June 17th, 1949

Dear Andre:

A very shabby way to treat your remembrances of me from Paris - a card and a note - I appreciated both and intended having a note awaiting your arrival in New York on May 31st. I was so glad to learn you were writing a novel and it certainly was delightful to have the Riveria as atmosphere.

This morning the California Labor School sends a communication saying you had been asked to appear with some other speakers on the week end of July 15-16-17. Shall you come? I shall be in Los Angeles until Monday morning with the National Conference. If you do come, you will stay over a few days, won't you? Or a week? Do let me know ~~xx~~ early. I may have to be in Los Angeles by the 10th to prepare for the Nat. Office staff and work my head off. Between you and me this summer may wind up my work here. Have an offer here which I am considering. I'd like to talk with you about it.

23-10-1

Won't make this longer now - but drop me a line and let me know if you are coming this way and how long you will stay.

Love, Marielle

Marielle

June 24, 1949

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
916 Kearney Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Marielle:

23-10-2

I have your letter of June 17; you received two communications from me from Paris! How many people do you think got that number? And yet you are complaining; you are very hard to satisfy! The California Labor School as I have told them by telegraph and letter is mistaken, I have no appointments in California this Summer and therefore cannot accept the invitation of the Labor School; except of course if they want to pay the whole expense, which they cannot afford. I think if you get a good job you ought to accept it .

I believe that the NAACP is not yet prepared to be fair to its employees. I should be glad to talk to you about it, but if I do, you will have to come to New York; which would not be at all bad!

My love to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[ETHEL R.W. NANCE]

July 8, 1949

Dear Andre:

Just a few lines before leaving for the conference in Los Angeles. I leave Sunday morning which means I shall be there one day in advance. I have no set plans for the intervening time between Sunday evening and Monday night when I understand there is a staff dinner. Couldn't you arrange to be there?

Thank you for your letter. I do appreciate it. Sorry the Labor School matter didn't work out since I had hoped I might get a glimpse of you on my return. Who knows, something may break which may bring me East. It's a long time since anything "big" has happened to me -- just think since 1945 life has gone along uneventfully. Possibly I should start concentrating on the International Exposition in Hatit in December, 1949. Don't you know Joseph Charles, Hatian Ambassador to the US., and doesn't he need you there about that time? Well, one can dream, n'est-ce pas? At an International Supper Club last Sunday evening I met a young man from Port-au-Price who claimed direct heritage from Toussaint - Andre Toussaint Bizoton. He had just finished 8 months here in the study of Electronics at Treasure Island in a good-will project between Haiti and the U.S. He held the rank of Ensign on the Navy. I don't know whether it was an honorary rank or not but presume it was. I know you have visited Port-au-Prince. Did I see some pictures of you there? And I recall that your favorite Rhum Barbancourt - Gouttes d'Or came from there!

23-5-20

I presume you know the Peoples World (San Francisco edition) of July 8 carried your statement written Oct. 10, 1946: "As NAACP meets .. In Los Angeles on Tuesday the NAACP will assemble in national conference....etc. Dr. W.EB. D. one of the founding fathers, states his views on the problems before the organizatan he helped found....." I note you hold vice presidency of the Council on African Affairs.

My plans are not settled but I am looking around here. Shall keep you informed.

Take care of yourself and tell me some of the interesting things you do when you have time.

Sincerely,

Marielle

Marielle

[ETHEL R. W. NANCE]
[549]

Howard

Sunday
Aug. 21

Dear Andre -

The meeting in Mexico City sounds exciting but I fear I shall have to await the next one.

23-5-21

Hold your breath & tighten your safety belt!! now, I resigned last week - that is, sent my letter to Roy, (copy to Cummel) stating that as of Sept 15 I shall no longer be in their employ - gave no reasons.

I am hurrying this news on to you but will have to give more details later. I have received a rather "frantic" personal note from Roy asking for explanation & suggested a "valuable reconsideration, etc." but Ethel has said it!

I have accepted a job as secty to President Lanier at Texas ~~State~~ University — beginning at $3,000. We never been to Texas and I can work fairly well with Lanier due to Hampton experience. Naturally no one is as good a "boss" as you are but

ya seem to remain "too honest" to clip coupons from Wall St. (smile) That wasn't a bit nice, André but I couldn't help saying it. (smile)

I report for duty Sept 1 — Keep in touch with me & I'll try to get ya a nice "fat" speaking date down that way —

23-5-22

That incorrigible

Marcelle

Love — (My family is very cooperative on my move & I look forward to a year without household responsibility — they remain) here —

[NANCF]

Texas State University
Houston 4, Texas
September 14, 1949

My dear Andre:

Was I surprised to receive the note from "way beyond"! I had noticed a mention in one newspaper that you might go, and then complete silence. Is that the idea, to not give publicity, or am I neglecting to read the right periodicals?

23-5-23

You sound like you are in top form.

I am feeling fine today. The heat is terific but I guess I am mastering it enough to walk slowly, move as little as possible, and to think(?) as seldom as possible (smile).

I am liking it - there is much to be done. It is a sort of "special mission" I feel, and to get near the inside of a very electrifying situation thrills me. When are you coming this way? There is no guarantee, and I have no license to say it, but there is a possibility you may be asked to either give a lecture, or series of lectures, or perhaps a semester, I am wondering if you will consider it favorably should it materialize?

Couldnot get an apartment within reason at all, so had a room near the campus - within walking distance. But high prices for food, no conveniences at the house where I was staying as far as company, cooking meals, privacy, made me go to stay with my husband's sister, who is a nurse. She is splendid - quiet, subtle sense of humor, and easy to live with. Waits on me!! Am I lapping that up? I guess I deserve it after this long time, or am I kidding myself? I honestly feel getting away from my family at this particular time will add ten years to my life. I was SO VERY TIRED.

This is meant to be just a note to say "Greetings", and Love,

from

Marielle

Marielle

I had signed the loyalty oath one day, then two days later comes the missive from "way beyond" - trying to get me fired. If I and you'll have to find me a job (smile)

September 21, 1949

Mrs, Ethel Ray Nance
Texas State University
Houston 4, Texas

23-5-24

My dear Marielle:

I am delighted to know that you have resigned and gone to another job. The NAACP in its present condition simply will not appreciate brains or give it any chance. Of course there are going to be difficulties in Texas, but so far as that is concerned there probably are a few difficulties in Heaven. But you will get on all right. You must make them pay you more money; they have plenty of it. I hope that Lanier will make the thing go, but he needs guidance and ideals.

I want you as soon as possible to get in touch with the Banks' family. President Banks is on your Board of Trustees and very influential. He was a student of mine, and while careful can be trusted thoroughly. Mrs. Banks, although she is not so well, is the real live wire of the family and the person on whose counsel and advice you can absolutely depend. I am enclosing a letter of introduction and have written her about you. She lives at Prairie View, and you ought to spend some week-ends out there.

Of course the great difficulty with Houston is for the President and ruling persons to get in their minds as soon as possible a clear idea of what they are about and what they want to do and what they can do. That's a big job, but the sooner they learn it the better. Naturally they will be scared to death about the radicals and don't you mention my coming there for a lecture. If they bring it up, all right. If they pay me enough, I'll come. But they probably will be scared stiff because I am distinctly a fellow-traveler with the Communists today.

[ETHEL RAY WILLIAMS NANCE]

Nance

2710 Staples St.
Houston, Texas
Oct. 1, 1949

23-5-15

My dear André—

I should like very much to see you this moment and try to express outwardly how grateful I am for your letter which reached me today. You are undoubtedly the most wonderful person in the world!

Without my asking I feel you have helped me immeasureably in suggesting that I meet the Banks. I was beating my brains as to how I might meet them. He is very strong on the board, and really does all the hiring of instructors. Hearing his voice on the phone I must admit I had not formed too high an opinion of him. I wondered about his ability to pick people, how easily he might be influenced by his position on the board, etc. I am so glad you say he is trustworthy. I need to know him.

I am inflicting this hand written letter since it is Saturday afternoon and I am at home. (Just think, I don't have to clean house, wash clothes, mend, cook, etc. as I would be doing in San Francisco)

I have been here a month. I am taking it slow and learning to know the faculty. This is always a job. (new people) I believe I am making myself felt already. Cohesion of effort is needed badly here. Two people who had hoped to be appointed president are still here — which is very bad. They are supposed to be close to the board, and there is said to be much tale-carrying. That always makes a bad situation — I've been through it many times in my working experiences. I wonder sometimes if that is my role in life — pouring oil on troubled waters. I usually do a pretty good job and win the confidence of my associates. If they are actually interested in getting a job done I'll do all I can to help them. I don't waste time on four-flushers or dilettantes. I want to do a good job.

You have Lanier well "doped out". I want to help him all I can. He works everyone around him to death. Too much checking and re-checking — I must work out some system of getting faculty to accept their own responsibility. There are capable people here. Everything should not have to come through the president's office. Lanier should have time to prepare speeches, papers, articles. He makes work for himself. The board should trust him enough so that eternal reporting should not be necessary on incidentals. From my experience with white executives I feel I know what they want. If we can cut out some of the underground grumbling we could go ahead. This distrusting everyone & having to follow up each assignment should not be necessary. Just as you recommended a heap in dividing up responsibility, so it is here. Lanier can't keep a line on everything any more than Walter White could.

23-5-16

I am getting $3,000. Milton Wilson, who was Lanier's assistant last year, (is on fellowship this year. Indiana University) told me they wanted to give me $3600 but knew better than to suggest it as a starter, particularly because the Executive Asst to the board, John Robertson, (white) not too friendly & very critical, has a secretary at $3000. Said they suggested raising her to $3300 for this year so it would set a precedent for asking it for me next year, and hoped to go on from that to $3600. But her raise was turned down.

Naturally $3,000 doesn't go far, particularly when I shall be sending most of it home for a while to pay bills. But I am very glad to be playing, and not be there! My sons are in good hands. My husband's youngest sister Anita is there with her little son. She is taking a business course, is a good cook &

a good manager. She can really teach the boys a great deal in social manners which I never had much time for. She is sincerely on my side and is honest. I don't know just now the status of my marriage. Andre; but it doesn't have to be settled this moment. I may have my younger son come here a bit later & if they have a boarding school at Prairie View I may enter him. He will make it anywhere. Is doing well on the saxophone, has a leaning toward drawing, sculpture, etc. I shall look into their art department when I visit the Banks. Glenn is much like me in temperament. The older boy is much like his step father. They get along well together. They both drain me spiritually, physically, etc. I was very lucky to get away! My husband made a grand gesture in "not standing in my way for advancement, etc." I grabbed at it.

23-5-17

I truly ~~felt~~ feel it will add years onto my life.
My tentative plans when I left were to go home for
Xmas. I don'd see how low I can, financially. It
will set me back so far. But I won't tell them so
far in advance. And I won't worry about it.
It will work itself out as it should be. Selah!

Rory sent frantic wires to San Francisco
asking me to reconsider, that they could work
something out, etc. to "our mutual advantage." I
didn't answer. I wouldn't put such language on
paper! No lady would. I wired after I got
here saying I had accepted a job here. He
walked in my office recently when he spoke
in Houston. We were gracious, outwardly - there
were others present. I asked where he was
speaking, but didn't go. Some day after he
gets kicked out and we meet casually, I'll
tell him I was through when they put you out
& then I saw them maneuvering to send
Duffie to Florida to set up another region

without asking him his wishes. They refusing to discuss it with him in Los Angeles until the West Coast branches asked for a hearing. Then they manouvered to keep the Long Island Branch from getting their resolution on your reinstatement before the conference! I was filled to over flowing!

23-5-18

I had been offered a position that might have developed into something good with the new Federal Saving & Loan Assn in San Francisco and had promised to talk with them on my return from Los Angeles. On the day I returned, however, I received the letter from Lanier. And I wired for details & said I was interested. Things happened ~~fast~~. fast. I broached the subject of Griffen to Roy at Los Angeles & he said off hand I had nothing to be worried about - that I would be taken care of. But I don't like skull-duggery to my friends. I didn't pursue it further but made up my mind to move.

Since I left they have given Griffin a slight increase in salary. I told him before I left I'd try to get him a job somewhere down here when he could earn some money for a change. After all he put in the hard years here when salary was low. He is interested. I made him see that allegiance to the leader is one thing and cooperating with those in power now is another.

He was hard to convince because he is loyal. However when Claude Hudson approached Roy in Los Angeles as to Griffin and said they wanted to keep him on the West Coast because he was a valuable person, Roy said "That would be fine" - meaning if they could find him another job! So that deflated Griffin and made him see things fairly clearly. I asked Griffin what possible favoritism he expected after what they did to you!

In Roy's last letter to me, in Houston he said they had often discussed in N.Y. my position in San Francisco, realized I was much more than a secretary and wanted to give me another title but just couldn't decide on what! I don't feel I owe him or them anything. I went with them because you were there and you asked me to come to San Francisco. The headlines on him and Walter these days are certainly ridiculous. Well, possibly the board will finally assert itself now. I hope Hillquit gets an appointment!

Now that's out of my system!

There seems to be a growing desire to do something in the South. Telephone conversations with white people in key places are interesting. I realize some of the desire to equalize is to keep segregation. But some of them will wake up — they have to — at the double expense involved when exact equalization would be effected. Surely business men will finally see the utter ridiculousness of it, and all. The white

23-5-19

(10

man and his money are hard to part.

In the meantime, my dear André, everyone in town you know should have their children enroll for courses we don't offer. Let's keep 'em squirming!" (smile.) We can do something here I do believe.

Do write Barts often. Tell him I have had much experience working with people & have done good jobs. Tell him I deserve a very good salary. Tell him to encourage my staying by increases. I'll do what I can from this end, I talk it, however, he is much influenced by friends. And you are his friend!

I shall call them this week & try to go over next week end if they are home.

Will I have written too long — see how ineligible I have become?

I love you. André

Votre Marielle.

Shall you go to Haiti in december? I'd love to!

[ETHEL RAY WILLIAMS NANCE]

2710 Staples St.
Houston 10, Tex.

Sunday.
Nov. 27, 1949

23-5-12

Dear André -

I wrote you a note after my visit to Prairie View. It was a good suggestion and I appreciate it. I feel the attitude of one of our "hard nuts to crack" has eased toward me and I have gone out of my way to assure him my whole aim is to assist wherever I can to help the machinery work more smoothly so students may get the best there is offered. Since that talk

23-5-13

② he has come in and had a long talk with my boss. I am anxious when you come to spend some time at the Banks with you so you may raise some questions in my presence which I feel will help considerably.

When do you think you could come? As you advised I have not said anything more about you coming to Houston. But I have asked some people in Dallas if they would like you to come. I think something can be arranged and possibly in three or four other Texas cities. Can you give

23-5-14

③ me some idea how much it would take to bring you to speak, say in Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, Austin, possibly Paul Quinn College - we'll try for Southern Methodist, etc. What are some of your "milder" subjects that could be head-lined? You know you're going to get in your punches anyhow. I understand there is a lot of money around Dallas and you might as well be paying higher income taxes (smile). What about March or April -- I would like to drive to Dallas with you.

I want to see you so I intend to do something about it!

Love - Mabel

December 2, 1949

Dear Mrs. Nance:

I shall be glad to accept a few lectures in Texas in April, 1950, at the following rates:

1 lecture, $200
2 lectures $300, at any one place or in different places
3 or more lectures, $100 each at any place in Texas

In all cases board and lodging for one or two days would be expected and the lectures must be arranged with at least one day and not more than three days between. Maps as indicated must be furnished, of a size easily visible by the audience.

The Subjects offered are:

"Africa Today and Her Relation to the World"--(Map of Africa)

"The Problem of Colonies today" --(Map of the World)

"The Present Status of Race Relations in the U. S."

"Reconstruction 1864-1876"

"Russia and my three visits, 1926, 1936 and 1949"--(Map Of the Soviet Union)

W. E. B. Du Bois

31-13-135

Corr. M

[N.A.A.C.P.]

May 16, 1949

Mr. Henry L. Moon
Director, Dept. of Publicity
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Moon:

I find on going through my files, only the Monthly reports of the Department of Special Research for 1948.

In view of the fact that Dr. Du Bois will be returning from Paris next week, I think it will be better for me to wait and get his permission before making up the annual report which you requested.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

[NAACP]

MEMORANDUM

From: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

In re: Dates and Occurences in the Ingram Case (Ellaville, Georgia)

Date: June 4, 1949 (Submitted to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois this date)

The following is a list of dates and occurrences in the case of Rosa Lee Ingram and her two minor sons. The dates are not all accurate as there seems to be a discrepancy between the dates in the legal defense department (NAACP) docket and the dates in the pamphlet published by the NAACP on this case, and the dates in the draft of the petition for habeas corpus.

23C-45

16

November 4, 1947 - John Ethron Stratford killed in the struggle with Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons, Sammie Lee and Wallace Lee.

January 22, 1948 - Mrs. Ingram and sons indicted for murder.

January 26, 1948 - Trial:

Presiding Judge - Hon. W. M. Harper

For the State - E. L. Forrester

For the Defense - Hawkins Dykes
Troy G. Morrow
J. C. Rainey

January 27, 1948 - Ingrams all sentenced to die in the electric chair.

March 1948 - Motion for new trial filed.

March 20, 1948 - Argument on Motion for new trial.

April 5, 1948 - New trial denied - death sentence commuted to life imprisonment.

April 22, 1948 - Writ of Error filed in Georgia Supreme Court.

June 9, 1948 - Brief on behalf of petitioners filed in Supreme Court of Georgia

(O-V-E-R)

17

June 14, 1948 - Argument in Supreme Court of Georgia.

July 13, 1948 - Supreme Court of Georgia denied Writ of Error.

July 23, 1948 - Petition for rehearing filed.

July 28, 1948 - Petition for rehearing denied.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

FOUNDED 1909

LONGACRE 3-6890

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

July 5, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-40-12

As you doubtlessly know, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is celebrating its 40th anniversary at our annual conference in Los Angeles July 12-17. We hope to commemorate the founding of our organization, which we date from the call signed by you and 52 other distinguished Americans and issued on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1909.

As one of the six surviving signers of this call, we would appreciate a message from you to be read at the opening session of our conference this year. Would you be kind enough to send such a message to Mr. Roy Wilkins, acting secretary, NAACP conference headquarters, Second Baptist Church, 2412 Griffith Avenue? Your cooperation in this will be deeply appreciated.

Ever sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

HLM:RJW

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President
Arthur B. Spingarn

Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright

Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
Nannie H. Burroughs
Godfrey Lowell Cabot
Hon. Arthur Capper
Marion Cuthbert
Hon. Harry E. Davis
Douglas P. Falconer
Buell G. Gallagher
Bishop John A. Gregg
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Hon. Ira W. Jayne
Isadore Martin
Hon. Newbold Morris
T. G. Nutter
Rev. A. Clayton Powell
A. Philip Randolph
Rev. James H. Robinson
Oswald Garrison Villard
Bishop W. J. Walls

Treasurer
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers

Assistant Treasurer
Dr. Channing H. Tobias

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Walter White — *Secretary*
Roy Wilkins — *Assistant Secretary, Editor, The Crisis*
Madison S. Jones, Jr. — *Administrative Assistant*
Thurgood Marshall — *Special Counsel*
Robert L. Carter
Marian Wynn Perry
Franklin H. Williams
Edward R. Dudley (on leave) — *Assistant Special Counsel*
Leslie S. Perry — *Administrative Assistant, Washington Bureau*
Gloster B. Current — *Director of Branches*
LeRoy E. Carter
Rufus W. Smith
Daniel E. Byrd
Anne M. Brown
Lester P. Bailey — *Assistant Field Secretaries*
Donald Jones — *Southwest Regional Secretary*
U. Simpson Tate — *Regional Special Counsel*
N. W. Griffin — *West Coast Regional Secretary*
Lucille Black — *Membership Secretary*
Ruby Hurley — *Youth Secretary*
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. — *Labor Secretary*
Walter P. Offutt, Jr. — *Church Secretary*
Henry Lee Moon — *Director of Public Relations*

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atlanta, Ga.	Eugene M. Martin	Hyde Park, N. Y.	Eleanor Roosevelt	New York, N. Y.	Hon. Charles E. Toney
Baltimore, Md.	Lillie M. Jackson	Lawrence, N. Y.	Rabbi Judah Cahn		Dr. Louis T. Wright
	Carl Murphy	Los Angeles, Calif.	Norman O. Houston	Northampton, Mass.	S. Ralph Harlow
Birmingham, Ala.	Dr. E. W. Taggart	Newark, N. J.	Grace B. Fenderson	Oklahoma City, Okl.	Roscoe Dunjee
Boston, Mass.	Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers	New York, N. Y.	Lillian A. Alexander	Philadelphia, Pa.	Theodore Spaulding
Camden, N. J.	Dr. Ulysses Wiggins		Hon. Jane M. Bolin	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Daisy E. Lampkin
Chicago, Ill.	Earl B. Dickerson		Hon. Hubert T. Delany		Jessie M. Vann
Cincinnati, Ohio	Theodore M. Berry		Lewis S. Gannett	Richmond, Va.	Dr. J. M. Tinsley
Cleveland, Ohio	Dr. Nathan K. Christopher		John Hammond	Statesville, N. C.	T. V. Mangum
Dallas, Texas	A. Maceo Smith		Rev. John Haynes Holmes	Topeka, Kans.	Hon. Arthur Capper
Detroit, Mich.	Dr. James J. McClendon		Hon. Herbert H. Lehman	Tuskegee, Ala.	Dr. Joseph A. Berry
	Walter Reuther		Dr. O. Clay Maxwell	Washington, D. C.	William H. Hastie
Eugene, Ore.	Hon. Wayne Morse		Mary White Ovington		Charles H. Houston
Ft. Worth, Tex.	Dr. George D. Flemmings		Amy E. Spingarn		Eric Johnston
Greenwich, Conn.	Alfred Baker Lewis		Arthur B. Spingarn		Philip Murray
Hartford, Conn.	Dr. Allen F. Jackson		Dr. Channing H. Tobias		Palmer Weber

NATIONAL LEGAL COMMITTEE

Charles H. Houston, Washington, D. C. *Chairman*

Atlanta, Ga.	A. T. Walden	Louisville, Ky.	Charles W. Anderson	New York, N. Y.	Charles H. Studin
Birmingham, Ala.	Arthur D. Shores	Madison, Wis.	Lloyd Garrison		Andrew D. Weinberger
Cambridge, Mass.	Benjamin Kaplan	Nashville, Tenn.	Z. Alexander Looby	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Homer S. Brown
Charleston, W. Va.	T. G. Nutter	New York, N. Y.	Harry Bragg	Raleigh, N. C.	Herman L. Taylor
Chattanooga, Tenn.	Maurice M. Weaver		Donald Crichton	Richmond, Va.	Oliver W. Hill
Chicago, Ill.	Sidney A. Jones, Jr.		Morris L. Ernst		Spottswood W. Robinson, III
	W. Robert Ming, Jr.		Arthur Garfield Hays	San Francisco, Calif.	Bartley C. Crum
Cincinnati, Ohio	Theodore M. Berry		Osmond K. Fraenkel	Tulsa, Okla.	Amos T. Hall
Dallas, Texas	W. J. Durham		Paul Kern	Washington, D. C.	William H. Hastie
Erie, Pa.	William F. Illig		Karl N. Llewellyn		Edward P. Lovett
Houston, Texas	Arthur J. Mandell		James Marshall		Leon A. Ransom
Ithaca, N. Y.	Milton R. Konvitz		Irvin C. Mollison		Frank D. Reeves
Los Angeles, Calif.	Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.		Shad Polier		Ruth Weyand
	Robert W. Kenny		Hope Stevens	Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding
	Loren Miller			Winston-Salem, N.C.	Curtiss Todd

NATIONAL MEDICAL COMMITTEE

Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York City, *Chairman*

Albany, N. Y.	Dr. Joseph B. Robinson	New York, N. Y.	Dr. Viola W. Bernard
Boston, Mass.	Dr. Edward L. Young		Dr. Ernest P. Boas
Cleveland, Ohio	Dr. Nathan Christopher		Dr. Russell L. Cecil
Detroit, Mich.	Dr. James J. McClendon		Dr. Harold L. Ellis
Evanston, Ill.	Dr. J. Edmund Bryant		Dr. Henry C. Falk
Flint, Mich.	Dr. J. Leonidas Leach		Dr. Myra Logan
Hartford, Conn.	Dr. Allen F. Jackson		Dr. Theodore M. Sanders
Kansas City, Kan.	Dr. A. Porter Davis		Dr. Robert S. Wilkinson
Los Angeles, Calif.	Dr. Emory I. Robinson	Opelousas, La.	Dr. A. C. Terrance
Louisville, Ky.	Dr. J. A. C. Lattimore	San Antonio, Tex.	Dr. C. Austin Whittier
New Haven, Conn.	Dr. John P. Peters	Tulsa, Okla.	Dr. R. C. Bryant
New York, N. Y.	Dr. Ernest R. Alexander	Washington, D. C.	Dr. Joseph G. Gathings
			Dr. C. Herbert Marshall

ROY WILKINS
Editor

Official Organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

428

Brooks

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

20 WEST 40th ST. • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. TELEPHONE LONGACRE 3-6890

November
17
1949

23-11-3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will find enclose a bill for the back copies of The Crisis for 1926. We regret we were unable to supply you with the May and September issues which were not available.

May we again be of service to you in the future.

Very truly yours,

Lillian Lewis

Lillian Lewis
Head Subscription Clerk

encl.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
African Council
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Lee. Correa

ARTESIA CHAPTER
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
ARTESIA, NEW MEXICO

PROJECTS:
NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
NATIONAL NEGRO HEALTH WEEK

January 11, 1949

23-9-88

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Dear Sir:

Writing for information please. I live in Carlsbad, and teach school in Artesia New Mexico, which is thirty-five miles apart.

It has been some time since you and I talked together personally, in Mr and Mrs W. R. Banks home, Prairie View Texas. I am the person who worked in Harrison County, Marshall Texas making the survey for the Study of the Tennessee Valley project. At that time I was name Mrs. A. J. James.

One of the Baptist Ministers of Carlsbad, New Mexico, asked if I would write you and see if you would consider coming to Carlsbad and speak to people on Civil Rights. If you consider coming, what is the earliest date you could come,

ARTESIA CHAPTER
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
ARTESIA, NEW MEXICO

PROJECTS:
NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
NATIONAL NEGRO HEALTH WEEK

23-9-89

and what price would you come and make the speech for? Rev. W.C. Griffin, 309 S. Second St New San Jose, Carlsbad New Mexico wishes you to write and tell him the answer to the above questions. I am writing you because I told him that I had met you in person while attending Prairie View College Thanking you for an immediately reply. I am

Yours truly
Mrs. A. J. S. Allen
710 Ave B.
Artesia New Mexico

P.S. Hope you get this letter as I didn't have your direct address

[N.A.A.C.P.; Artesia]

23-9-90

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Mrs. A. J. S. Allen
710 Avenue B
Artesia, New Mexico

My dear Madame:

I have not answered your letter of January 11, because there did not seem to be any chance for me to speak in your city.

Often I make trips to the West Coast and the Southwest and in that case I might have come to you without charging you too great a sum; but I have no plans of that sort for this year and therefore can only say that it will be impossible for me to make a trip simply for your town, as much as I would like it.

I thank you for the invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[NAACP - Bronx Div. - Youth Council]

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council
836 East 165th Street
Bronx, 59, New York
October 10, 1949.

Dr. W. E. DuBois
Council of African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to you on behalf of the committee that was formed upon the initiative of the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Bronx Division, on the case of police murder of George Westray. This committee, which now incorporates such organizations as Jr. Hadassah, American Jewish Congress, youth division, Labor Youth League, Jewish Young Fraternalists, local Jewish Young Adult Council, Young Progressives of America, various church groups etc. was formed a few weeks ago to discuss the possibilities of united action on this case. We have already had an appointment with John Murtagh and our next action is a conference of delegates elected from all the organizations already in the coalition and many more we have been contacting.

23-9-22

This is where you fit in, Dr. DuBois. Knowing your past activity on behalf of the Negro people and in cases of such nature, we want you to be our preminent guest speaker. The conference is scheduled for Saturday October 22nd at the St. Augustine Church, 165th St. corner of Prospect Avenue. The time schedule is appreximately 2:00-5:00 PM and we would like your attendance at appreximately 4:00 P.M. Of course, we would appreciate it if you could be in attendance throughout the conference but we realize that this may not be possible.

Would you please be good enough to let me know as soon as possible whether this time schedule will be agreeable? I'm, of course, assuming and hoping that you will be able to be with us. You can send your confirmation to my home which will facilitate matters.

I look forward most eagerly to a "yes" response and wish to sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Doris Koppelman

Doris Koppelman
1142 College Avenue
Bronx, 56, New York

P.S. I happen to be President of Bronx Jr. Hadassah and I know how cooperative Dr. Hunton was last year when you were in Europe (or was it elsewhere) and I know you will be just as helpful.

my office no. is Wa. 5-8300 in case you need it
Call me.

[NAACP-BROOKLYN COLLEGE]

TO: DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS
FROM: Milton A. Smith

RE: BROOKLYN COLLEGE CHAPTER NAACP

23-40-14

Members of this chapter have asked for an interview with you in regard to the best technique of persuading Brooklyn College to include courses in Negro history in its curriculum. I met the group today when a spokesman from the Council addressed them.

They are an enthusiastic group. They further asked me to quote them as saying: "We strongly supported Dr. Du Bois in the recent controversy at the NAACP."

9 March 1949

Req for Interview

~~Ella Baker~~

MEMORANDUM

TO: BROOKLYN COLLEGE CHAPTER NAACP
ATTENTION OF MR. MILTON SMITH

FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE: MARCH 21, 1949

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW

23-40-13

I shall be very glad to have an interview with any of you who would like to come to the office, if you will make arrangments with my secretary.

[NAACP - Columbia Univ.]

Ltd copy

33 East 304th St.
Shanks Village
Orangebury, N.Y.
January 4, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Columbia Chapter of the NAACP is inaugurating a series of lectures and discussions beginning next semester on the Negro in American History. We hope to accomplish two objectives by this series: to stimulate further interest by the students themselves and to prove to the Columbia University Administration that there is a crying need for a course in Negro History.

We would like you to be our first speaker and would prefer, if you can, to choose a date during Negro History Week, February 5-12, on any day between 2 and 5 P.M.

If you can come, would you please let me know at your earliest convenience the date and time you choose so that we can make all arrangements well in advance? Thank you.

Sincerely,

George P. Marks III

Chairman, Local Affairs Committee
Columbia Chapter, NAAACP

23-42-68

23-42-69

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Mr. George P. Marks III
33 East 304th Street
Shanks Village
Orangebury, New York

My dear Mr. Marks:

I regret to say that I am no longer connected with the NAACP and consequently am not addressing branches.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

EASTON BRANCH
OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Easton, Pennsylvania
TELEPHONE: EASTON 7879
Official Organ: "The Crisis"

Return Copy

23-42-67

February 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In the early part of every year our local Branch holds a banquet commemorating the founding of the national organization and the acceptance of our charter. At this time we are able to group together between four and five hundred people of both races. The people include labor leaders, judges, school authorities, industrialists, ministers, city official and many Mr. and Mrs. John Does who proffess an interest in our cause.

On the Fortieth Anniversary of the National and our Fifth Annual Charter Night Dinner we find the national organization at the crossroads in its fight for colored people; here in an industrial area we find unemployment rising and taking its highest toll among our group; nationally we find our country fighting a cold war, completely ignoring the struggle of colonials for their independence, and giving lip service to our struggle or full civil liberties; confronted with these situations we can find no better person than yourself, Dr. DuBois, to put clearly the issues of today before the people and to point out the role we all must play in meeting them.

It would be a pleasure for us and a stimulant for the town to have you, as the principal speaker at our Fifth Annual Charter Night Dinner to be held at Hotel Easton, March 25, 1949.

We realize that we are a small group and that what ever we do is only a small portion of an immense job; yet we urge that you give our requests serious consideration for your presence here can be of invaluable aid to us during the remainder of the year.

Robert F. Miller
629 Mauch Chunk St.
Easton, Penna.

Sincerely yours,
Robert F. Miller
Robert F. Miller
Secretary

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 16, 1949

Mr. Robert F. Miller
629 Mauch Chunk Street
Easton, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Miller:

Answering your letter of February 14, and also your telephone call of February 16, I regret to say that Dr. Du Bois will not be able to speak for you on March 25, 1949 due to a previous engagment.

Dr. Du Bois is in smypathy with what you are trying to do and deeply appreciates the honor that you would do him in having him as your principal speaker. Be assured that you have his every good wish for the success of your program.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:l

[NAACP, Hunter Col.]

240 West 64 Street
New York 23, N. Y.
October 18, 1949

23-42-56

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Hunter College chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. cordially invites you to speak at a meeting to be held Friday noon, November 18, in the North Lounge of Hunter College.

Our chapter recognizes the innumerable contributions you have made in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people and we have voted unanimously to invite you to come. We are not suggesting a topic for you to speak on, as is standard procedure, because we have full confidence in your ability to contribute to our understanding of the Negro liberation movement, and the role that young people, Negro and white, must play in it.

Would you please let me know as soon as possible if you can make this date so as to enable us to go ahead with publicity, as we want as wide a representation of the student body as possible to attend.

Very truly yours,

Edith Lorraine Meyer

Edith Lorraine Meyer
Program Chairman

[NAACP, Hunter Col]

23-42-52

October 28, 1949

Miss Edith Lorraine Meyer
240 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

My dear Madam:

I have not answered your kind invitation of October 18, because I am not yet sure as to whether or not I shall be in the city on November 18.

I have promised to make some lectures in the West and the date has not yet been settled. When I hear, if it is not too long, I shall take pleasure in writing you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

[NAACP, Hunter]

23-42-88

November 3, 1949

Miss Edith Lorraine Meyer
240 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

My dear Miss Meyer:

I can speak for you on November 18. If my delayed acceptance is not too late, will you kindly let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lieb

HUNTER COLLEGE

N.A.A.C.P.

November 23, 1949

23-42-13

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I would like to express my sincere apologies for the inconvenience we caused you through the typographical error in our letter. Needless to say, we were bitterly dissapointed that you were not in a position to address our meeting.

However, in view of the tremendous support your meeting succeeded in receiving from the student body as well as the extreme importance of presenting this topic to the Hunter campus, we are very eager to have you speak under the auspices of our chapter on Friday, December 9, at 11:50 A.M. This time is most preferable since it is a club hour and more students will be free to attend the meeting.

We will be glad to provide for your transportation both ways and would very much enjoy the opportunity of having you speak at Hunter College.

Please let me know if you will be available as soon as possible so that we may prepare sufficient publicity.

Let me state again how sorry we were about the error. Thank you very much.

Respectfully,
Katie Walker
Katie Walker
President, NAACP

23-42-14

November 25, 1949

Miss Katie Walker
President, NAACP
Hunter College
Bed. & Navy Avenues
Bronx, New York

Dear Miss Walker:

I would very much like to respond to your kind invitation of November 23, and speak December 9, But I cannot.

I am trying desperately to dinish a book by the first of the year and I dare not devote time to other duties.

I have already accepted one speech for December, and must decline all other offers.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

New York Branch

of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

2272 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

ADirondack 4-8050

440

N. Y. BRANCH OFFICERS

LINDSAY H. WHITE
President

LIONEL C. BARROW
1st Vice-President

Hon. JANE M. BOLIN
2nd Vice-President

CORA T. WALKER
Recording Secretary

AMANDA E. KEMP
Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

JAMES E. ALLEN
Dr. PHILIP A. BEACH
CONSUELLA BROWN
AMOS E. BOWMAN
CHARLES BUCHANAN
DAN BURLEY
Dr. GEORGE D. CANNON
ROSCOE BUTLER
MILDRED DENNIS
SNOWDEN EICHELBERGER
ALONCITA FLOOD
GEORGIA HURLEY
Assemblyman HULAN JACK
EDWARD JACKO, Jr.
JESSIE JACKSON
JAMES KINLOCH
ROBERT O. LOWERY
ARETHA McKINLEY
MARTHA McPHEARSON
LOUISE MILLER
J. HOWARD PAYNE, Jr.
Rev. B. C. ROBESON
JAWN E. SANDIFER
JUANITA SCOTT
ETTA M. STEELE
MARIE THOMPSON
JOE WELLS
LEROY WILLIAMS
Hon. DARWIN W. TELESFORD
WESLEY WILLIAMS

NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

N. Y. Members
LILLIAN A. ALEXANDER
Hon. JANE M. BOLIN
Hon. HUBERT T. DELANY
LEWIS S. GANNETT
JOHN HAMMOND
Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
Dr. O. CLAY MAXWELL
MARY WHITE OVINGTON
AMY E. SPINGARN
ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
Dr. CHANNING H. TOBIAS
Hon. CHARLES E. TONEY
Dr. LOUIS T. WRIGHT

EXECUTIVE OFFICER

CHARLES A. LEVY
Executive Secretary

CHAIRMEN OF STANDING COMMITTEES

Hon. DARWIN W. TELESFORD
Legal Redress

AMANDA E. KEMP
Finance

LIONEL C. BARROW
Labor and Industry

MARIE THOMPSON
Entertainment

Dr. GEORGE D. CANNON
Legislation

DAN BURLEY
Publicity

WESLEY WILLIAMS
Political Action

ROBERT O. LOWERY
Housing

AURELIO STERLING, Jr.
Youth Council

JAWN A. SANDIFER
Veterans Affairs

JAMES E. ALLEN
Community Coordination

ETTA M. STEELE
Education

ARETHA McKINLEY
Membership

September 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

23-40-38

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The New York Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will hold its 40th Anniversary Jubilee Celebration at the Great Hall of City College on Friday, September 30th, at 8:00 P.M.

Dignitaries from the three Church groups -- Protestant, Jewish and Roman Catholic -- will appear. State and City governments will be represented and top officials from the CIO and the A.F. of L. will participate on this program. We have definite commitments from Cardinal Spellman's office, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and from Mayor William O'Dwyer. We are assured that the other dignitaries will appear in person or have suitable representatives.

This celebration would not be complete without your presence since you were instrumental in founding this great organization which has fought relentlessly through forty years of every conceivable kind of condition to win full citizenship for all Americans. We ask you to be present on this occasion so that we may present you and the other living founders with scrolls in recognition of the selfless and meritorious service you have rendered the NAACP.

Won't you kindly let us know if you can be present? We sincerely hope that conditions and your health will permit you to be with us on this memorable occasion.

Very sincerely yours,

Charles A Levy

CAL/cmm

Charles A. Levy
Executive Secretary

N.A.A.C.P. Branches

23-40-39

September 21, 1949

Mr. Charles A. Levy
Executive Secretary
New York Branch
N.A.A.C.P.
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York 30, New York

My dear Mr. Levy:

I regret to say that I shall be unable to attend the meeting at the great hall of City College on Friday, September 30.

I thank you for the invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

naacp

October 13, 1949

Mr. Lindsey White
New York Branch
N. A. A. C. P.
2272 7th Avenue
New York, New York

23-4240

My dear Sir:

I have received the Scroll which the New York Branch of the NAACP has presented me on September 30.

I write to thank you and the Branch for your kind consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Ltd

320 South Puga Street
State College, Pennsylvania
22
January 1949

Sec. Carter
[NAACP, Penn State]

Council on African affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen;

Officially representing the Pennsylvania State College Chapter of NAACP, I should like to make a request of you.

23-9-43

Currently, as you may have heard, we are carrying out an extended program against discrimination starting with Jim-Crow barber shops and with a long-range goal of amending the ante-dated Civil Rights Statute (Penna. Legis.) of 1939.

Besides the usual reasons for requesting W. E. B. Du Bois to speak, we could further capitalize through publicity, etc. from such a speaking engagement.

If it is at all possible to engage Dr. Du Bois, i.e., during the next five months, please inform me of the date, expenses, and other pertinent data.

Any suggestions you can make at this time will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,
Norman J. Meyer

Lecture

23-9-44

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

Mr. Norman J. Meyer
320 South Pugh Street
State College, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Myer:

I have your statement of January 22, but regret to say that I have already accepted so many lectures that I will not be able to add to them this Spring. I am sorry not to be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NEWS

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT THE MUNDT BILL
930 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.
Telephone: STerling 1767

HON. JERRY J. O'CONNELL, CHAIRMAN
EDITH PRATT, EXEC.-SECRETARY
BRUCE WAYBUR, TREASURER

75

NEWSLETTER #4 August 15, 1949

Mundt Bill First Order of Business - The Senate Judiciary Committee today voted to make the revised Mundt Bill, S. 2311, the first order of business at its next meeting, August 22. This means that the Mundt Bill must be the first order of business during the coming week for all the organizations and individuals who oppose its restrictions on free speech, press, and assembly. Every phase of our campaign to defeat this bill must be intensified.

The long awaited opinion of the Attorney General, requested by the Senate Committee, is said to have cleared the Justice Department and to be waiting clearance by the Bureau of the Budget before transmission to the Committee. It will probably be received during the coming week, so that the Senate Committee members will have it before them at the meeting next Monday. There has been no indication as to what the opinion will be, although legal experts who have studied the bill maintain that it contains the same kind of provisions which led the Attorney General to judge it unconstitutional last year.

230-57

Meanwhile, the Senate schedule, with no definite date set for adjournment and Administration leaders talking in terms of the middle or end of September, makes it possible to bring the Mundt Bill to a vote this session if reported out by the Judiciary Committee, although the opinion of the Attorney General will have a great deal of bearing on whether Majority Leader Scott Lucas of Illinois gives the bill a special place on the Senate agenda.

National Conference to Defeat Mundt Bill Initiates Nation Wide Campaign - A National Conference to Defeat the Mundt Bill was held in Washington August 10th, followed by visits to Senators on August 11. Attended by 70 delegates from 12 states, representing 20 national and local organizations, the Conference approved a seven point program for action, as follows:

(1) The National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill to call a mass delegation to Washington the moment the Senate Judiciary Committee reports the bill to the Senate floor -- the date to be set by the Committee in accordance with the Senate calendar.

(2) The establishment of local committees to defeat the Mundt Bill to serve the same purpose on a local scale as the National Committee on the national level -- that of being a coordinating center for all the individuals and organizations opposed to the Bill. These organizations are as follows: American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, American Federation of Labor, American Jewish Congress, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Civil Rights Congress, Communist Party, Congress of American Women, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Farmers Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Lawyers Guild, Progressive Party, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

(3) A letter-writing campaign to increase the mail sent to Senators and to the Judiciary Committee, which at present is considerably less than that of last year. This means letters and resolutions, not only from national organizations, but from their locals and chapters and their individual members to the Senate Judiciary Committee and to their own Senators. Individual letters are much more effective than form post cards or form letters.

(4) An organiz ed petition campaign. Signatures on petitions are a more effective way to show mass opposition than form letters. A petition campaign lends itself to all kinds of dramatic local activity to stir the minds of the people, such as booths at busy street corners, door-to-door canvassing with the support of cruising sound trucks, street meetings at which the issue is discussed and the audience asked to sign petitions. It must be organized, however, and organized in such a way as to reach people outside of organizations opposed to the bill. Their members must be the petition circulators, not just the petition signers.

(5) Statements from community leaders in opposition to the Mundt Bill. Public officials, ministers, rabbis, lawyers, editors, teachers, professors -- all have

a stake in the defeat of the Mundt Bill which many of them will recognize if small committees call upon them to discuss the matter. Letters from them to their Senators and public statements to the press will swell the volume of opposition. Copies of all such statements should be sent to the office of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill.

(6) All candidates for public office in local elections this fall to be asked to go on record with regard to the Mundt Bill. If opposing candidates agree in their condemnation of the Mundt Bill, our campaign is thereby strengthened, but verbal commitments against the bill are not enough. They should be followed up by work within the candidate's political party to let the Senators of that party know the position of its local candidates and constituents. Any statements from candidates for office with regard to the Mundt Bill should be sent to the office of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill immediately. In this regard, we are pleased to report that the Los Angeles County Democratic Committee has already gone on record in opposition to the Mundt Bill and has communicated its action to all the Democratic Senators on the Judiciary Committee.

(7) A fund raising campaign to keep the campaign against the Mundt Bill going in high gear in the next crucial weeks, when money will be needed for newspaper ads and radio time, in addition to the regular demands for postage, telephone, telegrams, and the maintenance of the office. The Committee placed an ad in the New York Daily Compass describing the dangers of the bill and appealing for funds. The response has been heartwarming, and mats of the ad are available from the Committee for trade union and other publications -- and for local committees who can obtain space in local newspapers.

This seven point program - if put into effect immediately - can make the difference between passage and defeat of the Mundt Bill this session of Congress.

McGrath Opposes Mundt Bill - The delegation from the National Conference which called on Senator McGrath got a firm commitment from him to vote against the Mundt Bill. This we feel is very significant in view of McGrath's position as the next Attorney General, who would be charged with enforcing the bill if it became law.

Maryland Ober Law Declared Unconstitutional - Maryland's Ober Law - an even more repressive piece of legislation than the Mundt Bill, but cut from the same pattern, has just been declared unconstitutional by Baltimore Circuit Court Judge Joseph H. Sherbow, on the grounds that it violates the First and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The decision represents a great victory in the overall campaign against thought control legislation, and is of particular importance to the fight against the Mundt Bill at this particular time. The Senators on the Judiciary Committee must have this decision called to their attention as having a direct bearing on the constitutionality of the similar Mundt Bill.

The National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill congratulates the Citizens Committee Against the Ober Law, which led the fight in Maryland and can claim credit for this magnificent victory. We trust we will have their support in the fight against the national counterpart of their discredited Ober Law.

These Are The Senators Who Will Decide Next Monday - Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are as follows:

Democrats	Republicans
Pat McCarran, Nevada	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin
Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia	William Langer, North Dakota
James O. Eastland, Mississippi	Homer Ferguson, Michigan
Warren G. Magnuson, Washington	Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri
J. Howard McGrath, Rhode Island	William E. Jenner, Indiana
Herbert R. O'Conor, Maryland	
Frank P. Graham, North Carolina	
Bert H. Miller, Idaho	

Sponsors of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill Number 70 - Seventy Americans have to date agreed to sponsor the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, and thereby register their opposition. Their names are attached to indicate the breadth of the opposition and to help local committees in knowing who are the leading opponents of this legislation.

SPONSORS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT THE MUNDT BILL

Rabbi Michael Alper, New York, New York
Hon. Thurman Arnold, Washington, D. C.
Stringfellow Barr, New York, New York
Mr. & Mrs. Theodore O. Behre, New Orleans, La.
Angela Bambace, Baltimore, Maryland
Elmer Benson, Appleton, Minnesota
Hon. John T. Bernard, Chicago, Illinois
Edwin Bjorkman, Asheville, North Carolina
Algernon D. Black, New York, New York
Scott Buchanan, Richmond, Massachusetts
Dr. Robert K. Burns, Baltimore, Maryland
LaVonne Busch, Reno, Nevada
Angus Cameron, Boston, Massachusetts
Prof. A. J. Carlson, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Rabbi J. X. Cohen, New York, New York
Hon. Benjamin J. Davis, New York, New York
Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, Illinois
James Durkin, New York, New York
Clifford J. Durr, Washington, D. C.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, New Haven, Connecticut
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York, New York
Edward E. Fisher, Washington, D. C.
Abram Flaxer, New York, New York
Clark Foreman, New York, New York
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles, California
Jerry Gilliam, Norfolk, Virginia
J. W. Gitt, York, Pennsylvania
Percy Greene, Jackson, Mississippi
Prof. Fowler Harper, New Haven, Connecticut
Donald Henderson, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles Hous ton, Washington, D. C.
Rev. Kennoth deP. Hughes, Cambridge, Mass.
James Imbrie, Lawrenceville, New Jersey
Hon. Leo Isacson, New York, New York
Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles, California
Paul J. Kern, New York, New York
Prof. Curtis MacDougall, Evanston, Illinois
James McLeish, Newark, New Jersey
Rev. Jack McMichael, New York, New York
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Berkeley, California
Samuel D. Menin, Denver, Colorado
Arthur Miller, Brooklyn, New York
Hon. Fred G. Moritt, Brooklyn, New York
Prof. Stuart Mudd, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Stanley Novak, Detroit, Michigan
Grant Oakes, Chicago, Illinois
Oliver T. Palmer, Washington, D. C.
Father Clarence Parker, Chicago, Illinois
Max Perlow, New York, New York
Morris Pizer, New York, New York
Abraham Pomerantz, New York, New York
Judge Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. William G. Rice, Madison, Wisconsin
O. John Rogge, New York, New York
Paul Ross, New York, New York
Prof. Frederick Schuman, Williamstown, Mass.
Prof. Karl Shapiro, Baltimore, Maryland
Prof. Harlow Shapley, Cambridge, Mass.
I. F. Stone, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Joseph W. Straley, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. O. B. Taylor, Knoxville, Tennessee
Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C.
Louis Untermeyer, Brooklyn, New York
Mark Van Doren, New York, New York
Mary Van Kleeck, Woodstock, New York
Dr. Harry F. Ward, Palisade, New Jersey

23c - 51

National Committee To Free The Ingram Family

NATIONAL OFFICE
HOTEL THERESA
125th STREET and 7th AVENUE
ROOM 108
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Provisional Officers:

Chairman
MARY CHURCH TERRELL

National Vice Chairman
ADA B. JACKSON

National Executive Secretary
THERESE ROBINSON

National Administrative Secretary
MAUDE WHITE

National Treasurer
HALOIS MOOREHEAD
112

23-5-1

April 13, 1949

Dr. William E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our Committee is in a crusade to free Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons. We are in a campaign now to collect one million signatures by Mother's Day to present to President Truman, asking him to free them.

We intend to carry the Ingram story to the nation and to the world - because we believe that it is a travesty of justice that Mrs. Ingram should remain in jail.

We believe the Ingram Case should be brought before the bar of justice through thr Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. And we want to file such a brief. This is an historic move, and a very necessary one.

We want you, Dr. DuBois - as our elder statesman - to do this for our Committee. We know you have given so much of your time and energy to benefit the oppressed of the world - and that you are still doing it. Therefore, we will be very happy and grateful if you would draft this petition for us. Also, please advise us as to the kind of honorarium which you would accept for drafting this historic document.

We will have all the material in your hands by Thursday morning.

Very sincerely yours,

Maude White Katz M.D.

MWK:rj

Maude White Katz
National Administrative Secretary

[NAT. COMM. TO FREE THE INGRAM FAMILY]

April 15, 1949

Mrs. Maude White Katz
Ingram Committee
Hotel Theresa, Room 108
125th Street and 7th Avenue
New York 27, New York

My dear Madame:

I have your letter of April 13, concerning a petition in behalf of the Ingram family. I should be very glad to write this and have begun already to outline the facts. I hoped that perhaps I might do it before I leave for Paris, Sunday, but I find that it will be impossible because of the need for more information. I am to be in France about two weeks and as soon as I return I will take up the matter and prepare the petition. I do not think that the dealy will be too important.

First of all, I should like to find out more about the present status of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. It is not just clear at present. Secondly, I want to know more about the present status of the legal case in Georgia. It will take a few days to collect this information and I shall leave a competent person to attend to this.

If this is satisfactory, I will go ahead with the work as soon as I return. My charge will be $100. You can get in touch with me through my secretary. I am leaving the country Sunday.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. KATZ

FROM: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 10, 1949

SUBJECT: PETITION ON THE INGRAM CASE

In accordance with our talk today, may I make the following statements:

1. The delay in preparing and presenting a Petition to the United Nations is of no importance. The agenda for the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations is prepared before the Assembly gathers so that during the sessions, no new matter can, under ordinary circumstances be brought up for discussion. Even then if our Petition had been prepared in April it would hardly have had a chance to be discussed before the Assembly meets next September.

2. In order to have a subject put on the Agenda of the Assembly and discussed such a matter must be proposed by some of the official delegations and seconded by others. Therefore to have a matter included on the Agenda of the next Assembly which meets in September each one of the Delegations ought to be approached and urged to present the subject or support it if it is presented.

3. The Commission on Human Rights which is a Commission appointed by the Social and Economic Council which in turn is appointed by the General Assembly has the subject of the violation of human rights as the matter of its special subject. But this commission has hitherto refused to act upon private petitions, however it does receive and file them.

4. I therefore suggest : first, that a proper petition be prepared stating the facts of the Ingram case. This could be ready by July 1. Second; that this petition be presented to the Commission on Human Rights. Third; that this petition be brought personally to the attention of the Delegations by committies who would leave a copy with the delegation and urge that the Delegation put this on the Agenda of the next General Assembly of the United Nations. Fourth; that this be followed up by letters and newspaper publicity.

5. That on the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September a mass demonstration be organized to demand a discussion of the Ingram case and similar infractions of justice in the United States at the meeting of the Assembly.

6. If Mrs. Katz will get in touch with my secretary I will be glad to arrange to meet a committee in my office next week in order to discuss these matters and other things pertaining to the Petition.

August 11, 1949

42/13/19

BY THE INGRAM CASE - ARTICLE

Maude White Katz
National Administrative Secretary
National Committee To Free The Ingram Family
Hotel Theresa
125th Street & 7th Avenue
New York, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

National Ingram Week will be observed throughout the nation in the third week in September beginning September 18th and continuing through September 25th. It will be a historic week - because the Ingram case will be presented before the United Nations in the form of a brief prepared by the noted Negro historian and scholar Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. The Ingram case has become a world issue through the untiring efforts of the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family under the leadership of Mary Church Terrell. There is not a sadder commentary on American democracy at home than the continued imprisonment of the Ingram family.

America has a moral responsibility to free the Ingram Family. Search the whole world over and you would not find a single case of injustice that could match the barbarism, fraud, and depravity of those who passed out sentence on this mother and her two young sons.

Imagine a mother defending her honor against a man. Imagine her two sons ages 13, and 15 coming to her rescue. In Africa, China, India, South America and the Islands of the sea - in Asia and Europe - East and West - this mother would be a heroine. Her two sons would be heroes. The man who tried to take her honor would be the villain and properly punished.

But in America, the citadel of democracy, it is different. In America in Schley County in the State of Georgia - this mother and her two sons were put in jail! Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, a mother of fourteen children, was sentenced to die in the electric chair for defending her honor! Her two teen-age sons were sentenced to die in the same way for protecting their mother! Where is the moral conscience of America? Such justice could be rendered only in a society where womanhood is degraded, motherhood is debased and humanity is depraved.

Mrs. Ingram is a widow and a sharecropper. Her husband, Jackson Ingram, died in August, 1947, at the age of 64. She tried to manage the Georgia farm as best she could to eke out an existence for her eleven children who were at home. It is in these facts - a Negro - a woman - a mother - and a sharecropper - that we see the whole oppression of the Negro people in the South. Not only that - but we see in full view the whole plantation system, a relic of chattel slavery itself with all its evils dominating every aspect of their lives. "The plantation is the

generator, continually reproducing Negro inequality in all walks of life." And it is this shadow of the plantation that hovers over the heads of the Negro in the North as well as in the South. It is the atmosphere of the plantation that is spreading all over this country in the flareups of violence against the Negro people.

42/18/20

But the plantation system is not only the oppressor of the Negro people. "Of all the nation's people, the Southerner is the poorest fed, the poorest housed, the poorest clothed, and has the lowest income." In the field of education "White illiteracy in thirteen southern states is twice that of the rest of the country." Thus we see the plantation system is responsible for the Negroes oppression and the degradation of the whites. (quotes from Negro Liberation by Harry Heywood)

As the author of Negro Liberation observed "The stultifying influence of plantation economy in the Black Belt on economic and political conditions in the entire South explains also the degrading plight of Southern women, subject to an even more intensive exploitation than that suffered by the men. As late as 1938, only one of the Southern states had established an eight-hour day for women in any industry."

It was this plantation system of the south that Mrs. Ingram defied in November, 1947. It was its most degrading and demoralizing aspect - handed down from the institution of slavery. Not only was she held in economic bondage as a sharecropper, but the demoralizing influence of this outmoded economic relic made her a victim of the lustful desires of this white farmer. Mrs. Ingram defied the system which is the breeder of white supremacy and male superiority. In so doing she has performed a pioneer job of historic importance for all American womanhood. It is in recognition of her service to womanhood that a Negro mother in a church where I spoke cried out in anguish - "Must Mrs. Ingram bear the cross alone - no, we will shoulder it with her - so she can go free."

The Ingram case symbolizes the oppression of the Negro woman dating back nearly three hundred years to the days of slavery. Then the Negro woman was forced to give - both her labor power and her body to help perpetuate the institution of slavery. She was forced to mother tens of thousands of babies in the slavebreeding states of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and the Carolinas. These were the babies who in a few years were sold as slaves to work on the cotton plantations in the deep South. Their mothers were the tens of thousands of Negro women raped by white slavemasters and white overseers. This degradation of Negro womanhood and motherhood meant the degradation of white womanhood as well. Behind the cloak of chivalry and the protection of white womanhood lurked male superiority and white supremacy. While the slavemaster boasted of his respect for white womanhood and the inferiority of the Negro race - he was the father of tens of thousands of

children by Negro mothers. The white woman saw his hypocrisy in the Negro children on the slave plantations who were the images of her own children - because they were blood relatives - her own husband's children. This was the double standard of morals that dominated the plantation during slavery and still hovers like a shadow over the Negro woman and casts its reflection on the white woman.

42/18/21

There were white women during slavery who rebelled against these conditions. They saw in the degradation of the Negro woman and mother their own degradation. Thus they joined the abolitionist movement to exterminate slavery with all its evils. These were the white women who became co-workers of Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and Elijah Lovejoy in the abolitionist movement.

Slavery as an institution was abolished. This is half of the story. "The old forms of slavery, to be sure, were dead beyond reanimation perhaps; but, in their place, were other forms of Slavery which attracted less attention and reprobation from the World at large, and yet were quite as effectual for all Southern purposes. The system of Peonage and contracted convict-labor, growing out of the codes of Black Laws, were all-sufficient to keep the bulk of the Negro race in practical subjection and bondage." (from the Great Conspiracy by John A. Logan.)

These are the conditions under which Mrs. Ingram toiled with her children. Hers is the lot of the majority of the Negro people living in the South today. That is why the crusade to free the Ingram Family is a burning issue in the struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality. It becomes at the same time an important issue for all progressive America.

The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family established March 21, 1949 is engaged in a crusade to set the Ingram Family free. Local committees and sponsors in twenty-one cities have collected 50,000 signatures - 30,000 of which were presented to the White House on June 1, 1949. The signature campaign still goes on. The important job now is to speedup the campaign to arouse public opinion and protest. This can be done by participating in the activities of the committee around the Ingram Brief to be presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations the third week in September.

A plan of the activities to be conducted during the months of August and September is listed below. All organizations and individuals are requested to use this plan freely to win moral support for the freedom of the Ingram Family.

August 11, 1949

42/18/22

THE INGRAM CASE - ARTICLE

BY Maude White Katz
National Administrative Secretary
National Committee To Free The Ingram Family
Hotel Theresa
125th Street & 7th Avenue
New York, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

National Ingram Week will be observed throughout the nation in the third week in September beginning September 18th and continuing through September 25th. It will be a historic week - because the Ingram case will be presented before the United Nations in the form of a brief prepared by the noted Negro historian and scholar Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. The Ingram case has become a world issue through the untiring efforts of the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family under the leadership of Mary Church Terrell. There is not a sadder commentary on American democracy at home than the continued imprisonment of the Ingram family.

America has a moral responsibility to free the Ingram Family. Search the whole world over and you would not find a single case of injustice that could match the barbarism, fraud, and depravity of those who passed out sentence on this mother and her two young sons.

Imagine a mother defending her honor against a man. Imagine her two sons ages 13, and 15 coming to her rescue. In Africa, China, India, South America and the Islands of the sea - in Asia and Europe - East and West - this mother would be a heroine. Her two sons would be heroes. The man who tried to take her honor would be the villain and properly punished.

But in America, the citadel of democracy, it is different. In America in Schley County in the State of Georgia - this mother and her two sons were put in jail! Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, a mother of fourteen children, was sentenced to die in the electric chair for defending her honor! Her two teen-age sons were sentenced to die in the same way for protecting their mother! Where is the moral conscience of America? Such justice could be rendered only in a society where womanhood is degraded, motherhood is debased and humanity is depraved.

Mrs. Ingram is a widow and a sharecropper. Her husband, Jackson Ingram, died in August, 1947, at the age of 64. She tried to manage the Georgia farm as best she could to eke out an existence for her eleven children who were at home. It is in these facts - a Negro - a woman - a mother - and a sharecropper - that we see the whole oppression of the Negro people in the South. Not only that - but we see in full view the whole plantation system, a relic of chattel slavery itself with all its evils dominating every aspect of their lives. "The plantation is the

generator, continually reproducing Negro inequality in all walks of life." And it is this shadow of the plantation that hovers over the heads of the Negro in the North as well as in the South. It is the atmosphere of the plantation that is spreading all over this country in the flareups of violence against the Negro people.

42/18/23

But the plantation system is not only the oppressor of the Negro people. "Of all the nation's people, the Southerner is the poorest fed, the poorest housed, the poorest clothed, and has the lowest income." In the field of education "White illiteracy in thirteen southern states is twice that of the rest of the country." Thus we see the plantation system is responsible for the Negroes oppression and the degradation of the whites. (quotes from Negro Liberation by Harry Heywood)

As the author of Negro Liberation observed "The stultifying influence of plantation economy in the Black Belt on economic and political conditions in the entire South explains also the degrading plight of Southern women, subject to an even more intensive exploitation than that suffered by the men. As late as 1938, only one of the Southern states had established an eight-hour day for women in any industry."

It was this plantation system of the south that Mrs. Ingram defied in November, 1947. It was its most degrading and demoralizing aspect - handed down from the institution of slavery. Not only was she held in economic bondage as a sharecropper, but the demoralizing influence of this outmoded economic relic made her a victim of the lustful desires of this white farmer. Mrs. Ingram defied the system which is the breeder of white supremacy and male superiority. In so doing she has performed a pioneer job of historic importance for all American womanhood. It is in recognition of her service to womanhood that a Negro mother in a church where I spoke cried out in anguish - "Must Mrs. Ingram bear the cross alone - no, we will shoulder it with her - so she can go free."

The Ingram case symbolizes the oppression of the Negro woman dating back nearly three hundred years to the days of slavery. Then the Negro woman was forced to give - both her labor power and her body to help perpetuate the institution of slavery. She was forced to mother tens of thousands of babies in the slavebreeding states of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and the Carolinas. These were the babies who in a few years were sold as slaves to work on the cotton plantations in the deep South. Their mothers were the tens of thousands of Negro women raped by white slavemasters and white overseers. This degradation of Negro womanhood and motherhood meant the degradation of white womanhood as well. Behind the cloak of chivalry and the protection of white womanhood lurked male superiority and white supremacy. While the slavemaster boasted of his respect for white womanhood and the inferiority of the Negro race - he was the father of tens of thousands of

42/118/24

children by Negro mothers. The white woman saw his hypocrisy in the Negro children on the slave plantations who were the images of her own children - because they were blood relatives - her own husband's children. This was the double standard of morals that dominated the plantation during slavery and still hovers like a shadow over the Negro woman and casts its reflection on the white woman.

There were white women during slavery who rebelled against these conditions. They saw in the degradation of the Negro woman and mother their own degradation. Thus they joined the abolitionist movement to exterminate slavery with all its evils. These were the white women who became co-workers of Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and Elijah Lovejoy in the abolitionist movement.

Slavery as an institution was abolished. This is half of the story. "The old forms of slavery, to be sure, were dead beyond reanimation perhaps; but, in their place, were other forms of Slavery which attracted less attention and reprobation from the World at large, and yet were quite as effectual for all Southern purposes. The system of Peonage and contracted convict-labor, growing out of the codes of Black Laws, were all-sufficient to keep the bulk of the Negro race in practical subjection and bondage." (from the Great Conspiracy by John A. Logan.)

These are the conditions under which Mrs. Ingram toiled with her children. Hers is the lot of the majority of the Negro people living in the South today. That is why the crusade to free the Ingram Family is a burning issue in the struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality. It becomes at the same time an important issue for all progressive America.

The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family established March 21, 1949 is engaged in a crusade to set the Ingram Family free. Local committees and sponsors in twenty-one cities have collected 50,000 signatures - 30,000 of which were presented to the White House on June 1, 1949. The signature campaign still goes on. The important job now is to speedup the campaign to arouse public opinion and protest. This can be done by participating in the activities of the committee around the Ingram Brief to be presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations the third week in September.

A plan of the activities to be conducted during the months of August and September is listed below. All organizations and individuals are requested to use this plan freely to win moral support for the freedom of the Ingram Family.

National Committee To Free The Ingram Family

NATIONAL OFFICE
HOTEL THERESA
125th STREET and 7th AVENUE
ROOM 108
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Provisional Officers:

Chairman
MARY CHURCH TERRELL

National Vice Chairman
ADA B. JACKSON

National Executive Secretary
THERESE L. ROBINSON

National Administrative Secretary
MAUDE WHITE KATZ

National Treasurer
HALOIS MOOREHEAD

Partial List of Sponsors

Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. W. A. Scott
Mrs. John Wesley Dobbs

Winston-Salem, N. C.
Mrs. Velma Hopkins
Miss Moranda Smith

Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Bettye L. Alleyne
Mrs. Dorothy Lymas

Temple Texas
Mrs. F. M. Meredith
Mrs. C. J. Fisher

New York, New York
Mrs. Estelle M. Osborne
Mrs. Shirley Graham
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Mrs. Yolanda Wilkerson
Mrs. Elinor Gimbel
Miss Esther Letz
Miss Florence Murray

Detroit, Michigan
Miss Erma Henderson

Los Angeles, Calif.
Mrs. Charlotta Bass

Memphis, Tennessee
Mrs. Rosa Brown Bracy

Vicksburg, Mississippi
Mrs. G. H. Jefferson

Enfield, Connecticut
Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson

Augusta, Georgia
Mrs. E. V. Wallace

Washington, D. C.
Miss Sally Peek
Dean George A. Parker

Lexington, Kentucky
Mrs. Lucy Harth Smith

August 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I want to express my gratitude for the privilege of conferring with you on matters concerning the Ingram case. The material concerning the Ingram case is in this letter. Anything that you can do in Europe to help spread the facts in this case far and wide will hasten the day of freedom for the Ingram family.

From our committee an enjoyable and safe trip-good health and warmest greetings to all.

Very sincerely yours,

Maude White Katz
Maude White Katz
National Administrative Secretary

MWK:ih
enc.-4
uopwa/16

[NOV. 1949]

INGRAM · NEWS · LETTER

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE THE INGRAM FAMILY

Issued Once a Month - - Office Address
Hotel Theresa - 125th St. & 7th Avenue
Room 108 - Tel. MO 2-1700 - New York City

The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family is a non-political non-partisan, interracial committee, organized for the sole purpose of securing unconditional freedom for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons in Georgia, by arousing the conscience of America. Our aim is to exert moral pressure by every means available in order to wipe this horrible shame from America. We welcome moral and financial support from every source to achieve this goal.

23a-5

######

A CALL FOR HELP

100,000 signatures are needed to present to President Truman in November requesting the freedom of the Ingram family. Your help is essential. Please return the petitions to the National Office as soon as they are filled. Remember, if you ask the people, they will sign the petitions. The month of November will mark two years since the Ingram family have been in prison. Have you done all you could to free this mother so that she can be home with her children?

######

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

A Conference will be held on Thursday, November 17th, in Washington D.C. Petitions will be presented to the White House. Luncheon at Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., 901 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W. Conference following luncheon. Send as many representatives as you can from your local committee, come yourself, and get others to do so from churches, lodges, social clubs, and other religious, fraternal, and civic bodies of all races and creeds. (The convention of the National Council of Negro Women will be taking place at the same time in Washington).

(OVER)

INGRAM CASE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

The Ingram Case received world-wide attention on October 12th, when Dr. Jan Drohojowski of Poland referred to it as the "most flagrant violation of human rights". He also mentioned the KKK terror in Groveland, Florida. Please send a letter to Dr. Jan Drohojowski thanking him for his humanitarian effort.

######

U. N. CAMPAIGN NOT OVER!

Keep sending letters and resolutions to Governor Talmadge, President Truman, U. S. Attorney-General Howard McGrath, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Mr. Trygve Lie. Mention the Ingram Case as the most flagrant violation of human rights and beseeching their unconditional freedom.

Tell the facts in the Ingram Case and its implications, to women's groups, white and Negro, in your community, such as mothers' clubs, Parent-Teacher Association, Elks, Eastern Star, Household Ruth, and other civic, fraternal, and social bodies. Don't miss a single opportunity to tell the Ingram Story to a single organization!

########

STEPPING STONES ON ROAD TO FREEDOM OF INGRAM FAMILY

March 21	-	Formation of Nat'l Committee to Free the Ingram Family
April 2	-	Interracial delegation sponsored by National Committee to Free the Ingram Family, visited Mrs. Ingram's children at Americus, Ga.
April 3	-	Interracial delegation visited Mrs. Ingram at Richmond County House, Augusta, Ga.
Mother's Day	-	Issued 10,000 cards addressed to President Truman requesting freedom for Ingram Family.
June 1	-	Delegation presented 30,00 signatures to White House.
June 22	-	Testimonial to Nat'l Chairman - Mary Church Terrell.
Aug. 15-30	-	Delegation visited offices of 32 countries in N.Y.C. and presented Brief written by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Sent Ingram material to 59 countries.
Sept. 18-25	-	National Ingram Week.
Sept. 21	-	Pilgrimage to U. N. Presented Ingram Brief.
Oct. 12	-	Polish delegate to U. N. mentioned Ingram Case as violation of human rights.

(OVER)

RESPONSE FROM THE NATION

Ingram Luncheon at the Y.W.C.A. in Cleveland was a grand success, due to the efforts of Mrs. Mayme McCurdy and Mrs. Pearl Hancock. Mrs. Maude Katz was the speaker. 125 persons attended the affair.

Women of Albany, New York - Women's Division of the ALP invited Mrs. Katz to speak on the Ingram Case. About 75 persons were present at the testimonial dinner.

Thanks to Mrs. Helen Marshall and Mrs. Fannie Licht of New Rochelle who arranged two affairs for the Ingram Committee.

Thanks to Mrs. Mary Thompson, and Rev. Blackwell of New Britain, Conn and Mrs. Mamie B. Hill, and Rev. Banks, of Ardmore, Pa., for their moral and financial support.

Letters have come in from Mrs. Addie Slaughter of Minnesota, Mrs. Mary D. Springer, of Chicago, Mrs. Fannie Green of New Haven, expressing their willingness to labor for the freedom of the Ingram Family.

Mrs. W. A. Scott and Mrs. Geneva Haughbrooks of Atlanta, Ga., were heard from last week with a check for $25 from the Women's Auxiliary. No one has had a deeper understanding of the movement to free the Ingram Family than the women of the South.

We are grateful for the moral support extended to our Committee by the AKA Sorority, Gamma Omega of St. Louis, Mo., Mesdames Sadye L. Dunham, Mrs. Mary E. Stribling of Covington, Kentucky, Mrs. Rosie B. Walker of Texas, Mrs. Vickie Garvin, UOPWA Legislative Director, and Mr. Edward Nelson, of the International Workers Order.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family is indebted to Miss Frances Bodkin of New York City, a member of the UOPWA, who has so generously donated her time to type and mimeograph this Newsletter.

(OVER)

THEATRE BENEFIT

Keep Saturday, December 3rd open for a theatre benefit for the Ingram Committee. Tickets will sell for $1.00. Please place your orders now. The place will be announced at a later date.

######

DRAWING

On Saturday, December 17th, at 3:00 P.M., a drawing will be held in Room 108 of the Theresa Hotel, for the benefit of the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family. The holder of the lucky ticket will receive a $50.00, 14 karat, 17 jewel, Bulova lady's wrist watch.

######

INGRAM CHRISTMAS CARDS

Ingram Christmas cards will be available at 10 for $1.00. Tell your friends about them. Place your orders now.

######

ON THE WEST COAST

Mrs. Therese B. Robinson, Grand Directress of the Civil Liberties Division of the Elks, and a National Officer of the Ingram Committee has been busy on the West Coast winning new supporters for the freedom of the Ingram Family. Mrs. Harriet Jackson of Los Angeles has been her closest co-worker.

You'll be hearing from us again soon. In the meantime, keep up the fight for the freedom of the Ingram family - and victory shall surely be ours!

COPWR-16

[1949]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEWS FROM
National Committee to Free the
Ingram Family
Hotel Theresa, Room 108
125th Street & Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

When the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations convened for its first session on March 27, at Lake Success, New York, it had for consideration, the facts of the celebrated Ingram Case presented by the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family, from its headquarters at Hotel Theresa, New York.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Ingram Committee Mrs. Maude White Katz, National Administrative Secretary said: "We have received letters from all parts of the world commending us for the work our committee is doing to bring the plight of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons before the people of the United States. Mrs. Ingram and her two sons, Sammy and Wallace, were sentenced to die in the electric chair, February 27, 1948, for defending her honor and her virtue against an enraged white farmer who attacked her with a rifle and knife. Our committee has had letters and cables from such widely separated countries as Brazil, England, and Syria, telling us of letters they have sent our President, Harry S. Truman and to the Governor of Georgia, asking for justice for this mother and her two sons. The Cypress Progressive Woman's Union writes that their organization addressed the President as follows: 'Your Excellency and the various Secretaries of the U.S.A. Government very often speak and write about the adherence of your country and your people to the principles of freedom and equality. The Ingram case is a good opportunity to prove it..We respectfully request you to intervene and order the release of Mrs. Ingram and her two sons from prison. This will be an act of justice.'

"We firmly believe, Mrs. Katz continued, "that Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram can be freed in 1950. We appeal to all those who believe in freedom and justice to exert all possible effort to send this mother back to her children this year. The card that we received from the Ingram children waiting at home for their mother, is an appeal to the world: 'I hope that you all will soon make a way for our mother and brothers to come home with us, we miss them, so hoping that you all will continue to fight for our loved ones to come home soon. (Signed) her children, James, Franky, Marcellous, Walter Lee, John L. Jackson, Rosslyn, Dollie May, Frankie Mae, Robert Lee, and Geneva Ruskin.' "We feel that the continous imprisonment of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons makes a mockery of Civil Rights, and is a monument to racial bigotry and injustice. We hope that the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations will share in our concern and use its moral pressure so effectively that freedom will be granted Mrs. Ingram."

Mrs. Eleanora Roosevelt is chairman of this committee which is made up of delegates from 18 countries, and of course, represents the whole assembly. The sessions of the Commission will probably cover several weeks.

Last year, each of the fifty-nine countries represented in the United Nations received a copy of a brief on the Ingram case prepared by the eminent author and scientist Dr. W.E.B. Dubois. Delegations from the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family have visited the offices of thirty-two countries in New York City, requesting them to present the Ingram Brief to the Human Rights Commission and to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mrs. Mary Terrell, National Chairman of the Ingram Committee presented the Ingram Brief to

PETITION

The Honorable HARRY S. TRUMAN
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Nº 4332

Mr. President

We call your attention to the plight of **Rosa Lee Ingram,** widowed colored mother of twelve; who is languishing in a Georgia prison with two of her children.

It is a blot on the conscience of America that this woman should remain in prison because she dared to defend her children, her honor, her dignity and her life from the attacks of an enraged white farmer.

Justice and humanity cry out for her freedom.

We urge you as President of the United States to use your executive power to free Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram.

The American people, and particularly the mothers, implore you Mr. President, to free Rosa Lee Ingram so she can be at home with her children.

Name	Address

Issued by the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family

Hotel Theresa — 125th St. and Seventh Avenue — New York 27, N. Y.

National Chairman
MARY CHURCH TERRELL

National Vice Chairman
ADA B. JACKSON

National Executive Secretary
THERESE ROBINSON

National Administrative Secretary
MAUDE WHITE KATZ

National Treasurer
HALOIS W. MOORHEAD

113

AMERICAN COMMITTEE
FOR PROTECTION OF
FOREIGN BORN

23 WEST 26th STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

Honorary Chairman
Rt. Rev. ARTHUR W. MOULTON

Chairman, Board of Directors
Rev. JOHN W. DARR, JR.

National Conference Against Deportation Hysteria

DETROITER HOTEL · DETROIT, MICHIGAN · DECEMBER 3 and 4, 1949

Civil Rights

Sponsors
(Partial List)

Dr. Edith Abbott
Stella Adler
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
Dr. Kurt Anderson
Dr. Jacob Auslander
Emily Greene Balch
C. B. Baldwin
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Charlotta A. Bass
Hon. Elmer Benson
Elizabeth Bergner
Edwin Bjorkman
Alice Stone Blackwell
Dr. James A. Blaisdell
Millen Brand
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Rev. Burns Brodhead
Van Wyck Brooks
Prof. Emily C. Brown
Dr. James J. Burns
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Dr. Abraham Cronbach
Prof. Henry W. L. Dana
Prof. John J. DeBoer
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Hon. Earl Dickerson
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
Prof. Kasimir Fajans
Prof. Ernst Feise
Frederick V. Field
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Prof. Wendell H. Furry
Dr. Christian Gauss
Josiah W. Gitt
Dr. Solomon Goldman
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Prof. Albert L. Guerard
Uta Hagen
Douglas Hall
Rev. Albert J. Hallington
Dashiell Hammett
Dr. Charles H. Hapgood
Pearl M. Hart
Charles H. Houston
Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes
Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
J. F. Jurich
Rockwell Kent
Carol King
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Leo Krzycki
Rev. John H. Lathrop
Prof. Emil Lengyel
Ray Lev
Hon. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Albert Maltz
Dr. Thomas Mann
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
Rev. Jack R. McMichael
Dr. Wayne McMillen
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Prof. Clyde R. Miller
George B. Murphy, Jr.
Dr. John S. Nollen
Hon. Stanley Nowak
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Prof. Linus Pauling
Harriet Ida Pickens
Anton Refregier
Prof. William G. Rice
Paul Robeson
Col. Raymond Robins
Boardman Robinson
Earl Robinson
Dr. Bela Schick
William Jay Schieffelin
Budd Schulberg
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Prof. John F. Shepard
Dr. Laila Skinner
Prof. Eric A. Starbuck
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Arthur Szyk
Prof. Ellen B. Talbot
Dr. Alva W. Taylor
Hon. Edward P. Totten
Dalton Trumbo
Prof. Oswald Veblen
Clara W. Vincent
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Leroy Waterman
Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Prof. F. W. Weymouth
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
William Zorach

September 24, 1949

Dear Sir or Madam:

This year our National Conference will be held in Detroit, on December 3 and 4, at the Detroiter Hotel. A copy of the Conference Call is enclosed.

More than 110 non-citizens in 16 states have been arrested and held for deportation. More than 230 naturalized American citizens are threatened with proceedings to revoke their citizenship. This attack on the democratic rights of the foreign born menaces the welfare of all Americans. This National Conference will help organize a campaign to end this deportation hysteria and defend the liberties of the American people.

We invite you to attend and participate in this National Conference. If that will not be possible we invite you to send a message of greeting to the Conference which will be read to the delegates.

We wish to thank you for your cooperation with us.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Director

jwd/bml
uopwa
16-96

264

830-51

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
*Editor, CONSCRIPTION NEWS

Mark Foeller
17

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG
Chairman, YOUTH DIVISION

National Council Against Conscription

1013 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

15

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
Dennis Cardinal Dougherty
President Frank P. Graham
Doctor Harry Emerson Fosdick
*Mr. Chester H. Gray

EXECUTIVE GROUP
Co-Chairmen
Mordecai W. Johnson
Alonzo F. Myers
Vice-Chairmen
George A. Buttrick
Elias Charry
Francis X. N. McGuire, O.S.A.
Joseph Fort Newton
Treasurer
Richard W. Reuter
Charles F. Boss, Jr.
E. Fay Campbell
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
*Donald B. Cloward
Donald J. Cowling
James A. Crain
*J. M. Dawson
Reginald Dietz
*Elsie Elfenbein
Phillips P. Elliott
*Allan P. Farrell, S.J.
*W. J. Faulkner
Robert Gordis
Simon Greenberg
Rufus C. Harris
Paul H. Hoh
C. Franklin Koch
William E. Lampe
G. Merrill Lenox
Paul M. Limbert
William B. Lipphard
J. H. Marion, Jr.
Ralph McDonald
Elmore M. McKee
B. F. McLaurin
Joy Elmer Morgan
Charles Clayton Morrison
*Ralph Norman Mould
Walter G. Muelder
*Ray Newton
Roger T. Nooe
*Mildred Scott Olmsted
W. Norman Pittenger
*Frederick E. Reissig
Victor G. Reuther
Shelby Rooks
*Royal F. Shepherd
*Walter W. Sikes
*D. H. Sims
Thelma Stevens
Louis J. Taber
*Vinal H. Tibbetts
Ernest Fremont Tittle
J. B. Weatherspoon
Wm. Lindsay Young
Joseph Zeitlin

* Members of the Administrative Committee, together with Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Treasurer.

February 17, 1949

Dear Friend:

You have been receiving CONSCRIPTION NEWS regularly for a number of months. We are naturally eager to know whether you want to continue to receive it.

We have assumed that those who have sent contributions to our Council within the past year are active and do want to be kept in touch with our work. We recognize of course that there are other ways of indicating one's activity such as writing, speaking, distributing litera ture, etc. Whether or not you can contribute, if you are active and want to get CONSCRIPTION NEWS, we shall continue to send it to you.

Will you let us know whether you make use of CONSCRIPTION NEWS and whether you want to continue to receive it? If we do not hear from you, we shall assume that you do not want to continue to receive it.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

JMS:mlc

P.S. We are enclosing an announcement of a new report on militarism which has just been published. A copy will be mailed automatically to contributors.

[ENC]

CONSCRIPTION NEWS

1013 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Number 160 February 24, 1949

U.S. considers foreign military alliance - Implications of North Atlantic military alliance -

U. S. CONSIDERS FOREIGN MILITARY ALLIANCE

The most important decision in American foreign policy since the Monroe Doctrine will be made by the Senate this year when a North Atlantic Military Alliance is placed before it in treaty form for ratification. In the past the United States has stayed out of foreign military alliances with the exception of the recent Inter-American Defense treaty, and has given guarantees of assistance in case of invasion only to the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

The groundwork for this military alliance was laid by American military leaders more than a year ago. General Marshall himself by the proposal for European recovery made it possible for Western European nations to recover enough economically that a military pact with them would be justifiable. As Cecil Dickson put it in the May 1, 1948 Albany Knickerbocker News "our foreign policy makers" feared that "the Western Europeans would seek to declare their countries neutral in event of war" between the United States and Russia. He added, "By helping those countries to build up their economy, health, trade, and business and improve their living conditions, our policy makers believe a fighting spirit can be regained."

Military spokesmen James Forrestal and Kenneth Royall on January 15, 1948 told Congress that if it did not pass the Marshall plan for Western European recovery, a draft and a larger military budget would be necessary. The January 16, 1948 Philadelphia Inquirer report stated: "Royall flatly told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that as he saw the choice it was virtually between the Marshall Plan and a return to Selective Service."

Western European Union planned

Meanwhile, American military representatives were quietly preparing for the formation of a Western European Union as another step in the direction of a military alliance and military aid. A February 7, 1948 A.P. dispatch from Britain said that "The Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staffs. . .will submit proposals to standardize a wide range of military equipment and training for fifteen European countries as the basis of a program of military self-help. The standardization will be according to American and British patterns."

On March 17, 1948 President Truman in a policy speech asking Congress to pass Selective Service, identified U.S. security with the security of Western Europe.

Brussels Pact signed

Also on March 17, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg signed in Brussels a joint defense treaty which also provided for economic cooperation. The Brussels Pact as it is known, is to continue in force for 50 years. Despite the treaty, however, plans had not been made to extend the Anglo-American joint chiefs of staff idea or standardized arms system to the other nations.

On April 29, 1948 the Washington Post spoke of a "Western European Military Conference" whose purpose was to "extend the joint measures and plans to France and the Benelux states." The Post pointed out that "The United States. . .has advised the Western

powers there can be no American backing for the Western European Union until the states have drawn up joint plans for a unified command, joint operations, and standardization of supplies. By May, 1948 the plan was far enough along for the military to try to sell it to the public. General Eisenhower made the first major appeal to the public on May 6.

Congress was asked to take the matter out of the field of political discussions in an election year. The Vandenberg resolution which was passed by the Senate on June 11, 1948, by a vote of 64 to 4, guaranteed that the Republicans would not make an issue of it in the political campaign. As a result of the passage of the resolution, American military men openly attended sessions of the Western European Union and planning for the alliance moved into high gear.

On September 28, 1948, the Defense Ministers of the five Brussels Pact nations announced the formation of a permanent common military organization. According to the September 29, 1948 New York Times they expected "the United States not only to supply equipment but in one sense or another to give the Western Alliance a military guarantee."

On October 4 a military staff was appointed, and on October 17, 1948 the Finance Ministers of the Brussels Pact powers agreed on the immediate financing of the common military staff.

On December 10 the United States and Canada held an official discussion in Washington with the ambassadors of the Brussels Pact group and indicated that conversations would continue for some time.

Military Alliance provisions outlined

The main outline of the North Atlantic Military Pact in which the U.S. and Canada would participate was published in the January 28 New York Times. The outline included 1) an agreement obligating participating nations to take "military or other action forthwith" in the event of an attack against any one of them; 2) the treaty would last 16 to 20 years and would not come up for renewal in an election year, 3) the treaty would create a permanent North Atlantic Security Council which would be authorized to create other permanent committees including a military staff committee.

IMPLICATIONS OF NORTH ATLANTIC MILITARY ALLIANCE

If the North Atlantic Military Alliance is consummated and especially if the United States becomes a party to it, there are a number of serious consequences likely to flow therefrom. In the first place, the Alliance will guarantee a divided United Nations and may mean the death of the U. N. This is evident from a statement in the Report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Vandenberg Resolution which gave advance approval of the idea of an alliance. The Report spoke of "the present inability of the United Nations to assure international peace and security", and indicated that this is due to "the excessive use of the veto" as well as to other matters for which the Soviet Union is responsible. In other words, the U. S. Senate in accepting this report called for a military alliance because there is no hope for peace or security in the United Nations.

Similarly a State Department document published January 1949 in discussing the Alliance, says that "the obstruction of one country and its willing or unwilling associates has seriously hampered the work of the United Nations" thus making it necessary for "forward looking governments" to "seek additional means of preserving the peace. . ." As Edwin L. James wrote in the January 16, 1949 New York Times, the Alliance "draws the lines more clearly for the contest between East and West." He points out that whereas the U. N. was set up to insure security against aggression, "Now it is our intent to act not only against aggression itself but against the fear of aggression as well."

Another indication that the Alliance will weaken the U.N. is seen in the effort of the United States to get Portugal and Eire who are not members of the United Nations, to become a part of the Alliance. (November 25, 1948 New York Times) There have also been

news reports to the effect that at United States instigation Spain was for a time considered as a possible member of the Alliance, though she was not a member of the U. N. (October 14, 1948 New York Times). Although the United States will try to make the military Alliance seem, in the language of the State Department, to be "in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter", mere words will not change the attempts to line up both non-U.N. and U.N. powers in a military alliance aimed at Russia.

Alliance may lead to war

In the second place, the alliance may lead to war. It certainly would make it easier to begin a war. One indication of the problem is the fear our policy makers had last Spring that our actions might provoke war. One newspaper correspondent said the reason for the sending of the peace note to Russia (which the Russians published, to American embarrassment) was "because our policy makers feel there is very grave danger of prodding the Russians into war through misunderstanding. They were fearful our insistence on ERP, President Truman's military preparedness program, and the wild talk of men campaigning for public office in a Presidential election year, might be misunderstood." (Albany Knickerbocker News, May 12, 1948)

The October 15, 1948 U. S. News spoke of "fear" that "if the Soviets consider war inevitable, they might strike at the first indication that military strength in Western Europe is being revived." It is obvious of course that the Alliance is directed against Russia and that to have any meaning there must be a concentration of military power in western Europe.

War will be easier under the Alliance because at least seven nations will be committed to act together against an aggressor. That a mistake leading to war can be made is obvious from the way the U. S. reacted to a "faulty intelligence report" last Spring when the movement of Russian troops to Spring training quarters was thought to be a mobilization for war.

It is difficult to see how Europe could be anything other than an armed camp with a pro-Russian and an anti-Russian military bloc watching for each other's false step. Similar situations in the past have resulted in war.

U.S. armies and bases in Europe would be required

Third, the Alliance would require American troops, air power, and bases in Europe and Africa to give substance tothe Alliance. As the November 9, 1948 New York Times pointed out, the Netherlands can provide no troops until at least 1952 because of "heavy military commitments in Indonesia" and the internal economy's requirement "that full use be made of the available labor" not now being used in the army. Likewise, France is "militarily weak, politically unstable, and economically exhausted." As a result "United States help. . . is imperative if France is to play" the part assigned to her. (New York Times, Dec. 18, '48)

Luxembourg is so small as to have practically no army. If Italy is drawn in, there will have to be protection for her and for North Africa not only because of the disarmament clauses of the Italian peace treaty but also because "she is in no position materially to defend herself." (New York Times, October 29, 1948)

Violates U.S. Constitution

Fourth, whatever formula of wording is used in the treaty of Alliance, the U.S. by being a party to it, can become involved in war without an act of Congress and hence in violation of the Constitution. As Hanson Baldwin points out, the Alliance has no meaning unless there is American aid for arming Europe and American troops and a staff in Europe. He said: "The presence of American troops in Europe would mean - in case of an attack upon any of the signatory powers -- our immediate involvement in conflict." He added that no matter how the treaty is phrased there would be "a moral and pragmatic commitment that would be fully as binding upon the United States as the most legalistic hard and fast alliance." (New York Times, December 5, 1948)

Germany would be rearmed

Fifth, the North Atlantic Military Alliance, because of the military weakness of France, Holland, and Belgium, will result in making Germany a bastion of military defense against Russia and will require the use of German, Italian and Spanish manpower. As Hanson Baldwin points out "Many of our military observers advocate a plan frankly based on the eventual utilization of Spanish and German manpower. . " (N.Y.T., Dec. 5, 1948) In other words, although a second world war was fought to eliminate the militarism and totalitarianism of nations like Germany, Italy, and Spain, within less than five years after that war is over, the United States is contemplating a revival of their power in order to make effective an alliance against Russia.

U.S. would have to provide cost of European rearmament

Sixth, the United States would have to pour billions of dollars worth of armaments into the western European nations if they are to be realistically armed. Hanson Baldwin says that "a lend-lease program of arms and equipment amounting over a four or five year period to perhaps $15 billion to $18 billion is one of the duties expected of the U.S. when the Alliance has been completed." (New York Times December 5, 1948) This means the further depletion of America's raw materials as well as a continued drain upon our production. Wealth diverted to arms is wealth lost to a nation whose people need better housing, health and education. When the people's needs are unmet they are more likely to listen to Communist propaganda.

Rearmament vs. reconstruction in Europe

Seventh, if as a result of the Alliance "there is to be a new emphasis on security and rearmament in Europe. . the Marshall Plan countries are shortly going to be confronted with the problem of allocating for military purposes men, money, and materials necessary for economic recovery. And similarly, in this country, the requirements of rearmament here and abroad are almost certain to interfere with the supply of materials, money, and men necessary to keep our own economy and the E.R.P. going at present rates." (N.Y.T., Nov. 7)

Another Times report (October 31, 1948) says of the western European nations: "rearmament is expected to impose new burdens upon the budgets of these countries which had planned to devote all available resources to investments designed to expand peaceful production." This, of course, means that in attempting to frighten Russia by rearmament and a military alliance, we will give the Communists, already numerous in Europe, a new lease on life. Only by raising the standard of living through economic reconstruction can Communism be defeated and adequate reconstruction is not possible if the rearmament of Europe is contemplated.

Lest it be argued that American aid will reduce the need for European resources, it is well to remember an Oct. 9, 1948 N. Y. Times story from Turkey "that the aim of the Truman Doctrine to relieve the burden of the armed forces on the nation's finances had not been realized." The Times added that "the price of sugar had increased mainly because of the growing military expenditures."

Finally, the Alliance may have serious psychological repercussions at a time when the Soviet is talking about peace and her willingness to work with the West. As a professor at Oxford, Max Beloff, pointed out in the November 7, 1948 New York Times magazine, "It is perhaps not fully realized in the United States how instinctively Europeans still recoil from the idea of a new war. However exasperating the attitude of Soviet Russia may be, talk of a 'showdown' which can only mean a shooting war, seems to Europeans to be no answer. " To the degree that the Alliance increases the chances of a "showdown", the United States as the big power in the Alliance will be thought of by Europeans and Asiatics as responsible just as in America we adjudge Russia responsible for the Eastern European bloc.

Is it worth it? Especially when, as Hanson Baldwin writes, "Today and for the immediate future, the defense of Western Europe. . .is militarily unfeasible." (New York Times, December 5, 1948)

* * * * *

Issued by the National Council Against Conscription

[NAT. CNCL]

full ↓

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Rev. William Howard Melish

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Rev. A. C. Dieffenbach
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Raymond C. Ingersoll
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
John Middleton
Saul Mills
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Joseph P. Selly
M. B. Sherman
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Alma Vessells
Craig Vincent

23-40-22a

May 16, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The National Council is arranging a testimonial dinner for the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish in New York on Wednesday evening, May 25.

We very much desire you to be a guest of honor on this occasion and to speak briefly as you may feel appropriate. Howard shares with the rest of us the keenest appreciation for the militant and effective leadership you are continuously giving without stint to the cause of world peace and for the liberation of people everywhere. He would feel it a great honor to have you present on this occasion of tribute to him.

The date and place were reserved several weeks back but Howard did not feel able to approve the plan until last week. In the struggle that he is making for the right to speak and work for peace he still wants to do what is wise in relationship to the church and also as to observe some caution in connection with the pending appeal in the courts. But now he is willing to have this occasion in his honor and certainly the people of New York will come enthusiastically in great numbers to salute him. The original date and place we found to be the only possible ones so we are hastening to complete the program.

We hope that you will come.

Perhaps you would be willing to call me upon receipt of this note to give assurance that you can join us.

Accept my personal tribute to your great fight these days.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

Louis Adamic
George F. Addes
Maxwell Anderson
John Taylor Arms
Max Bedacht
Mrs. Alice S. Belester
Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby
Mrs. Louis Bloch
Mrs. Anita Block
Simon Breines
Prof. E. W. Burgess
Hon. Arthur Capper
Charles Chaplin
Hon. John M. Coffee
Dr. Henry S. Coffin
Aaron Copland
Norman Corwin
Jo Davidson
Hon. Joseph E. Davies
Dr. Herbert John Davis
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Dr. Stephen Duggan
Prof. Albert Einstein
Max Epstein
Dr. Mildred Fairchild
Dr. Robert D. Feild
Lion Feuchtwanger
Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher
Homer Folks
Dr. W. Horsley Gantt
Dr. Caleb F. Gates, Jr.
Dean Christian Gauss
Ben Gold
Dr. Mortimer Graves
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Lillian Hellman
Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn
Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Prof. William Ernest Hocking
Dr. Walter M. Horton
Langston Hughes
Dr. Walter Hullihen
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Dr. Millard H. Jencks
Prof. Howard Mumford Jones
Helen Keller
Rockwell Kent
Dorothy Kenyon
Dr. Serge Koussevitzky
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
William W. Lancaster
Dr. Emil Lengyel
John F. Lewis, Jr.
Prof. Robert S. Lynd
Clifford T. McAvoy
Judge Lois Mary McBride
Maurice Maeterlinck
Fritz Mahler
Dr. Thomas Mann
Frank X. Martel
Dr. Kirtley F. Mather
Lewis Merrill
Dr. George R. Minot
Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell
Charles Michael Mitzell
Pierre Monteux
Mme Pierre Monteux
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Hon. James E. Murray
Dr. Philip C. Nash
Dr. Robert Hastings Nichols
Eugene O'Neill
Dr. Marion Edwards Park
Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson
Bishop Malcolm E. Peabody
Hon. Claude Pepper
Prof. Ralph Barton Perry
Dr. E. C. Peters
Dr. John P. Peters
Henry W. Pope
Michael Quill
Carl Randau
Anton Refregier
Elmer Rice
Wallingford Riegger
Paul Robeson
Col. Raymond Robins
Earl Robinson
Reid Robinson
Harold J. Rome
Joseph A. Rosen
Joseph A. Salerno
Miles M. Sherover
Raymond P. Sloan
Dr. P. A. Sorokin
Maxwell S. Stewart
Leopold Stokowski
Raymond Swing
Geneviéve Tabouis
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas
R. J. Thomas
Dr. Max Thorek
S. A. Trone
Philip H. Van Gelder
R. E. Van Horn
Prof. George Vernadsky
Bishop W. J. Walls
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Leroy Waterman
Max Weber
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Dr. C. C. Williams
Hon. James H. Wolfe
Dr. Max Yergan
Dean Mary Yost
Dr. J. J. Zmrhal
Leane Zugsmith

May 23, 1949

Mr. Richard Morford
Executive Director
Nation Council of
American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Morford:

Answering your letter of May 16, I regret to say that Dr. Du Bois will be unable to attend the dinner for the Rev. William Howard Melish on May 25.

Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until about June 1. I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival. I am sure he appreciates both your invitation and your kind words about him.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[NAT. C.]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

ACTING CHAIRMAN
and TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-40-8

September 14, 1949.

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

Welcome home, sir! All of us are happy that you were honored by the invitation to represent the peace-loving people of our nation at the All-Union Peace Conference in the Soviet Union.

Now e are eager to hear your story and we know you will be willing to share it with the friends of the National Council as well as with many others.

The annual Fall Dinner of the National Council is set down for Thursday evening - October 6. We have been waiting patiently for your homecoming to place in your hands our earnest invitation to be present as an honored guest on this occasion and to deliver an address.

By this annual event we initiate a new season of activities on behalf of international understanding and world peace. Last year the them was the right to speak for peace, in part a testimonial to the writer who as an officer of the organization had to stand up for that right before the Un-American Committee.

This year our theme may well be the necessity to speak for peace. We have not yet accomplished a mobilization of the latent peace forces; we have not organized an effective resistance to the cold war policy sufficient to compel our Government to pursue relentlessly the ways of peace and cooperation with the Soviet Union. But we must and we can! We look to you as a strong leader - we will follow.

The four to five hundred guests we expect to gather on this occasion will hear with great eagerness your report from the Soviet Union and the challenge you want to put to all of us after your experiences at Paris and Moscow.

We do hope that, among numerous demands, you will find place for this engagement on October 6. We have been honored before by your presence at our meetings and have been profoundly impressed by your sharp but constructive call to action. We deeply desire that you shall come again.

Anxious as we are to complete our program with dispatch, I hope you can communicate with me when you have had some hours of rest from your hard journey.

I don't see how you keep the strenuous pace, but the cause of peace and freedom needs you so I know you intend to keep going. With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford - Executive Director

uopwa 19-91

SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

Louis Adamic
George F. Addes
Maxwell Anderson
John Taylor Arms
Max Bedacht
Mrs. Alice S. Belester
Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby
Mrs. Louis Bloch
Mrs. Anita Block
Simon Breines
Prof. E. W. Burgess
Hon. Arthur Capper
Charles Chaplin
Hon. John M. Coffee
Dr. Henry S. Coffin
Aaron Copland
Norman Corwin
Jo Davidson
Hon. Joseph E. Davies
Dr. Herbert John Davis
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Dr. Stephen Duggan
Prof. Albert Einstein
Max Epstein
Dr. Mildred Fairchild
Dr. Robert D. Feild
Lion Feuchtwanger
Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher
Homer Folks
Dr. W. Horsley Gantt
Dean Christian Gauss
Ben Gold
Dr. Mortimer Graves
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Lillian Hellman
Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn
Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Prof. William Ernest Hocking
Dr. Walter M. Horton
Langston Hughes
Dr. Walter Hullihen
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Dr. Millard H. Jencks
Prof. Howard Mumford Jones
Helen Keller
Rockwell Kent
Dorothy Kenyon
Dr. Serge Koussevitzky
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
William W. Lancaster
Dr. Emil Lengyel
John F. Lewis, Jr.
Prof. Robert S. Lynd
Clifford T. McAvoy
Judge Lois Mary McBride
Fritz Mahler
Dr. Thomas Mann
Frank X. Martel
Dr. Kirtley F. Mather
Lewis Merrill
Dr. George R. Minot
Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell
Charles Michael Mitzell
Hon. James E. Murray
Dr. Philip C. Nash
Dr. Robert Hastings Nichols
Eugene O'Neill
Dr. Marion Edwards Park
Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson
Bishop Malcolm E. Peabody
Prof. Ralph Barton Perry
Dr. E. C. Peters
Dr. John P. Peters
Henry W. Pope
Michael Quill
Carl Randau
Anton Refregier
Elmer Rice
Wallingford Riegger
Paul Robeson
Col. Raymond Robins
Earl Robinson
Reid Robinson
Harold J. Rome
Joseph A. Salerno
Miles M. Sherover
Raymond P. Sloan
Dr. P. A. Sorokin
Maxwell S. Stewart
Leopold Stokowski
Raymond Swing
Geneviéve Tabouis
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas
R. J. Thomas
Dr. Max Thorek
S. A. Trone
Philip H. Van Gelder
R. E. Van Horn
Prof. George Vernadsky
Bishop W. J. Walls
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Leroy Waterman
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Dr. C. C. Williams
Hon. James H. Wolfe
Dr. Max Yergan
Dean Mary Yost
Dr. J. J. Zmrhal
Leane Zugsmith

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

ACTING CHAIRMAN
and TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-40-9

P.S. That was a great piece of "testimony" you delivered to the House Foreign Affairs Committee that day we were together in Washington on August 8. So glad the Daily Compass printed it!

R. M.

[NAT-C]

September 21, 1949

Mr. Richard Morford
Executive Director
National Council of
American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

23-40-10

My dear Mr. Morford:

Answering your letter of September 14, may I say that I would be glad to talk at the annual dinner of the National Council of the American-Soviet Friendship, October 6. I shall speak briefly about 15 and certainly not more than 20 minutes, on my impressions of the Soviet Union covering three visits, 1928, 1936 and 1949.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[MAT. C]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

ACTING CHAIRMAN
and TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

September 22, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of September 21. We are happy about your coming to the dinner and will be eager for your story about visits to the Soviet Union.

I may say that besides the brief parts which will be taken in the program by our Acting Chairman, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Miss Mary Van Kleeck, there are three major "peace talks" by yourself, Mr. Jennings Perry, columnist for the New York Daily Compass, and Prof. Philip D. Morrison, the atomic scientist. So your plan for a fifteen minute address pleased us very much. This is the amount of time for each of the three of you and from past listening I know you will pack the maximum into that time.

I covet very much the chance to converse with you at your earliest convenience concerning our fall program on a national scale. I appreciate your responsibility to the Council on African Affairs but in cooperation with yourself and Dr. Hunton I hope that you will be able to make place in your schedule for certain significant and strategic gatherings which we are now reducing to actual dates.

We have plans for four National Congresses on American-Soviet Relations to be conducted at four principal centers in the country - San Francisco, Denver, Chicago and New York. These Congresses, from the standpoint of content, will have two foci: (1) Reconstruction and developments in the Soviet Union, its policies at home and abroad and (2), American-Soviet Relations, the cold war policies and how to restore cooperation to our mutual advantage [redacted] the safeguarding of peace and freedom throughout the world.

Your visit to the Soviet Union, in view of the fact that so few have been able to go recently, puts you in unique position. What people across the country want more than anything else perhaps is authentic testimony to the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union as reflected in the peaceful pursuits to which they are giving themselves and particularly in the sentiments expressed at the peace conference. Therefore, we need you desperately as a "principal witness" at one or two

or more of these Congresses.

This is not to speak of the series of rallies for peace which we have arranged throughout the country during November in past years (in November because of the dual anniversaries of the establishment of the Soviet Union and of its recognition by F.D.R. in 1933). We need to provide effective platform leadership for each of these meetings. Last year the Dean of Canterbury spoke in some 17 cities. I cannot say at this time that there is to be a foreign visitor and we may wish to build up a team of our very best American peace leaders for these occasions.

Therefore I will call you on the phone hoping you can grant me an early appointment to discuss this matter.

23-40-4

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
enc.

[NAT. C.]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

ACTING CHAIRMAN
and TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-40-12

September 28, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am glad to place in your hands the reservation card for the dinner on October 6 and your seat at the dais.

It will be pleasant to have the guests of honor and other speakers gather informally before the dinner. This reception will probably be held in a room adjacent to the ballroom. Our hostesses will know where to direct you.

I should say it would be in ample time for you to arrive at 6:30 o'clock. For although this is the scheduled hour of the dinner, it will probably be more nearly 7:00 o'clock before we actually sit down.

Atomic events announced in the past week have certainly pointed up the discussion of peace. All of our speakers will wish to deal with it but I guess we shall have to leave the major discussion of this line to Prof. Philip D. Morrison since he is under compulsion to keep his remarks well within his proper sphere as a scientist. Otherwise the University authorities would crack down on him for appearing on such a platform as ours.

We are very eager about your coming.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
enc.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

cordially invites you

to its

Annual Autumn Dinner

42-1A-1

Thursday Evening, October 6, 1949

at 6:30 o'clock

in the

Grand Ballroom

Hotel Manhattan Towers

Broadway and 76th Street

New York City

R. S. V. P.

COUVERT $5.00

The friends of peace in New York City show their solidarity with the peace forces of the world who, during recent gatherings in Paris, Havana, Moscow and Mexico City, have demonstrated their strength and their unfaltering determination to work and fight for a lasting and just WORLD PEACE.

Program

Guests of Honor:

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

DR. DuBOIS attended the All-Union Peace Conference in Moscow in late August and the Paris Peace Congress earlier this summer. He will speak of these peace meetings.

JENNINGS PERRY

JENNINGS PERRY, columnist of the New York Daily *Compass* and the *National Guardian,* will speak of the American Continental Congress for Peace which he recently attended in Mexico City.

PROFESSOR PHILIP D. MORRISON

PROFESSOR MORRISON of the Department of Physics of Cornell University, an atomic scientist, will speak on "Atomic Energy and Peace".

DR. MARY VAN KLEECK

DR. CORLISS LAMONT

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

cordially invites you

to its

Annual Autumn Dinner

Thursday Evening, October 6, 1949

at 6:30 o'clock

in the

Grand Ballroom
Hotel Manhattan Towers
Broadway and 76th Street
New York City

R. S. V. P.

COUVERT $5.00

42-1B-21

The friends of peace in New York City show their solidarity with the peace forces of the world who, during recent gatherings in Paris, Havana, Moscow and Mexico City, have demonstrated their strength and their unfaltering determination to work and fight for a lasting and just WORLD PEACE.

Program

Guests of Honor:

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

DR. DuBOIS attended the All-Union Peace Conference in Moscow in late August and the Paris Peace Congress earlier this summer. He will speak of these peace meetings.

JENNINGS PERRY

JENNINGS PERRY, columnist of the New York Daily *Compass* and the *National Guardian,* will speak of the American Continental Congress for Peace which he recently attended in Mexico City.

PROFESSOR PHILIP D. MORRISON

PROFESSOR MORRISON of the Department of Physics of Cornell University, an atomic scientist, will speak on "Atomic Energy and Peace".

DR. MARY VAN KLEECK

DR. CORLISS LAMONT

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY

[NNT C]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

ACTING CHAIRMAN
and TREASURER
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
Dr. Arthur Upham Pope

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

October 13, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

23-40-7

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is not sufficient to have spoken to you. I want to address a letter and put down most heartily our thanks for your part in the dinner program last Thursday evening. All our people respond to whatever you say affirmatively because of the respect for your leadership over the years in the cause of freedom and peace. The fact that you have recently been in Moscow and could tell them about it helped to prove that you knew whereof you spoke as you set forth your tentative conclusions.

On behalf of the National Council and its officers I offer this word of appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

[NATIONAL COUNCIL of AM.-SOV. FRIEND.]

10 Mitchell Place
New York 17, New York
October 20, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As I wrote you in August asking your advice regarding a proposed Research and Study Conference, projected by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, I wish now to report subsequent decisions.

23-40-23

Our letters, addressed primarily to research workers, were exploratory in purpose. Replies received and other information seemed to us to indicate that current research in process focussed toward constructive understanding was not sufficient for so comprehensive a conference as we had planned.

It was on my recommendation, therefore, that the Board of Directors decided not to include the conference as originally projected in this autumn's schedule of activities, but instead to seek opportunity in other ways to encourage research on American-Soviet relations, in order that substantial data may become currently available for the development of a better informed public opinion in the United States.

As first steps we expect to plan regional study conferences at which research workers will be invited to present their findings on specific phases of the problem. Later it is hoped a broader survey based on research may become possible.

We bespeak your cooperation in this long-time task.

Sincerely yours,
Mary van Kleeck
Mary van Kleeck
Chairman, Program Committee
Research and Study Conference

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

MvK:bc
uopwa 19-91

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

October 31, 1949

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

28-44-11

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Let me bring the story up to date on the proposed Congresses which were the subject of conversation between us. You were very generous to agree in principle with the idea of giving your leadership to these Congresses.

We have made a supreme effort to get the peace forces in the several cities lined up to conduct a Regional Congress on American-Soviet Relations. You recall our proposal called for Congresses in San Francisco, Denver, Chicago and New York.

It has been impossible for us to send our Field Director into San Francisco. There have been important persons on from California with whom the matter has been discussed in great detail and before whom the challenge was placed sharply. A member of our Board of Directors, Dr. Holland Roberts, whom you probably know, is President of the American Russian Institute in San Francisco. We have had to plug with him by correspondence as with several others. But they have not seen their way clear to scheduling a Regional Congress of the proportions we desire earlier than the beginning of 1950.

The same situation applies to Denver, Colorado, where we have been compelled to work with leadership by correspondence although we have maintained throughout the past years a well-organized and continuously active Denver Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Our Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship is an active agency and they have been willing from the outset to undertake a large-scale Regional Congress for the Middle West. But all circumstances considered they have decided upon January dates - January 14 and 15.

For the Eastern Seaboard we have issued preliminary announcement and have formal Call almost ready for mailing now. The dates are December 3, 4 and 5. The place, New York City.

Therefore the conclusion of the matter at this stage is that we covet very much your leadership in the New York City Conference on December 3, 4 and 5. And we wish you would be willing to put down the Middle West Congress in Chicago for January 14 and 15.

We are deeply grateful for your willingness to help and are sorry that we have held out hope of late November Congresses in other sections of the country so long. I hope that your plans have not been hurt by holding open tentatively your late November scheduling.

There are several cities who are bidding anxiously for you to come to address major meetings on American-Soviet Friendship. We have been holding each city off, with the exception of the Los Angeles bid, in deference to having the benefit of your leadership in the Congresses. The fight for peace may not be delayed and I want to be able to ask your favorable consideration of one or two important engagements after I have gained assurance that they will be built up and promoted into major events.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

23-44-12

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-44-13

October 31, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are pleased to announce a Dinner in recognition of the anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Dinner will honor the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., His Excellency Mr. Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, who comes as the principal Soviet guest of honor to this occasion, to be held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Thursday evening, November 10, 1949.

It is our pleasure to invite you also to be a guest of honor at this significant observance in company with other distinguished American persons.

There will be a place at the dais for you and a reception preceding the Dinner will give an opportunity for an exchange of greetings.

We shall be grateful if you will advise us that you can accept the invitation. We shall then place proper cards of admission in your hands and indicate the further details of the arrangement.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

November 2, 1949

Mr. Richard Morford
National Council of
American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

My dear Mr. Morford:

I have your two letters of October 31. I am putting down among my engagements one short speech in New York---December 3,4, or 5. And one for Chicago, January 14, or 15.

Also I should be glad to attend the dinner honoring Mr. Vyshinsky, on November 10.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-44-14

[NATIONAL COUNCIL of AM.-SOV. FR.]

November 3, 1949

23-40-24

Miss Mary Van Kleeck
10 Mitchell Place
New York 17, New York

My dear Miss van Kleeck:

Answering your letter of October 20, may I say that I will be very glad to cooperate with your Research Project in such ways as I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[NAT. C.]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-40-11

November 5, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am happy that you will be a guest of honor at the Dinner on the approaching Thursday evening, November 10.

Enclosed is a Dinner card which will carry you safely through to a place on the dais.

There will be an informal reception for guests of honor in the Pillement Suite on the fourth floor of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel preceding the Dinner, beginning at six fifteen o'clock. We hope you can come to the reception. A card of admission for this event is also enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
enc.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
VICE-CHAIRMEN
William Morris, Jr.
SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-41-39

November 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We encountered the gravest problems in connection with the Dinner to Mr. Vyshinsky which you attended last week and, at the same time and up to this moment, have been in extreme difficulty trying to establish a platform for the Madison Square Garden venture on December 5 which will attract thousands of people.

Nonetheless slowly we have been giving careful consideration to leadership for the Congress sessions on Saturday and Sunday, December 3 and 4.

It is impossible to encompass the world in one congress. However, against the background of American-Soviet relations which are ultimately decisive every section of the world has a stake in the issues of peace and war.

Therefore, we want to deal with colonialism in the Congress and you are the authority. It did not seem practicable to set up a panel exclusively on the problem of the colonial peoples. It arises naturally and acutely in Panel No. 5 on American-Soviet Relations and Developments in the Far East and we have considered the advisability of asking you to make a 15 minute presentation in this Panel - without confining yourself to Asia but being able to outline the problem as it relates to Africa and any other section.

What seems to be a wiser approach, however, is to make it a part of American-Soviet Relations and the United Nations. Since the United Nations is required to deal with the entire scope of the trusteeship scheme and with colonial problems, and since they have, in fact, been actively handling this matter during recent weeks, this would seem to us a good place to ask you to make the initial presentation. And here the delegates would have a chance for discussion. As a matter of fact you took a very broad proposal to the United Nations last year, did you not?

In the next Call which we propose to issue this week we will further break down and outline the subject matter which would go under each panel. Up to this time you will note there is no explanation of the content of panels 4, 5 or 6.

Panel No. 6 must deal with the basic approach which the United States makes to the United Nations compared with that of the Soviet Union. What are the respective attitudes toward the United Nations?

23-41-40

This Panel would have to deal with the thorny problem of the power of the Security Council, with the inevitable question of the veto, etc. I am confident this will be an attractive panel.

The scheme for all of the panels as they have been developing is to have about three opening presentations. They will have to be in sketchy form making summary analysis of the present situation and then offering broad recommendations concerning a proper course of action in the future related to the subject under consideration. Under this scheme there will be ample time, and this is highly important in our judgment, for questions from the floor and a full discussion by the delegates.

It is quite true that we would be pleased to have you share in Panels 2 or 3 on Saturday afternoon, making a contribution from the floor of your first-hand experience in the Soviet Union as it relates to any of the aspects which are there taken up. But our special request is that you make a major contribution in Panel 6 meeting on Sunday morning at 10:15 o'clock.

It seems best to offer this memorandum to you for consideration. I will be glad to have you make your own suggestions and we shall see if we can reach an agreement satisfactory to you so that we may have the benefit of your extraordinary authority in the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
enc.

Remove Blank
FAS CONTENT

[NAT. COUN.]

4

23-41-41

November 25, 1949

Mr. Richard Morford
Executive Director
National Council of
American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Morford:

I am late in answering your kind letter of November 21, partly because of pressure of work but also because I was not quite sure as to what you wanted me to do.

First you asked me to make a fifteen minute presentation on American-Soviet Relations and Developments in the Far East. This, I shall be glad to undertake. Then you mentioned a contribution to Panel 6 on The United States and Soviet Union in the United Nations and also say that you will be pleased to have me share in Panels 2 or 3.

This is much too much for me to undertake. I shall be glad to make one fifteen minute presentation and would prefer to talk on American-Soviet Relations and Developments in the Far East and Africa.

I would not like to promise participation in any of the other Panels.

I trust this will be satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[NAT C]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMAN
William Morris, Jr.

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

23-40-5

November 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry that in the development of our schemes, step by step, I have made the matter confusing.

What we desire is, I think, completely in line with what you would wish to do, namely, to put forward against the background of American-Soviet relations the world-wide problem of colonialism. What is the attitude of each of these two great powers toward the dependent peoples of the world, what should be their attitude, how can they through proper cooperation help to bring freedom to men and women everywhere.

We decided here that this world-wide matter should not be narrowed down so it was confined to the Far East as it would naturally be if put into Panel 5.

Therefore, my last proposal to you was that your fifteen minute presentation on colonialism should be made in Panel 6 which bears the title "The United States and the Soviet Union in the United Nations". The reason you will understand. The UN does have responsibility for the whole scheme of trusteeship for dependent nations and peoples. And has been dealing most actively with the matter during this session of the General Assembly, however unsatisfactorily they may have been dealing. You yourself prepared an outstanding proposal in this connection and laid it before the UN at a previous session, did you not? To give proper scope to your presentation it seems best to include it in Panel 6 and I call your attention to the enclosed breakdown of the panels under this final plan.

You would want to know that Mr. Johannes Steel will make a presentation also in this panel, of the story of the United Nations operations, excluding Trusteeship and Colonialism, and Atomic Control Plans. The former you will deal with and the latter Dr. Harry Grundfest is to deal with. This maintains the schedule of three initial presentations of 15 minutes each.

You need not undertake any other special participation although we would be happy to have you join in the discussion in any other panel you chose. This panel 6 meets at 10:15 o'clock on Sunday morning at Manhattan Center.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford, Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
enc.

264

Congress on American-Soviet Relations

FOR THE EASTERN STATES

NEW YORK CITY

DECEMBER 3-4-5, 1949

Sponsored by

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

114 EAST 32nd STREET NEW YORK CITY 16

Call to a Congress

WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE

"War . . . is the most terrible expression of man's inhumanity to man . . . the possibility of its recurrence is the greatest single threat against all that man holds dear.

"The study . . . stems from our belief that war between the United States and the Soviet Union is not inevitable.

"It is our hope that this report will recall us from our fears to a renewed conviction that all men . . . can come into possession of a new wisdom and a new tolerance and that the unconquerable reaches of man's spirit can triumph even yet over those things which now divide us."

From a Report
American Friends Service Committee
July, 1949

OUR NATION AND THE WORLD STAND AT THE CROSSROADS. Now, if ever, we must choose the way of an honorable and a just peace. It is unthinkable that we would choose atomic destruction.

Understanding and cooperation between the two great countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the foundation of enduring world peace and the chief safeguard against atomic catastrophe.

It is of prime importance, therefore, that our nation shall seek at once an honorable and a just peace with the Soviet Union. Agreement is possible. Our nation has applied the cold-war policy so long in its dealings with the Soviet Union that no assessment has been made of the constructive possibilities in the peaceful negotiation of our differences. Now is the time to make that assessment. The Soviet Union may be expected to meet us half way. Friendly negotiations would open the door to mutually advantageous cooperation. Trade between our two nations would be profitable and would promote the welfare of both peoples. The future of the United Nations organization and the entire family of nations depends on the cooperative relationship of the two countries.

Program

Saturday—December 3, 1949		*Sunday—December 4, 1949*
MORNING		MORNING
9:45 A.M.–11:00 A.M.	Registration	
11:00 A.M.– 1:00 P.M.	Key-note Session	10:15 A.M.– 1:00 P.M.
AFTERNOON		AFTERNOON
2:00 P.M.– 4:15 P.M.	Panel Session	2:00 P.M.– 4:15 P.M.
4:30 P.M.– 6:45 P.M.	Panel Session	4:30 P.M.– 7:00 P.M.

To promote effective cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union for a peaceful world

The American people are devoted to peace. Their glorious and proven initiative can turn back the forces of war. Their power can change the course of our nation from war to peace.

This is a call to people of initiative who recognize their responsibilities as peace-builders. This is a call to *you* to attend a Congress on American-Soviet Relations.

This Congress will assemble leadership possessed of authoritative information and capable of sound analysis of the issues. This Congress will be the place where the serious questions that trouble you and your neighbors can be met with substantial answers.

This Congress will be yours. Yours to formulate a program of education and action; yours to determine what our Government and Congress should be asked to do. Yours to plan how to organize the awakening American people in a great campaign for a new policy of peace and security.

We call upon you to join with us in the work of promoting effective cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union for peace and progress throughout the world.

IT COULD MEAN PEACE

". . . now both sides have the atomic bomb. . . . Doesn't the situation call for a new approach in the world.

"The events dramatize vividly the need for a sensible appraisal of the differences that divide the great nations of the world.

"The time has come to examine carefully just what are the sources of friction and to begin at once to search for ways to eliminate that friction.

"What is mostly needed, strangely enough, is education—knowledge that is based on facts and not propaganda derived from emotional prejudices or hysteria.

"America's moral force can bring harmony and trust where there is now distrust. What a salutary thing the atomic bomb can become if it explodes our obsolete theories about international intercourse and brings a new era of faith and good will in the world of tomorrow."

Excerpts from an
Editorial by David Lawrence
U. S. News & World Report
September 30, 1949

Monday—December 5, 1949

MORNING

Panel Session

10:00 A.M.– 1:00 P.M. Community Leaders Session

7:30 P.M.–11:00 P.M. Peace Rally in Madison Square Garden

Group Session

Closing Plenary Session

OUTLINE OF PANELS

SATURDAY AFTERNOON—PANEL SESSIONS

Panel 1. American Post-War Political and Economic Policy; A Reorientation toward American-Soviet Cooperation.

Examination of Cold War Policy—Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, North Atlantic Pact, Rearmament and Military Aid. Peaceful Alternatives — Negotiation of Differences, Trade, etc.

All delegates will be able to attend this panel in either the first or second period.

Panel 2. Political Structure and Development in the Soviet Union.

State Structure; Constitution; the Soviets and the Masses; A Family of Nations; People's Initiative and Control.

Panel 3. The Social System of the Soviet Union.

Socialism in Operation; Planned Economy; Industry, Agriculture, Trade Unions; Social Security; Equal Status Men and Women; Education, Science and Culture.

Delegates will make a choice between Panel 2 and Panel 3.

SUNDAY MORNING—PANEL SESSION

Panel 4. American-Soviet Relations and the Peace Settlements in Europe.

Panel 5. American-Soviet Relations and Developments in the Far East.

Panel 6. The United States and the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

These three panels will be conducted simultaneously. Delegates will choose one panel to attend.

GROUP SESSIONS

To provide opportunity for delegates to gather according to occupation or interest.

To examine problems of American-Soviet relations from the group's viewpoint.

To make recommendations and plan an action program especially adapted to the group.

1. Trade Union
2. Church and Synagogue
3. Women
4. Nationality and Fraternal
5. Veterans—Young Adults—Students
6. Arts, Sciences and Professions

CONGRESS HEADQUARTERS: Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

REGISTRATION: Organizations are invited to send delegates or observers and the fee is $3.00. Individuals are invited to enroll at a fee of $2.00. Advance registrations are urged.

DETAILED CONFERENCE PROGRAM WITH NAMES OF LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER.

REGISTRATION

TO: DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
114 EAST 32ND ST.
NEW YORK CITY 16

I shall be pleased to come to the Congress on American-Soviet Relations to be held in New York City, December 3, 4 and 5.

I shall be a delegate representing _____

I shall be an observer for _____

I shall attend as an individual. Check here_____.
Fee — $3.00 — delegate or observer; $2.00 — individual.

Please reserve_____seats Madison Square Garden Rally (Prices 2.40; 2.00; 1.80; 1.50; 1.20).

Enclosed is check to cover fee and any tickets ordered.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *Zone*_____ *State*_____

*Organization*_____

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

23-41-42

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
VICE-CHAIRMAN
William Morris, Jr.
SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

December 9, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
25 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very grateful for the presentation you made in the Panel of the Congress on Sunday morning. Professor Marsalka reported to me that all three of the persons who took part in this Panel had made very thoughtful and significant contributions. I found out by talking with several of the delegates that they were very much impressed by what they heard.

As you know, the initial presentations were all taken down. We would very much appreciate your helping one step further by editing your own address when I can place it in your hands. We would like to "package" all of the addresses for uniformly they were of superior quality and will prove very valuable to our key leadership in the several cities throughout the country, the members of our Board of Directors and other selected persons.

On behalf of Dr. Kingsbury and our Board I offer hearty thanks for one further contribution you have so generously made on behalf of our effort for American-Soviet understanding and world peace.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

[NATIONAL (1)]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

CHAIRMAN
Dr. John A. Kingsbury

VICE-CHAIRMAN
William Morris, Jr.

SECRETARY
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Richard Morford

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Zlatko Balokovic
Theodore Bayer
John O. Crane
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Muriel Draper
B. Z. Goldberg
Shirley Graham
Dr. Harry Grundfest
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Philip J. Jaffe
Leo Krzycki
Corliss Lamont
Samuel B. Leavin
Howard McKenzie
George Marshall
Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
John Middleton
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Henry Noyes
Dr. Emily Pierson
R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Edwin S. Smith
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Mary Van Kleeck
Craig Vincent
Max Weber

December 15, 1949

23-40-2

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

When the material came from the stenotypist I found his record said that you had read from a prepared manuscript at the Congress panel and, therefore, of course, he had not taken it down.

For the purposes which I outlined in a previous letter, it would be very helpful if you would let us have the text of your address on this occasion to include with the others which we want to share with our leadership across the country.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION

December 31, 1949

230-10

ASSETS

Cash in Bank and on Hand	$ 176.01	
Accounts Receivable	3,520.34	
Pledges (Individuals and Neighborhood Committees)		
Literature Sales		
Tickets and Admissions		
Miscellaneous Accounts Receivable		
Inventory of Literature (at cost)	750.00	
Security Deposits	425.00	
Exchanges, etc.	102.41	
TOTAL ASSETS		$ 4,973.76

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable	17,350.20	
Materials, Services and Salaries		
Loans Payable	9,445.00	
TOTAL LIABILITIES		26,795.20

DEFICIT as of December 31, 1949 $ 21,821.44

This Statement of Financial Condition
is a reproduction of the report
submitted by the accountant
Bernard Ades, C.P.A., 505 Fifth Ave.
New York City

* * * * *

uopwa 19-91

INCOME AND EXPENSES

1949

INCOME

Contributions			
Direct Contributions (exclusive of events)			
Individuals		12,249.05	
Neighborhood Committees		4,158.71	
Collections at Events			
Individuals and Neighborhood Committees		44,551.82	
Summer Camps		2,372.75	
Annual Mail Appeal		849.25	
Peace Campaigns-- Roll Call	314.57		
Atlantic Pact	275.25	589.80	
Defense Fund		3,080.00	67,831.38
Memberships			491.01
Departmental Income			
Committee of Women		1,619.18	
Exhibits & Educational Services		552.93	
Publications and Pamphlets		1,448.90	3,621.01
Surplus Adjustments and Miscellaneous			1,156.52
TOTAL INCOME 1949			$ 73,099.92

EXPENSES (Salaries and Operating Expenses combined in each item)

Office Expenses (Rent, Tel. & Tel. Stationery, etc.)			10,667.24
Bookkeeping and General Clerical			5,059.92
Executive and Administration			11,785.02
Departmental Expenses			
Activities (Fund Raising and Educational Events)		3,006.04	
Exhibits & Educational Services		3,460.97	
Committee of Women		4,183.58	
Publicity, Public Relations and Campaigns (Roll Call, Atlantic Pact ect.)		4,511.19	
Publications (Periodic, Pamphlets, etc.)		7,668.88	
New York Division		6,285.32	
National Field		10,484.34	39,600.32
Congress on American-Soviet Relations, Dec.3-5			3,747.49
Symposium-Steinway Hall - Dec. 20			39.05
Expenses - Other Special Events			12,186.10
Defense			2,754.92
Miscellaneous			1,476.46
TOTAL EXPENSES 1949			$ 87,316.52
DEFICIT 1949			14,216.60

RECAPITULATION OF EXPENSES

Operating Expenses	43,572.25	
Salaries	43,744.27	87,316.52

RECAPITULATION OF DEFICITS

Deficit as of Dec. 31, '48	7,604.84	
Operating Deficit 1949	14,216.60	
Total Deficit as of Dec. 31, 1949		$ 21,821.44

* * *

uopwa 19-91

23C-40

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMEN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
DIMITRI MITROPOULOS
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODOR ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

January 4, 1949

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It is indeed a pleasure to welcome you as a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

Judging by the enthusiastic response we have received to the Call for the Conference from leaders in the various arts, sciences and professions, we are confident that the Conference can make a real contribution to peace throughout the world, especially as it affects work in our various fields.

Too often conference sponsors have simply appeared as names on a list. But this is your Conference. We know you have given a great deal of thought to the issues raised in the Call - we know you can help to shape exciting and fertile panel discussions. Now, at the very beginning, your contribution is most urgently needed.

On Wednesday evening, January 12, at 8:00 P.M. in Room 785 of the League for Fair Play, 11 West 42 Street, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions is calling together all the sponsors to discuss the programming of the Conference panels, the lists of internationally known artists and scientists whom we shall invite to attend and the formation of a Conference Steering Committee.

Will you please fill out the enclosed card informing us if you can attend this meeting?

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Wood

Maxine Wood
Director
Cultural & Scientific Conference
for World Peace

MW:ap
encs.

[Nat'l Council of the A.S.P.]

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMEN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
DIMITRI MITROPOULOS
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODOR ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

January 14, 1949

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Unfortunately, we of the Executive Board of the Literature Division of A.S.P. have been guilty of gross neglect of duty toward the membership. Whether we lay the blame to postelection letdown or holiday-itis is hardly important. The fact is, our organization is the only progressive one in the entire writing and publishing field...but an organization that is static cannot grow, let alone durvive.

We urge your attendance at an Executive Board meeting on Thursday, January 20, at 8:30 p.m., in the home of Selma Belenky, 339 East 58 Street, Apt. 6A. Under discussion will be the Peace Conference, the book auction and a proposal to form a committee of writers for peace. Please make every effort to come.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Fast

Literature Division

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. . . . MU 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMEN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
DIMITRI MITROPOULOS
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODOR ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL
MAURICE B. VISSCHER

January 26, 1949

To: All members of the Executive Committee

From: Hannah Dorner

This is to remind you that the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee will be held

Wednesday, February 2, 1949
Iroquois Hotel, 49 W. 44 Street
Suite 72 - 8 P.M.

The agenda will consist of:

1. Progress report on Peace Conference
2. Activities of Academic Freedom Bureau - Seattle, Washington case
3. Fine Arts Bill - Resolution introduced in Congress January 24th

The above matters are of extreme importance and your presence at this meeting is urgently requested. Please let us know if you plan to attend.

[NAT. CNCL. A.S.P.]

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace

MARCH 25, 26 AND 27 · HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Conference Headquarters
49 West 44 Street, New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

Chairman
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY

Sponsors
BERENICE ABBOTT
LOUIS ADAMIC
FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
REV. STACY ADAMS
DR. THOMAS ADDIS
STELLA ADLER
RALPH ALSWANG
EDITH ATWATER
REV. WADE C. BARCLAY
DR. BERNARD BAUM
HOWARD BAY
THOMAS BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK
DR. SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
HENRY BLANKFORT
MICHAEL BLANKFORT
MARC BLITZSTEIN
KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN
DR. ERNST P. BOAS
B. A. BOTKIN
DR. W. RUSSELL BOWIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
MARLON BRANDO
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
REV. THOBURN T. BRUMBAUGH
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
RICHARD BURGIN
DAVID BURLIUK
DR. ALLAN M. BUTLER
ANGUS CAMERON
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
RABBI D. A. JESSURUN CARDOZO
PROF. A. J. CARLSON
MORRIS CARNOVSKY
SAUL CARSON
NORMAN CAZDEN
REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLIN
REV. KARL M. CHEVOROWSKY
SERGE CHERMAYEFF
EDWARD CHODOROV
JEROME CHODOROV
HENRY S. CHURCHILL
DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
W. G. CLUGSTON
ROBERT M. COATES
DR. STANLEY COBB
LESTER COLE
AARON COPLAND
NORMAN CORWIN
HOWARD DA SILVA
JULES DASSIN
DR. LEO M. DAVIDOFF
JO DAVIDSON
HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS
DR. HERBERT JOHN DAVIS
PROF. JOHN J. DE BOER
ADOLF DEHN
DR. ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
ALBERT DEUTSCH
MARTHA DODD
PROF. DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS
PROF. HARL R. DOUGLASS
OLIN DOWNES
MURIEL DRAPER
PAUL DRAPER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
BARROWS DUNHAM
ARNAUD D'USSEAU

(over)

23-40-45

(12)

February 5, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The recent development in American-Soviet relations places a new emphasis on the need for a meeting such as our Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. Certainly intellectuals today are faced with no greater challenge than to give the best of their talent, skills and special knowledge to the problem of how we achieve a real peace.

We are most eager to make this Conference a real contribution to the solutions of the problems that now block the way to peace. For that reason we are asking you and a small group of key individuals among our sponsors to meet with us to help in the preparation of the subject matter and program as well as speakers for this Conference.

This meeting is being held Saturday afternoon, February 12 at 2:00 P.M. at the Council for Democracy, Room 785, 11 West 42 Street. Your participation in this meeting will help assure the success of our Conference in its enormous undertaking. I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely yours,

O John Rogge

O. John Rogge
Chairman
Executive Committee

OJR:ap

SPONSORS

Prof. Irwin Edman
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson
Guy Endore
Philip Evergood
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Howard Fast
Jose Ferrer
Lion Feuchtwanger
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Rev. Joseph Fletcher
Lukas Foss
Sidney Fox
Joseph Gaer
Leatrice Joy Gilbert
Vincent Glinsky
Vladimir Golschmann
Henrietta L. Gordon
Jay Gorney
Morton Gould
James Gow
Charles Graham
Shirley Graham
William Gropper
Chaim Gross
Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr.
Robert Gwathmey
Uta Hagen
Talbot Hamlin
Dashiell Hammett
E. Y. Harburg
Prof. Georgia Harkness
Pearl M. Hart
Dr. Marion Hathway
Rev. Edler G. Hawkins
Prof. Michael Heidelberger
Lillian Hellman
Herman Herrey
Stefan Heym
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Dr. Cecil E. Hinshaw
Carmelita Hinton
Ira A. Hirschmann
Rose Hobart
Rev. Chester Hodgson
Syd Hoff
Judy Holliday
Libby Holman
Charles P. Howard
Langston Hughes
Mary Hunter
W. A. Hunton
Charles Irving
Crockett Johnson
Matthew Josephson
Albert E. Kahn
Dr. George Kalnitsky
Garson Kanin
Robert W. Kenny
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Philip Klein
Howard Koch
Prof. Isaac M. Kolthoff
Alfred Kreymborg
Leon Kroll
Harry C. Lamberton
Corliss Lamont
Millard Lampell
John Lardner
Ring Lardner, Jr.
Prof. Oliver Larkin
Rev. John Howland Lathrop
Sidney Laufman
Arthur Laurents
John Howard Lawson
Dr. Warner Lawson
James Lechay
Canada Lee
Emil Lengyel
Kenneth Leslie
Ray Lev
Joseph H. Levy
Rt. Rev. S. Harrington Littell
Alan Lomax
Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
Prof. Oliver S. Loud
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett
Harry L. Lurie
Prof. Robert S. Lynd
John C. McGalliard
Prof. Wayne McMillen
Prof. Curtiss D. MacDougall
Luther K. MacNair
Norman Mailer
Albert Maltz
Thomas Mann
Prof. Grace F. Marcus
John Martin
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
Wesley H. Maurer
Dr. Leo Mayer
Prof. Otto Meyerhof
Arthur Miller
Dr. Benjamin F. Miller
Dr. Clyde R. Miller
Dr. Philip Morrison
Jacob Moscowitz
Rev. J. Edward Moseley
Willard Motley
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Dr. Otto Nathan
Rabbi Louis I. Newman
Michael M. Nisselson
Clifford Odets
Elizabeth Olds
John O'Shaughnessy
Prof. Thornton L. Page
Aubrey Pankey
Prof. Erwin Panofsky
Dr. Edwards A. Park
Father Clarence Parker
Dr. Linus Pauling
Jennings Perry
Dr. John P. Peters
Oscar Pettiford
Prof. Melber Phillips
Prof. Seymour M. Pitcher
Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch
Anton Refregier
Bertha Reynolds
Wallingford Riegger
Prof. Walter O. Roberts
Paul Robeson
O. John Rogge
Harold Rome
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Jonas Rosenfield, Jr.
Norman Rosten
Muriel Rukeyser
Rose Russell
Robert St. John
Alexander Saxton
Dr. Bela Schick
Artur Schnabel
Budd Schulberg
Rev. John R. Scotford
Edwin Seaver
Ben Shahn
Dr. Harlow Shapley
Artie Shaw
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler
Herman Shumlin
Edith W. Simester
Mitchell Siporin
John Sloan
Dr. Maud Slye
Agnes Smedley
Raphael Soyer
Rev. Frederick K. Stamm
Alfred K. Stern
Donald Ogden Stewart
Paul Strand
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Howard Edwin Sweeting
William M. Sweets
Arthur Szyk
George Tabori
Helen Tamiris
Prof. Leland H. Taylor
Prof. Randall Thompson
Dalton Trumbo
Rexford G. Tugwell
Louis Untermeyer
Olive Van Horn
Mary Van Kleeck
Hilda Vaughn
Prof. Oswald Veblen
Prof. Eda Lou Walton
Sam Wanamaker
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Theodore Ward
Prof. Colston E. Warne
Dr. Alfred H. Washburn
Fredi Washington
Max Weber
Charles Weidman
Sid Weiss
Edward Weston
Jay Williams
Henry Willcox
Ella Winter
James Waterman Wise
Hon. James H. Wolfe
Ira Wolfert
Maxine Wood
William Wyler
Dr. Edward L. Young

(list incomplete)

[NAT. COUN. A.S.P.]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

23-40-46

Mr. O. John Rogge
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Mr. Rogge:

I regret to say that on February 12, I am speaking in Washington at a Congress of the Progressive Party. I sympathize very much with your plans for a Peace Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAT. CNCL. A.S.P.]

MINUTES
OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES, PROFESSIONS

Wednesday, March 2, 1949
8:00 P.M.

Present were: W.E.B. DuBois, Hannah Dorner, Daniel S. Gillmor, Shirley Graham, Joseph Joseph, Dr. Harold E.Lippman, Michael M. Nisselson, Martin Popper, O. John Rogge, Jonas Rosenfield, Jr., Paul Strand and Max Weber. Guests were: Jack Kamaiko, NCASP Administrator; Adele Margolis, Executive Secretary of Philadelphia Council NCASP; Fred Fender, National Board member from Philadelphia, and Maxine Wood, of NCASP staff.

Hannah Dorner, Executive Director, introduced Mr. O. John Rogge, who was unanimously elected (by ballot vote) as chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. Rogge then took the chair and presided over the meeting.

I. REPORT ON CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Maxine Wood gave a detailed report on the program of the Conference, giving the titles of the individual panels and the participants of each panel. (See enclosed Conference Program).

II. REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL GUESTS TO ATTEND CONFERENCE

Hannah Dorner gave a detailed report of the international guests who have, to date, accepted invitations to participate in the Conference. (See enclosed Conference Program). The floor was then open for discussion. Mr. Rogge told the Committee that the statute governing visitors to the United States is as follows: "One who in the opinion of the Attorney General would be bad for the peace and security of the United States may not secure visas to visit this country".

Miss Dorner reported that two letters had been sent by Harlow Shapley, Chairman of NCASP, to Mr. Acheson, Secretary of the State Department. One was dated February 5, 1949 informing the State Department that NCASP was inviting people from foreign countries to participate in the Conference and a second letter dated February 19, 1949, informing the State Department of the acceptances as of that date. She further reported that Dr. Shapley had received a reply on March 1 from George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State, acknowledging the letter of February 5. In light of publicity which has appeared in the press, and since no reply was received to Dr. Shapley's letter of February 19 in which he stated that he hoped the State Department would facilitate the entry of foreign guests into the country, Miss Dorner reported that Dr. Shapley suggested that two members of the Executive Committee visit Mr. Allen to find out what the policy of the State Department will be on this matter.

Mr. Gillmor made a MOTION that Dr. Shapley and Mr. Rogge be elected as representatives from the Executive Committee to visit Mr. Allen to determine what the State Department policy will be. This motion was seconded by Mr. Strand and passed unanimously.

Miss Dorner reported on the attacks against the Peace Conference to date: Walter Winchell broadcast of February 27; George Fielding Eliot column in the New York Post of February 24; article in Counterattack of February 28 appealing to all businessmen to send protests to the Waldorf Astoria asking the hotel to break its contract with NCASP for the meeting place of the Conference. The hotel reported that they had no intentions of breaking any contracts with NCASP, particularly since we had met their requirements of placing a $5,000 deposit for the reservation. Mr. Nisselson, Treasurer, reported that he had been able to borrow this money in order to place the deposit. Miss Dorner further reported that not one member of the National Board of Directors, the Peace Conference Sponsors, or rank-and-file member of NCASP has resigned from the organization as a result of these attacks(as of March 2, 1949).

Miss Dorner reported that a cablegram of greetings to Mr. Shostakovich is being initiated by Olin Downes which will be signed by Mr. Toscannini, Mr. Kousevitsky and Mr. Stokowski and other distinguished American musicians. That a similar cable of greetings will be sent to other international guests in the fields of sciences, art, etc.. The purpose of these cablegrams is to create an atmosphere of reception to our guests and serve as a public relations media for stemming adverse publicity.

Many other suggestions on public relations were offered from the floor. Mr. Nisselson suggested that articles be sent to educational, scientific, musical, etc., newspapers and periodicals on the artists and scientists coming from abroad. Mr. Popper recommended that in the event of trouble on visas, etc., an emergency meeting be held of the Executive Committee to receive a report of Dr. Shapley's and Mr. Rogge's visit to the State Department in order to fully discuss the steps that must be taken. There were many other suggestions for promoting the Conference and Miss Dorner said that they had all been considered by ASP staff and were now in the process of being worked on.

Mr. Nisselson suggested that a memorandum go to all State ASP Councils on the organization of leading figures in local areas starting a letter-writing campaign to their papers on the significance of this Conference both to them locally and to everyone in the country nationally.

III. REPORT ON TOUR FOLLOWING CONFERENCE

Miss Dorner reported that there would be a tour of eleven key cities in the United States beginning on March 29th and ending the last week in April. These meetings will be held in cities where ASP has the strongest Councils and will consist of a small meeting or reception in advance of a large mass meeting. The tour will consist of several international guests plus American speakers who will report on the Peace Conference. If the international guests can stay in a city for more than one day the local ASP Council will then arrange collatoral receptions for the individual artist or scientist in which leaders in these fields, locally, would participate. Miss Dorner said that the local State ASP Councils would receive full details from the National Field Director, Irving Gilman, so that they would be fully equipped to organize their events locally; that the national office would give whatever help they could to gurantee a successful tour and successful meetings in all cities.

IV. FINANCES FOR CONFERENCE

Mr. Nisselson, National ASP Treasurer, made a financial report on the budget for the Conference which had been set at $50,000 to cover all expenses of the Peace Conference and the tours, travel expenses, promotion and printing, hotel expenses, and a possible Madison Square Garden meeting. He felt, however, that $75,000 would probably be nearer to the expenses in consideration of the large number of international guests participating in the Conference. He explained that the National ASP would receive 50% of the net of all monies raised through the meetings in local areas and the local ASP Councils would receive the same amount.

V. QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NCASP

Miss Dornor suggested that the next quarterly meeting of the National Board be held on Saturday evening, March 26th or Sunday morning, March 27th, during the Conference since so many out-of-town members will be in New York attending the Conference. Mr. DuBois made a MOTION to that effect which was seconded by Mr. Pepper and wassed unanimously. Anotice of this meeting will be sent to all Board members immediately.

VI. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Miss Dorner reported that the Washington, D.C. office of NCASP has been opened at 127 B Street, S.E., and our Washington director is Miss Sarah D'Avila, who for many years directed the legislative work of the National Poll Tax Committee. Miss Dornor reported that Miss D'Avila had arranged for an ASP representative to testify on the Social Security legislation before the House Committee. Also, that Senator Pepper was considering introducing the ASP Federal Fine Arts Bill. Arrangements are also being made to have ASP representatives testify on National Health Insurance, the Housing hearings in the House, etc. Miss D'Avila will get out a separate communication direct to the State Councils so that they can communicate with her on specific legislation. Irving Gilman will also communicate with State ASP Councils on the methods of operation in relation to our Washington office.

On foreign policy legislation, Miss Dorner made the suggestion that a telegram from the Executive Committee be sent to Tom Connally, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House Ways and Means Committee, asking for open hearings on the North Atlantic Pact. This was put into a MOTION by Mr. Strand and seconded by Miss Graham. It was passed unanimously.

Miss Dorner further reported that she had received a personal invitation from the Washington Conference on Foreign Policy at which point Mr. Gillmor, Mr. Nisselson and Mr. DuBois announced that they too had received invitations to this Conference. They all will attend the Conference (Mr. Gillmor, Mr. Nisselson and Mr. DuBois) as individuals and observers for ASP and report back to the Executive Committee.

VII. PUBLICATION: "REPORT ON PEACE CONFERENCE"

Mr. Gillmor, who has submitted tentative plans for this publication, to Miss Dorner and Mr. Kamaiko, asked for guidance from the Executive Committee on these two points: (1) what is the financial limit in producing this publication and (2) how many copies are to be printed. Mr. Popper made a MOTION that proceedings of the Conference be printed in minimum quantity; that it be left to the judgment of Mr. Gillmor, Mr. Nissolson, Miss Dorner and Mr. Kamaiko to decide on the amount of money to be spent for this publication. Mr. Rosenfield seconded the motion which was passed unanimously.

VIII. ART AUCTION AT PEACE CONFERENCE

Mr. Strand reported on the plans for an art auction which will be held at the Waldorf Astoria during the time of the Conference. 25% of the net proceeds will go to the Art Division of NCASP, 75% to the National and State office of NCASP. Mr. Weber offered to sign an appeal letter to artists asking for donations of their work for this auction.

IX. BANK ACCOUNTS

Mr. Kamaiko asked that the Executive Committee authorize the Treasurer, Mr. Nissolson, to open a bank account in the name of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, and a dinner account to handle income of expenditures in connection with the dinner. Mr. Popper made a MOTION that these accounts be authorized and it was seconded by Mr. Gillmor and passed unanimously.

X. NOMINATIONS TO NATIONAL BOARD AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Miss Dorner proposed the following people for membership on the National Board and Executive Committee:

Anton Refrigier, artist
Jack Kamaiko, NCASP Administrator
John Martin, Dance critic on the New York Times
Alice Barrows, Educator

Mr. Rosenfield made a MOTION that they all be nominated as additions to both bodies. This was seconded by Mr. DuBois and passed unanimously.

The meeting was then adjourned at 11:30 p.m.

3/16- Dan B [ENC.

COPY

Shapley to DuBois?]

4 March 1949

[National Council for the A.S.P.]

Dear Dr. Harlow Shapley,

Thank you so much for inviting me to attend a Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, called by 300 American Artists, Scientists, Professionals and Clergymen.

I very much gret to be unable to come and work for peace with such a fine group of people. I endorse whole-heartedly all that is embodied in both the QUESTION and the CALL, issued. The following is my message to the conference, on behalf of the Bataka and the people of Uganda:

23-5-32

"This Cultural and Scientific Conference stands for the preservation and promotion of values to be used in progressive construction rather than destruction. International culture is our common heritage which it is our duty to pass on to our posterity in peace. To receive, retain, or reject ideas, is a right and power of the mind beyond Government control. Therefore, they labour in vain who strive to stem the rising tide of certain mental processes. Men and women of science and culture, arise now and control the power that you yourselves put in the hands of your Governments, lest your life-time work perish with you. If you do mean business, peace is the business that matters in the world today. All people of good will can prevent war and maintain peace. While cliques of minorities are hypocritically hiding war beneath the cloak of defence, come out of the recesses of private enterprise, and defend mankind against the so-called defence!"

Yours sincerely

SEMAKULA MULUMBA

Representative of the Bataka
The Elders of the people in Uganda

1 Hampstead Hill Gardens
London, NW3, England

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1940 MAR 14 PM 12 36

1144 BROADWAY NY
MU-3-5295

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(32)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA053 DL PD= NEWYORK NY 14 1213P=

DR W E DUBOIS=

COUNCIL ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS= 23 WEST 26 ST=

CRITICAL SITUATION RE CONFERENCE ARISEN URGENT YOU ATTEND EMERGENCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING TONIGHT 8 PM AT 49 W 44 STREET=

HANNAH DORNER NATIONAL COUNCIL ARTS SCIENCES PROFESSIONS=

8 PM 49 W 44=

23-5-34

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Marilyn Jaggar - Wash -
Willard Hotel
Officer - Civil Courtesy

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Miss Hannah Dorner
National Council of Arts, Sciences
and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York, New York

23-10-10

Dear Miss Dorner:

Dr. Armattoe writes me this morning that he and his wife will arrive at the International Airport in New York, KLM , Tuesday, March 22, at 2:30 p.m.

I presume he has given you the same information.

The Council on African Affairs would be very glad to have him meet a few American Negroes and others at 23 West 26th Street, if this is in accord with your plans.

Could we arrange it for the afternoon of March 25?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[NATIONAL COUNCIL" A.S.P.]

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace

MARCH 25, 26 AND 27 · HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Conference Headquarters
49 West 44 Street, New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

Chairman
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY

Sponsors
BERENICE ABBOTT
LOUIS ADAMIC
FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
REV. STACY ADAMS
DR. THOMAS ADDIS
STELLA ADLER
RALPH ALSWANG
EDITH ATWATER
REV. WADE C. BARCLAY
DR. BERNARD BAUM
HOWARD BAY
THOMAS BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK
DR. SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
HENRY BLANKFORT
MICHAEL BLANKFORT
MARC BLITZSTEIN
KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN
DR. ERNST P. BOAS
B. A. BOTKIN
DR. W. RUSSELL BOWIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
MARLON BRANDO
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
REV. THOBURN T. BRUMBAUGH
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
RICHARD BURGIN
DAVID BURLIUK
DR. ALLAN M. BUTLER
ANGUS CAMERON
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
RABBI D. A. JESSURUN CARDOZO
PROF. A. J. CARLSON
MORRIS CARNOVSKY
SAUL CARSON
NORMAN CAZDEN
REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLIN
REV. KARL M. CHEVOROWSKY
SERGE CHERMAYEFF
EDWARD CHODOROV
JEROME CHODOROV
HENRY S. CHURCHILL
DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
W. G. CLUGSTON
ROBERT M. COATES
DR. STANLEY COBB
LESTER COLE
AARON COPLAND
NORMAN CORWIN
HOWARD DA SILVA
JULES DASSIN
DR. LEO M. DAVIDOFF
JO DAVIDSON
HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS
DR. HERBERT JOHN DAVIS
PROF. JOHN J. DE BOER
ADOLF DEHN
DR. ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
ALBERT DEUTSCH
MARTHA DODD
PROF. DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS
PROF. HARL R. DOUGLASS
OLIN DOWNES
MURIEL DRAPER
PAUL DRAPER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
BARROWS DUNHAM
ARNAUD D'USSEAU

(over)

March 18, 1949

Dear Co-Sponsor:

There are still some things for you to do to make our Peace Conference a success and constructive. The first is to stand fast against the determined attempt on the part of certain anti-peace groups to alarm our Sponsors and disrupt our meetings. We are receiving tremendously encouraging support from all quarters. The character of the attacks against the Conference is a measure of the importance of what we are going to do.

The second opportunity for you to help is the following: If possible, please attend an informal meeting of the Sponsors with our distinguished foreign guests at 2:00 p.m., Friday afternoon, March 25th, in the Perroquet Suite, fourth floor, at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Please let us know if you can come to this preliminary informal reception.

Peacefully yours,

Harlow Shapley

Harlow Shapley
Chairman

16-117

23a-12

[NATIONAL COUNCIL A.S.P.]

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace

MARCH 25, 26 AND 27 · HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Conference Headquarters
49 West 44 Street, New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

Chairman
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY

Sponsors
BERENICE ABBOTT
LOUIS ADAMIC
FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
REV. STACY ADAMS
DR. THOMAS ADDIS
STELLA ADLER
RALPH ALSWANG
EDITH ATWATER
REV. WADE C. BARCLAY
DR. BERNARD BAUM
HOWARD BAY
THOMAS BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK
DR. SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
HENRY BLANKFORT
MICHAEL BLANKFORT
MARC BLITZSTEIN
KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN
DR. ERNST P. BOAS
B. A. BOTKIN
DR. W. RUSSELL BOWIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
MARLON BRANDO
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
REV. THOBURN T. BRUMBAUGH
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
RICHARD BURGIN
DAVID BURLIUK
DR. ALLAN M. BUTLER
ANGUS CAMERON
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
RABBI D. A. JESSURUN CARDOZO
PROF. A. J. CARLSON
MORRIS CARNOVSKY
SAUL CARSON
NORMAN CAZDEN
REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLIN
REV. KARL M. CHEVOROWSKY
SERGE CHERMAYEFF
EDWARD CHODOROV
JEROME CHODOROV
HENRY S. CHURCHILL
DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
W. G. CLUGSTON
ROBERT M. COATES
DR. STANLEY COBB
LESTER COLE
AARON COPLAND
NORMAN CORWIN
HOWARD DA SILVA
JULES DASSIN
DR. LEO M. DAVIDOFF
JO DAVIDSON
HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS
DR. HERBERT JOHN DAVIS
PROF. JOHN J. DE BOER
ADOLF DEHN
DR. ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
ALBERT DEUTSCH
MARTHA DODD
PROF. DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS
PROF. HARL R. DOUGLASS
OLIN DOWNES
MURIEL DRAPER
PAUL DRAPER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
BARROWS DUNHAM
ARNAUD D'USSEAU

(over)

March 21, 1949

Dear Dr. Bu Bois:

Dr. Shapley has asked me to write you regarding the Resolutions Committee for the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. It will probably hold its session Sunday morning, March 27, at the Waldorf Astoria.

However, announcement of the membership of this Committee will be made at the Keynote Session Saturday morning. The proposed membership of the Committee is as follows: Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Chairman; Harlow Shapley, Vice-Chairman; Victor Bernstein, Olin Downes, W.E.B. Du Bois, Clifford Durr, Prof. Joseph K. Folsom, Arthur Gaeth, Lillian Hellman, Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Dean Hayward Keniston, Martin Popper, Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Louis Untermeyer, Prof. Colston E. Warne, and Dr. Edward Young, Dr. Philip Morrison.

Believing that you are vitally interested in the work of the Conference and would like to see its final session result in constructive resolutions for world peace, I hope you will consent to have your name proposed as amember of this Committee.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will assume that you agree to act on this Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Wood

Maxine Wood
Director

MW:rl

196

[NATIONAL CNCL. A.S.P.]

HARVARD COLLEGE OBSERVATORY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

March 21, 1949

Mr. W. E. Dubois
American Aid Committee
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-40-44

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I am interested in what you are planning to do. The cause is worthy. I have many interests in Africa. But I have been completely deflated by the extra expenses of this Peace Conference, and I cannot, I regret, participate in the plan financially.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

S

[NAT. COUNCIL "A.S.P."]

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace

MARCH 25, 26 AND 27 · HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK

AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Conference Headquarters
49 West 44 Street, New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

Chairman
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY

Sponsors
BERENICE ABBOTT
LOUIS ADAMIC
FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
REV. STACY ADAMS
DR. THOMAS ADDIS
STELLA ADLER
RALPH ALSWANG
EDITH ATWATER
REV. WADE C. BARCLAY
DR. BERNARD BAUM
HOWARD BAY
THOMAS BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK
DR. SARAH GIBSON BLANDING
HENRY BLANKFORT
MICHAEL BLANKFORT
MARC BLITZSTEIN
KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN
DR. ERNST P. BOAS
B. A. BOTKIN
DR. W. RUSSELL BOWIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
MARLON BRANDO
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
REV. THOBURN T. BRUMBAUGH
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER
RICHARD BURGIN
DAVID BURLIUK
DR. ALLAN M. BUTLER
ANGUS CAMERON
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
RABBI D. A. JESSURUN CARDOZO
PROF. A. J. CARLSON
MORRIS CARNOVSKY
SAUL CARSON
NORMAN CAZDEN
REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLIN
REV. KARL M. CHEVOROWSKY
SERGE CHERMAYEFF
EDWARD CHODOROV
JEROME CHODOROV
HENRY S. CHURCHILL
DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
W. G. CLUGSTON
ROBERT M. COATES
DR. STANLEY COBB
LESTER COLE
AARON COPLAND
NORMAN CORWIN
HOWARD DA SILVA
JULES DASSIN
DR. LEO M. DAVIDOFF
JO DAVIDSON
HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS
DR. HERBERT JOHN DAVIS
PROF. JOHN J. DE BOER
ADOLF DEHN
DR. ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
ALBERT DEUTSCH
MARTHA DODD
PROF. DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS
PROF. HARL R. DOUGLASS
OLIN DOWNES
MURIEL DRAPER
PAUL DRAPER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
BARROWS DUNHAM
ARNAUD D'USSEAU

(over)

March 22, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

With the time for the Conference approaching, there are a few final details I wanted to put in writing for you.

First, a Speakers' Lounge, in the Perroquet Suite, 4th floor, Waldorf-Astoria, has been provided for the use of speakers and panel members during the Conference. Please register there as soon as you arrive. In order to start the panel programs promptly and avoid confusion, we plan to conduct all speakers and panel members to their respective panels. Therefore, we are asking you to be in the Speakers' Lounge promptly at 1:45 P.M. on Saturday, March 26th.

As you may know, Louis Untermeyer has asked to meet with the members of the Writing and Publishing Panel on Friday afternoon, March 25th, at 5:30 P.M., before the Dinner for our international guests. As Honorary Chairman, it would be splendid if you find it convenient to meet with the Panel, for this preliminary gathering, in the Perroquet Suite.

I know you will be glad to hear that the Conference is progressing most successfully, with wide support from educators, ministers, artists, writers from all over the country. We are so glad that you are going to be with us.

Sincerely,

Maxine Wood

Maxine Wood
Director

jcb

[NATIONAL COUNCIL of A.S.P.

national Council Arts -

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 30, 1949

Miss Hannah Dorner
National Council of the
Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Dorner:

A few things for your attention:

1. Congratulations on a magnificent piece of work, done at what cost, only you know, but I can guess.

2. If you have any difficulty about Dr. Armattoe on the trip West, note these things: He can get first-class accommodations in Cleveland, Chicago, and San Francisco. He will have difficulty in Los Angeles and St. Louis.

In the case of Los Angeles, I would like very much that he stop as a guest of my friends, the Sommervilles. I am writing them, and even if he does not stop with them, I am sure they would like very much to have him meet friends who would be interested in him and his wife. The name is Dr. John and Mr. Wada Sommerville, 2401 Harvard Boulevard, Los Angeles.

In St. Louis, he should get in touch with my friends Dr. and Mrs. Curtis, 4459 Enright Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. They will, I am sure see to his entertainment, if that is necessary; and again they will see that he meets the best colored people. Of course, this advice may not be necessary at all, but I thought perhaps it would.

3. I lost a cane at the Waldorf meetings, a brown ebony cane with a curved handle. They said that it had been taken in charge by some of the staff; if you happen to hear of it let me know.

4. A kind lady financed me to the extent of $1.00 when I landed at the Garden without carfare. She was charming and generous, only I don't know her name. If you hear who she is, let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NATIONAL COUNCIL

arts, sciences & professions

49 WEST 44th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 7-2161

NATIONAL BOARD

Honorary Chairman
Jo Davidson

Chairman
Harlow Shapley

Treasurer
Michael M. Nisselson

Regional Chairmen
John J. De Boer
Olin Downes
Clark Foreman
Linus Pauling

Vice-Chairmen
Allan M. Butler
Norman Corwin
Ernest Grunsfeld
Pearl M. Hart
Lillian Hellman
Robert W. Kenny
Howard Koch
John Howard Lawson
Father Clarence Parker
Paul Robeson
O. John Rogge
Dr. Maud Slye
Max Weber

Members at Large
Edith Atwater
John Cromwell
Dr. Leo M. Davidoff
Marshall E. Dimock
Hannah Dorner
Paul Draper
W. E. B. DuBois
Albert Einstein
Thomas I. Emerson
Philip Evergood
Henry Pratt Fairchild
Howard Fast
Daniel Gillmor
Morton Gould
Shirley Graham
Robert Gwathmey
E. Y. Harburg
Roy E. Harris
Melville J. Herskovits
Ira A. Hirschmann
Langston Hughes
Florence B. James
Garson Kanin
Canada Lee
Robert Lindner
Curtis D. MacDougall
Norman Mailer
Albert Maltz
Thomas Mann
Sam Moore
George Pepper
Abraham Pomerantz
Theodor Rosebury
Frederick L. Schuman
Herman Shumlin
Paul Strand
Studs Terkel
Louis Untermeyer
Mark Van Doren
Mary VanKleeck
(partial list)

March 31, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Miss Dorner has asked me to look after points 3 and 4 in your letter of March 30 - so here goes:

3 - The Lost and Found department of the Waldorf does have a dark brown cane. By this time, your secretary may have identified it and picked it up for you.

4 - Quite accidentally, I learned who the "kind lady" was who had financed you at the Garden. She considers it a privilege to have been able to help you out and refuses compensation!

Point 5 is all my own. I never did get to any of the panels, so I was unable to hear your speech during the Conference itself, but I do want you to know how immensely thrilled I was by your talk at the Garden. My hands are probably still red from all the applauding they did! It was a truly wonderful experience to listen to you.

Sincerely,

Muriel Alexander

Muriel Alexander

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMAN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

TREASURER
MICHAEL M. NISSELSON

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODORE ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL

April 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your invaluable contribution to the success of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

We are fully aware of the courage and determination which it took to stand fast in the face of the press distortions and other pressures. The success of the Conference made it worth while to me, at any rate, despite the risks and discomforts. The attacks against us were evidence of how much such a conference was needed.

As you undoubtedly know, at our Action Committee meeting held Monday, March 28, it was agreed that we accept the mandate of the Conference to establish a permanent "Cultural and Scientific Committee for World Peace" under the auspices of the NCASP and to submit this plan to sponsors and speakers who were present at the Action Committee meeting. There is a big job ahead in continuing the work so successfully begun by the Conference and we need your continued support to make it effective.

Will you therefore join as a sponsor of our "Cultural and Scientific Committee for World Peace"? A condensation of the transcript of the proceedings of the Action Committee meeting will be sent to you so that you may know the follow-up program which was projected.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Harlow Shapley

Harlow Shapley
Chairman

129

[NATIONAL COUNCIL of A. S. P.]

File A.S.P.

June 13, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We recently wrote you that you were nominated to serve on the Executive Board of the Literature Division of the National Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Before placing your name on the ballot for election, we would like to get your confirmation as to your willingness to serve. We are, of course, looking forward to having you on our new Executive Board.

Will you please check the enclosed form and return in the envelope enclosed?

23-5-27

Sincerely,

Beverly Daniel

Beverly Daniel
Literature Division, ASP

file A.S.P.

[NATIONAL COUNCIL of A.S.P.]

June 20, 1949

23-5-28

Mr. Beverly Daniel
Literature Division, ASP
125 E. 34th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Daniel:

I am of course very much in sympathy with the literature division of the National Arts Sciences and Professions, but I am not able, usually, to attend meetings. If my name without attendance will be of any service to you, you are at liberty to use it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[NATIONAL COUNCIL A.S.P.]

HARVARD COLLEGE OBSERVATORY

CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

5 July 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish you would look through the enclosed letter from a representative in England of the natives of Uganda. As a specialist in African affairs, and especially the problems that confront the natives that seek independence and freedom, you may have some suggestion to make to Mr. Mulumba. I have written him a friendly letter, telling him among other things that certainly he can expect little help from America unless he can document his position, authority, and so forth, rather clearly.

It appears to me that if the story told by Mr. Mulumba is as much as one-half true, the citizens of America and especially the social problems agencies of the United Nations should make some inquiries. Or would it be possible, for Mr. Ted O. Thackrey to put one of his investigators on to this job. I leave the matter to you.

Heavens knows we have enough exploitation problems here at home. We do not have to go to Uganda to find physical and spiritual persecutions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

rfl
Enclosure

Harlow Shapley

[ENC]

1, Hampstead Hill Gardens,
London N.W.3.

11th June, 1949.

Dear Dr. Harlow Shapley,

You invited me to attend the "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace"; but, I could not come over, because I was very busy fighting for the democratic political and economic rights of the people of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. The people of these East African territories were trampled under foot by British colonists, who perhaps thought that they could do so ~~indefini~~ indefinitely. But, they were mistaken. I think they do realise today that self-adaptation to human developments is an essential qualification for suitable administration in the so-called backward countries.

23-5-31

There cannot be peace in the world so long as there is colonialism. Colonial exploitation rouses jealousy in the countries that have no colonies, and inspires constant fear and anxiety in the colonial Powers; and one can understand why the North Atlantic Pact was brought into existence, and why Mr. James Forrestal screamed in pyjamas about the "Red army"!

I do not know anything about the "American way of life", because I have never been to America. During the Second World War, I came across American soldiers, black and white, who did not give me a good impression. My impression was made worse by the American Embassy in London, when my fellow African conntryman who was educated in America, was refused a visa, because, it was stated, his visit to U.S. would be "prejudicial" to public interest. So, up to now, I have never met anybody, or experienced anything really representative of the American people; and, in fact, I have no concrete criterion by which to judge the American people on a fair basis.

You sent me a long list of the "Sponsors" of the "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" . I read the names with interest, and invited some of my African friends to pass through the list. I could not but feel inclined to think that the "Sponsors" are persons who appreciate human values. So, my esteem for your "National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions" began to grow.

Every nation, big or small, has its own national culture which, in some way or other, contributes to international culture. A careful study of the background from which we come shows that there is an African culture which should be valued and preserved. Peoples of the world who value culture should consider the preservation of national values as an international issue. And, I think, that is the reason why your "National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions" arranged a conference for World Peace.

The British are disrupting our national culture in Uganda. There is a TOTEMIC SOCIAL ORGANISATION in Uganda. Our Uganda society is divided into 36 totemic clans, each of which has a Head called "Mutaka" (plural,"Bataka", which means "owner of the land") The "Bataka" are the "Elders of the people". They are considered the "National Grandparents" of Uganda. All the people are subject to them in the framework of their respective clans. We have a "national moral code" of which they are the guardians. With the advance of education, the people of Uganda recognize their rights in the political and economic fields. The Bataka, whom I represent in Britain, have enlightened the people in those fields, with the result that the British Government have banned this indigenous institution which is as old as our nation itself. I must fight. I enclose copy of my circular letter; and I appeal, through your "National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions", to the Sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for world Peace for financial assistance and moral support. Yours sincerely,

Semakula Mulumba
Representative of the Bataka
The Elders of the people in Uganda.

file

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions inc.

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMAN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

TREASURER
MICHAEL M. NISSELSON

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODORE ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL

33a-5

September 14, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The next meeting of the Executive Board of the Writing and Publishing Division will be held on Wednesday, September 21, at 8 p.m., in the home of Howard Fast, 43 West 94 Street. We plan to have meetings on alternating Wednesdays thereafter.

Our main tasks for this meeting will be to prepare the agenda for the large membership meeting planned for September 28, at which the Executive Board will be present. Secondly, we will discuss thoroughly a blueprint of organization for our division for the coming year.

There's a great deal to do. We're depending on your presence at the meeting...we need your ideas, your sanction of other folks' ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Selma Belenky

Executive Secretary
Writing & Publishing Division

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions inc.

49 WEST 44 STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2161

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
JO DAVIDSON

CHAIRMAN
HARLOW SHAPLEY

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
JOHN J. DE BOER
OLIN DOWNES
CLARK FOREMAN
LINUS PAULING

VICE-CHAIRMAN
ALLAN M. BUTLER
NORMAN CORWIN
ERNEST GRUNSFELD
PEARL M. HART
LILLIAN HELLMAN
ROBERT W. KENNY
HOWARD KOCH
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
PAUL ROBESON
O. JOHN ROGGE
DR. MAUD SLYE
MAX WEBER

TREASURER
MICHAEL M. NISSELSON

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
JOHN CROMWELL
~~MARSHALL E. DIMOCK~~
HANNAH DORNER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS I. EMERSON
PHILIP EVERGOOD
HOWARD FAST
ROY E. HARRIS
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
LANGSTON HUGHES
FLORENCE B. JAMES
CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL
ALBERT MALTZ
THOMAS MANN
SAM MOORE
GEORGE PEPPER
THEODORE ROSEBURY
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
STUDS TERKEL

23-5-3

November 29, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Executive Committee, in recent meetings, has approved a program for our organization for the coming months, which is one of the most exciting and dramatic we have ever undertaken.

The nature of the times, and the problems which we, in the Arts, Sciences, and Professions face, make such a program on which we can work in unity, absolutely essential. I want to be able to tell you about it at the next meeting of our Executive Committee which is to be held at my house -- 400 East 52nd Street-- at 8:00 P.M. on Thursday, December 8.

We need your counsel and participation in a thorough discussion of our plans which are as challenging as the Waldorf Conference last year.

Please let me know that you can attend.

Sincerely,

O. John Rogge

O. John Rogge
Chairman, National Council of the
Arts, Sciences, and Professions

OJR: bb

35-3-243

January 7, 1949

(NATIONAL DENNIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)

From Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Telephone: MU 3-7894

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Supreme Court was today asked to pass upon a constitutional question of special significance to the Negro people, which has not before been raised for review.

The request, in the form of a brief amicus curiae filed with the high court by Paul Robeson, Mary Van Kleeck and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, was made in support of petition for writ of certiorari by Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, who is appealing his conviction on charges that he was in contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of which John Rankin is a member.

The issue turns on the question of whether the Constitution, including section 2 of the 14th Amendment, is, as Dennis claims, "binding" on all agencies of the government -- or whether the Circuit Court of Appeals was correct in ruling that it has the effect merely of "a power conferred upon Congress which Congress may exercise or not exercise at its discretion."

Section 2 of the 14th Amendment provides that when any state in any way abridges the voting rights of a section of its citizens, that state's representation in the House of Representatives shall be proportionately reduced. It is the contention of Mr. Dennis that he cannot be punished for refusing to recognize the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities since abridgment of the suffrage rights of the Negro people reaches an extent requiring a reduction of its congressional representation in the House -- and thus brings into question John Rankin's claim to be a properly elected member of Congress.

Sharply challenging the Clark opinion that Congress has the right to flout the 2nd section of the 14th Amendment, the brief amicus curiae declares:

"We believe it to be the only sound constitutional law and the only sound public policy that the open nullification of this section of the Constitution -- which is now for the first time brought into overt form and proclaimed law by the second highest Court of the United States -- be reviewed by the Supreme Court.

"Whatever may have been the slack regard in the past two generations toward this constitutional provision, it seems that now, when the institutions of all countries are being sharply compared and the significance of our constitutional charter questioned before the whole world -- any open statement on judicial authority supporting the view that this guarantee once given by the nation to its most oppressed citizens may be disregarded ought to be considered by the highest court."

The amicus brief urges that the Supreme Court grant certiorari in the Dennis case in order to decide for the first time whether the Courts of the United States "must now join in a long-continued nullification of Section 2 of the 14th Amendment...and intervene as an active agent to employ sanctions of criminal law in support of that nullification -- a support which has now come to its final logic in the proposition in a formal decision that this section of the 14th Amendment is not mandatory upon Congress."

In the brief filed by myself, Paul Robeson and Miss Van Kleeck we challenge Judge Clark not only on questions of law, but of historical fact. Despite his contention that "Congress has never exercised the power conferred on it by this Section," we hold that the self-evident purpose of the 2nd section of the 14th Amendment was in fact accomplished, and the right of former slaves to vote reflected in their election to the 41st, 43rd, and 44th Congresses of the United States. 42nd

It is my hope, and that of the distinguished Americans associated with me in this amicus brief, that the Supreme Court will review this vital question.

# # # #

File
Civil Rights

IN THE

United States Court of Appeals
FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Appellee,

against

JOHN GATES, also known as ISRAEL REGENSTREIF,

Appellant.

APPLICATION FOR LEAVE TO
FILE AND BRIEF AMICUS
CURIAE

23C-51

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA v. JOHN GATES	No. 282

APPLICATION FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE

We, the undersigned Negro citizens -- all entrusted with positions of leadership and responsibility among the Negro people in America's largest center of Negro population, request leave to file the following brief as amici curiae, considering that the issue involved in this case is of far-reaching significance for all Americans, and especially for Negro Americans and other such minority groups who historically have suffered most from the denial of rights vouchsafed by the Federal Constitution.

We understand that defendant in this case has been sentenced to jail in alleged "contempt of court" for refusing to divulge the names of persons who are not defendants, but who worked with him and his colleagues in the preparation of a pamphlet for the Communist Veterans Committee.

We understand, further, that defendant denies the right of the Court to punish him for refusing to act as informant for the prosecution by divulging these names; and that he bases his refusal on the ground that for him to

name his associates would, in this period of anti-Communist hysteria and persecution, jeopardize the economic security and liberty of men and women who have committed no crime, and would degrade him to the level of a common "police informer".

We know from generations of experience as an oppressed people in this country how usurpations of legal authority have obstructed historic strivings for liberty. We have witnessed especially how Negro Americans, striving to achieve equal rights, have been beset by snares designed to cause them to serve as informers or to surrender safeguards against legal self-involvement -- all to the end of weakening or crushing the struggle for democratic rights. We are much concerned, therefore, for the preservation of constitutional rights for all Americans; because it is to those rights that fifteen million Negro Americans constantly look as a bulwark against growing assaults and racial discrimination, and as a promise of full equality as citizens of the United States.

Thus it is that we consider the issue in this case as involving a principle of special importance to Negro Americans seeking to escape the degradation of "second-class citizenship" and Jim Crow oppression through the exercise of rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution. Accordingly, we respectfully request leave to file the following brief amicus curiae.

THE BRIEF

The fundamental interests of the Negro people in extending and strengthening democracy in general, the historic experiences of Negro Americans with the specific issue involved in this case, and the direct and immediate threat here involved to the security and lives of Negro citizens in certain parts of the country -- all warrant the conclusion that the prosecution's request for judicial acquiescence in its demand that defendant act as "finger man" against his associates should be denied.

I

THE LEGAL SIGNIFICANCE OF APPELLANT'S POSITION TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE

The attainment of equal democratic rights by the Negro people is possible only on the basis of an expanding and strengthened democracy; and it follows, as a necessary corollary, that the abridgement of the constitutional rights of any group of Americans tends to make more difficult the attainment of long-denied constitutional rights by Negro citizens. This is one of the great lessons of American history; and it is basic to the approach of Negro Americans to the issue involved in this case.

During the late 19th Century upsurge of political reaction in our country, when the Civil War and Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution -- specifically, the

Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth -- were openly and flagrantly disregarded, the cause of democratic government in most of the South suffered serious defeat -- from which, incidentally, it has yet to recover. Even white Americans whose political views ran counter to those of the ruling Bourbon oligarchy were subjected to disfranchisement, economic oppression and open lynch terror. It was not surprising that Negro Americans, historically the most oppressed, were deprived during that period of virtually all the democratic rights they had won during Civil War and Reconstruction. They were forced into degrading forms of oppression but little removed from slavery.

230-51

In the years immediately following World War I, when another wave of political reaction engulfed our country -- heralded by widespread anti-Communist hysteria, the constitutional rights of workers to organize in trade unions and of thousands of individuals and hundreds of groups to adhere to unorthodox social and political views were severely trampled upon. It was no mere coincidence that this period brought major and abiding set-backs to the Negro people. They suffered mass firings from jobs in northern industry, mounting lynch terror in the South, a series of violent "race riots" in major cities throughout the country, and the widespread intensification of all forms of Jim Crow oppression.

So it is during the present period of developing political reaction in our country -- again heralded by a

wave of virulent anti-Communist hysteria. We see on every hand growing violations of the constitutional rights, not only of Communists, but also of trade unions, tenant groups, teachers, peace organizations and progressive citizens generally who oppose the foreign and domestic policies of the current Administration. Correspondingly, the Negro people are again suffering serious set-backs in their struggle for equal rights. Discrimination in employment is increasing rapidly; lynchings are becoming more frequent in the South; police brutality has grown to alarming proportions in all parts of the country; efforts to disfranchise Negro citizens in the South are being revived; and many wartime friends and allies of the Negro people in their struggle for equal rights have become silent and complacent on this issue since the war. These are national facts so notorious that this Court might well take judicial notice of them.

Thus it is, too, that the Negro people have well learned that democracy is indivisible; that curbs on the constitutional rights of any group of Americans may be interpreted as heralding new and even more serious attacks on the constitutional rights of the Negro people.

The contention of the prosecution in this case seems clearly to involve a violation of defendant's constitutional rights and the right of all minority groups to free association. To say to defendant, in effect, that he may exercise this right only on pain either of exposing his

associates to anti-Communist persecution or of going to jail himself is, indeed, fundamentally to abridge his right of free association. (cf. Schneiderman v. United States, 320 U.S. 118 (1943); Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516 (1945); and Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252 (1941)).

The contention of the prosecution, therefore, is without legal merit. It represents a threat to the constitutional rights of all Americans, and especially to the oppressed Negro people. It should be denied.

II

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF APPELLANT'S POSITION TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Negro Americans, throughout more than three centuries of struggle for freedom, have had abundant experience with the specific issue involved in this case. Time and again, leaders in the struggle for full Negro emancipation have been accosted by official and unofficial oppressors and confronted with the demand: "Tell us the names of your associates." Time and again, these leaders have refused to act as informants for the oppressors of their people, even at the risk of their personal liberty or lives. They have refused so to degrade themselves on the same high moral ground which defendant in this case asserts; namely, that the cause for which they and their colleagues struggle is a just cause, and that to name their associates would be to betray them to the wrath of immoral, illegal and prejudice-

ridden forces of oppression.

This position has particular historical significance for Negro Americans.

Thus it was, for example, that Gabriel, leader of a Negro slave revolt in Virginia in 1800, when betrayed by informers to the slave-masters and apprehended, refused to divulge the names of his associates in this noble, but ill-fated, venture. As reported by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, eminent historian (American Slave Revolts, Columbia University Press, 1943, page 222):

> "He was quickly convicted and sentenced to hang, but the execution was postponed until October 7, in the hope that he would talk. James Monroe [Governor of Virginia] personally interviewed him, but reported, 'From what he said to me, he seemed to have made up his mind to die, and to have resolved to say but little on the subject of the conspiracy.'"

Thus it was, also, with the followers of Denmark Vesey, leader of the famous slave revolt in South Carolina in 1822. As reported by Aptheker (Ibid., page 272):

> "Although the leaders had kept lists of their comrades, only one list and part of another were found. Moreover, most of them followed the admonition of Peter Poyas, 'Die silent, as you shall see me do,' and so it is difficult to say how many Negroes were involved."

Thus it was, further, that the great Abolitionist leader, Frederick Douglass, a personal friend of President Lincoln, took care not to betray the plans of the martyred John Brown. Although fully aware of Brown's determination to lead a revolt for the freedom of Negro slaves in Virginia in 1859, an enterprise which he disapproved, Douglass

never once turned informer on Brown; indeed, he honored the courage and high moral purpose of Brown, even though he refused to be associated with a venture which he considered tactically unwise and doomed to failure. (Oswald Garrison Villard, John Brown, Alfred A. Knopf, 1943, pages 412-13 ff.)

The position taken by these Negro leaders is of more than historical significance to the Negro people; it has continuing practical importance today.

Countless Negro leaders fighting for the rights of their people -- in organized and spontaneous struggles against super-exploitation and lynch-terror on the plantations, for the right to vote in the South, for the right to work, for the right to belong to trade unions, for the curbing of police brutality in cities -- in innumerable such struggles, Negro leaders have understood that to divulge the names of their associates, even to supposed representatives of the law, would be to jeopardize the security of their persons and their families. Time and again, they have refused to act as informers.

The whole history of the Negro's struggle against oppression has made the Negro people especially alert to the implications of a situation where compulsory disclosure of associates might expose them to unwarranted persecution by forces of reaction. This alertness was reflected recently in the City Council of Toledo, Ohio, when (as reported by the Toledo Blade) the only Negro member of the Council had this to say in condemnation of a Negro witness

from Toledo who had served as an FBI informer in the trial where the present case arose:

> "Negroes may not understand Communism, but they know a stoolpigeon when they see one."

Thus, Negro Americans have good cause to be concerned -- and they are concerned -- over any threat to one's right to refuse to betray his associates in a just cause to persecution by the enemies of democratic freedom. It is a right which rests upon solid moral premises as well as the Constitution of the United States. The contention of the prosecution, if upheld by this Court, would seriously abridge this right. That contention should be denied.

III

THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON NEGRO CITIZENS OF AN ADVERSE DECISION

There is an even more direct way in which the contention of the prosecution in this case represents a threat to the constitutional rights of Negro Americans. For defendant to divulge the names of associates who helped him prepare the Communist Veterans Committee pamphlet would lay the basis for immediate violent assaults upon the persons of certain Negro citizens, especially in the South.

The record before this Court indicates that defendant has testified to his attendance at various meetings of official bodies of the Communist Party, including meetings of state conventions of the Party in Texas, Alabama and

North Carolina. If he can be required to name the associates who helped him prepare the pamphlet here involved, it follows that he can be required to name the persons present at various official meetings of the Communist Party in southern states.

Presumably, Negro citizens were among those present at state conventions, meetings and other gatherings of the Party which he attended in southern states.

Now, it is well known that Negroes in the South have been murdered by lynch mobs merely for daring to exercise their constitutional right to vote. Such was the case, for example, with Isaiah Nixon (New York Herald-Tribune, September 12, 1948) and Robert Mallard (New York Times, November 25, 1948) during the elections of 1948. Attention could be called to hundreds of other Negro victims of southern lynch terror who have been beaten or killed solely because they sought to exercise voting and other civil rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution. (The Negro Year Book, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1947 - pp. 304-307)

If Negroes are murdered in the South merely for trying to vote, then it should be clear that to reveal the identity of southern Negro citizens who have joined the Communist Party in an effort to advance the struggle for their democratic rights would be to place them in double jeopardy - as Negroes and as Communists. Anti-Negro and anti-Communist hatreds are so extensively instigated by

reactionary influences among the southern white masses that if defendant publicly revealed the names of southern Negro Communists, he would, thereby, place them in immediate danger of mob violence.

Thus, Negroes have an immediate and very practical interest in the issue involved in this case. The position advanced by the prosecution would, if upheld by this Court, open the flood-gates of lynch terror against Negro Communists in the South. The request of the prosecution for judicial validation of its position should be denied.

CONCLUSION

The fundamental law of our country is designed to uphold the democratic rights of all citizens, and to protect them against unjust persecution and oppression. Yet, it is common knowledge that these rights are very often violated in practice, that innocent citizens are, in fact, unjustly persecuted and oppressed -- and that even the courts and law enforcement officers are often parties to such persecution and oppression.

The day-to-day experiences of 15,000,000 Negro Americans attest to this state of affairs in our country; and to deprive Negro citizens of the right to withhold information as to the identity of their associates in the struggle for their full legal and democratic rights, and thus to protect such associates against unjust persecution for exercising

these rights, would be to thwart the purposes of justice and to retard our country's progress toward a more complete democracy.

The prosecution's request for judicial acquiescence in its demand that defendant act as "finger man" against his associates is, in effect, a request for Court authority to compel Negro citizens to expose their associates in the struggle for constitutional rights and the struggle to end unjust persecution and oppression. This request of the prosecution should be denied.

Respectfully submitted,

Office of the Clerk

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Washington 13, D. C.

23-49-15

June 27, 1949.

Dear Sir:

The Court today entered the following order in the case of Dennis v. United States, No. 436, October Term, 1948:

"The petition for writ of certiorari is granted limited to the question whether government employees could properly serve on the jury which tried petitioner. The case is transferred to the summary docket. The motion for leave to file brief of Paul Robeson, et al., as amici curiae is denied. Mr. Justice Burton took no part in the consideration or decision of these applications."

Yours truly,

CHARLES ELMORE CROPLEY, Clerk,

By

Deputy.

HBW:tw

Mr. W.E.B. du Bois,

New York City.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-6390

February 23, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In connection with my phone call today I am sending you separately a copy of my book about Claude Williams. I hope you may have time at least to skim through it. You will find at the end a statement of what the Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion is and stands for.

Claude is, in my opinion, one of the few great people in America today and his highly original approach to practical working for the underprivileged has received sadly little recognition. If you do find that you will be in town on March 18th you will be doing a worthwhile thing to come and speak. The meeting is in Dr. John Howland Lathrop's church in Brooklyn. I think the meeting will start during the day but imagine that the time when you would be asked to speak would be around 8:30.

As soon as you find out for sure whether you can be there I would be glad to hear from you about it as the question might arise of getting another speaker.

I believe that the subject Claude would like you to speak about would be "The Democratic Potential in Dixie." In spite of the experiences of his life he remains more convinced than ever of the size and potential importance of the democratic forces in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

CB/drm

24-23-52

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Mr. Cedric Belfrage, Editor
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

My dear Mr. Belfrage:

I should like very much to speak at Mr. Claude Williams meeting, but looking over my schedule, I find that I have a lecture out of town just before the 18th and a large conference just after. I should be afraid to undertake any further commitments. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-33

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-6390

March 11, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Confirming our conversation on the phone today: The meeting to discuss the political orientation of the GUARDIAN will be at 7:30 P.M. on Sunday, March 20th in Apartment D1 (4th floor) at 640 W. 153 St., N.Y.C. I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

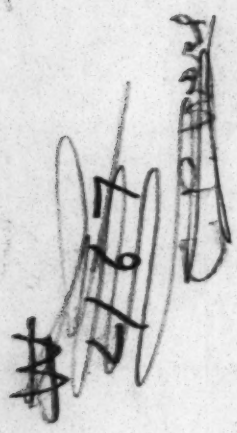
CB/drm

Max Warner
467 Central Park West
RC-2-1473

24-23-56

6 heroes

1 Mary Warren
2 K Goodrich
3 Schuman ? Wilson
4 Leavell
5 DuBois
6 Dalfinger
7 Bandmann
8 Van Hook
9 Andersen
10 Mr. Manus



There is a great borderland where human effort & natural law contract & raise food, breath shelter & train the young. Here reflex & love mingles with breath & will and freedom is and can understood & wonderstood. And here too many men rebel freedom quit unreasoning for despair & straight aims — Chosen ignorance for fear too many will know too much. Too little or that the few may have too much? Preferring hate to love least [illegible] Giving means. And forgetting that willful unfoaming of claims on [illegible] makes wondering of the boundaries of freedom [illegible] Here freedom chokes today many [illegible] and natural

Read us Poor Lover of Mankind

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-6390

March 18, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have been hearing about an organization known as Rassemblement Democratique Africain. Do you know anything about it and do you think it would be worth a story? It appears to be a potentially significant organization of people in French Africa.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

CB/drm

24-23-45

Dr. Joshua Kunitz

8 Barrow St

N.Y.C.

CH 3-5254

(Burroughs)

CNATIONAL GUARDIAN

March 30, 1949

Dear Mr. Beffrage:

You should consult Dr. Armattoe, who is here attending a Peace Conference. He can be reached through their headquarters, 49 West 44th Street. He tell me that the Rassemblement Democratique Africain is composed of Negro officials of the French Co onial Government who are leftest in tendency and vote consistently against the government. At the same time they do not represent a mass movement. He can tell you more in detail, as he is familiar with French West Africa, was educated in France and Germany and speaks English, French and German. He is an anthropologist by profession. He would make an excellent article for your paper.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

241-2346

Guardian

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Belfrage:

Following your hint, I wired to Chicago and have just returned from a very satisfactory visit. I thank you very much.

By the way, I shall probably attend the Peace Congress in Paris, to speak for the colonies and the darker peoples. Could the Guardian use anything I might write?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-47

Enclosure

May 9, 1949

Mr. Cedric Belfrage, Editor
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Enclosed is an article which I received this morning from Dr. Du Bois with instructions to mail to you.

He also asked me to say that it may be too late and repetitious, if so change, omit or return it to me.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM: M

ENCLOSURE: ARTICLE

24-9-23

Guardian

June 27, 1949

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Here is an article. I am afraid it is too long: if so, cut it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Article

21-6-22

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

June 30, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a letter from one of our readers in England. In it he makes two requests which are self explanatory. We were able to answer one of his questions (and I have indicated this on the letter) and I think that you are certainly more qualified to answer the second.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Mishkind

Dorothy Mishkind
Secretary

enclosure

24-23-49

(ENCLOS)

"ILE ORE OFE,"
317 PARK ROAD,
OLDHAM,
LANCASHIRE.

14/6/49.

Dear Mr. Belfrage, I wonder if you can oblige me by finding out for me the names and addresses of the Publishers of the following two books
(1) "As I saw it" by Elliot Roosevelt
(2) "Deep are the Roots" by Arnaud D'Usseau & James Gow.

Can you also supply me with a list of the titles of literary works by outstanding American Negro Authors with their names and the names and addresses of the Publishers.

I am collecting books for a Library in West Africa and I am anxious to present the achievements of the American Negroes to my people.

I shall be most grateful if you can introduce me to any Negro Organisation in the U.S.A. that may be of some help to me.

Thank You
Yours truly
(Dr) E.A. SHANU

14-23-48

[National Guardian]

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

August 18, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The address of our Moscow correspondent Ralph Parker is Khokhlovsky Pereulok 15-39, Moscow. George and Eleanor Wheeler are Prague correspondents and they live at the Press Club, Na Prikope 10, Praha. I do hope you will look up these people.

In case you have any exciting things to report while you are away, our telegraphic address is NATGARDPUB. Of course we will be very happy to pay at this end for any cables.

Wishing you great success and a wonderful time.

Sincerely,

Cedric Belfrage

CB:ik

24-23-45

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

October 18, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am planning a picture page for which Cedric Belfrage suggested you might have some names, pictures, sources of pictures or other helpful ideas.

We want to publicize some of our Negro citizens who have been eminent in science, the arts, and so forth, but who are little known to the general public. I suppose Dr. Carver and Jacob Laurence might do, but I hope you may be able to suggest others with leads to good picture material.

With thanks and warmest personal regards.

Cordially,

Robert Joyce

Robert Joyce
Art Editor

RJ/ask
ang #3

Bannaker
Carver
Frazier
Just
Turner Ctl
Drew

24-23-54

October 28, 1949

Mr. Robert Joyce
Art Editor
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

My dear Sir:

I regret to be so late in answering your letter of October 18. The men whom I think you ought to use on your picture page are: Benjamin Banneker, who helped lay out the city of Washington: Carver, whom of course you know. E. Franklin Frazier, the sociologist; Ernest Just one of the greatest of American biologists; C. H. Turner, almost forgotten, but a widely known student of insects; and Drew of the blood bank.

Perhaps these suggestions may help you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-55

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

January 19, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

At a meeting of the Council held on Monday, January 10th the following Resolution was passed:

> RESOLVED, that the Council feels compelled to request of the membership an amendment to the By-laws giving it a method of procedure to deal with any appeals that come up for public action or statement by the Institute.

In accordance with this Resolution, the Council after discussion prepared the proposed amendment to the By-laws attached herewith for submission to the membership. This will be discussed and action taken at a meeting to be held on Friday evening, February 18th, 1949. You will receive further notice regarding this dinner meeting at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

February 3, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

The next Dinner Meeting of the Institute will be held on Friday evening, February 18th, at 6:30 o'clock (instead of 7:00) at the

Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street,
New York City,

and we are very happy to announce that the distinguished English poet, Dr. Edith Sitwell, will be our guest of honor on this occasion.

It is hoped that many of the newly elected members listed herewith may also be present and welcomed.

Department of Art

Gertrude K. Lathrop
Bruce Moore
Georgia O'Keeffe
Zoltan Sepeshy
Ralph Thomas Walker

Department of Literature

Malcolm Cowley
John Gould Fletcher
Francis Hackett
Christopher Isherwood
Alfred Kreymborg
Allen Tate

Department of Music

Igor Stravinsky

Mr. E. E. Cummings who was elected in 1941 has now indicated his wish to accept election and the Council has voted to agree to his deferred acceptance.

The consideration of the proposed new amendment to the By-laws will be discussed at the end of the meeting.

Please make every effort to attend and reply on the enclosed postal card.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

Dress optional.

William Rose Benét
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

March 25, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

Nominations for membership in the Institute are now in order. The Council has apportioned the thirteen vacancies as follows:

7 in Literature
5 in Art
1 in Music

If you have a nomination to make, will you fill in the enclosed form with your signature as proposer and secure the signatures of two seconders? At least two of the three signers must be members of the department for which the candidate is proposed. Members of the Institute must be native or naturalized citizens, qualified by notable achievements in Art, Music or Literature.

Although nominations are in order up to October 1, 1949, those received by April 25th will be discussed at the Dinner Meeting to be held for this purpose on

Monday evening, April 25th at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

Action will be taken on an amendment explained herewith:

At a meeting of the Institute held on February 18th, the Council was requested to study the present electoral system and to propose a method which might improve it. The general consensus at the meeting was that the Departmental vote is too weak (1/5 of the votes of the members of the department necessary for qualification) and that the negative vote in the general election is too strong (negative votes to the number of 1/5 of the votes cast shall exclude the candidate from election).

On the recommendation of a special committee appointed by the Council to study the problem, the Council proposes the following amendment to the By-laws which increases the percentage of Departmental votes necessary for qualification from 20% (1/5) to 25% (1/4) and decreases the affirmative percentage necessary in the general election from 81% to 66-2/3%.

Proposed Amendment - (Refer to pages 45-46 of the 1948 Yearbook).

ARTICLE VI.

Section 4. Eliminate "and for no others" (a qualification of those for whom you may vote) and add "all voting shall be by secret ballot" at the end of Section 4.

Section 5. No candidate shall be regarded as qualified for membership unless he has received the votes of at least "one-fourth" of the members of the department for which he is proposed, etc.

In the next paragraph between the words "written ballot" insert the word "secret."

The fourth paragraph of Section 5 to be stricken out and replaced with "for election a candidate must receive affirmative votes to the number of 2/3rds of those voting."

Please make every effort to attend and notify me on the enclosed postal card.

Very sincerely yours,

Felicia Greffen

Assistant Secretary

23a-4

April 11, 1949

3.4.9

Miss Felicia Geffen
Assistant Secretary
National Institute of Arts and Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York 32, New York

My dear Miss Geffen:

I find that I cannot afterall attend the dinner April 25, because of absence at the Peace Congress in Paris.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

file

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

May 16, 1949

To the Members of the
Department of Literature:

I enclose herewith a nomination blank for The Gold Medal which is to be awarded for Essays and Criticism, 1950. Kindly secure two seconders from the Department of Literature for your nomination.

Very sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

23a-4

May 23, 1949

Mr. William Rose Benet
Secretary
National Institute of Arts and Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York 32, New York

Dear Mr. Benet:

Answering your letter of May 16, to Dr. Du Bois may I say that he is still abroad in Paris.

He is expected to return on or about the first of June, at which time I will bring your correspondence to his attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

August 30, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

Every year the entire membership is asked for suggestions for "Arts and Letters Grants," to be submitted to the Committees who make the final decision.

An exhibition is to be held this fall of works by selected candidates for Art Grants from whom the six candidates in Art will be chosen. If you have any recommendations to make to the Committee would you please write me as soon as possible so that they may be considered in time for this exhibition.

Very sincerely yours,

Felicia Geffen

Assistant Secretary

September 7, 1949

Miss Felicia Geffen
Assistant Secretary
National Institute of
Arts and Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York 32, New York

Dear Miss Geffen:

Your letter of August 30, to Dr. Du Bois has been received.

Dr. Du Bois is at present abroad in Russia. Your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

September 21, 1949

23-4-10

Miss Felicia Geffen
Assistant Secretary
National Institute of Arts
And Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York 32, New York

My dear Miss Geffen:

I should like very much to recommend to the Committee on Arts and Letters Grants, the name of Shirley Graham as one who ought to be given a grant. Miss Graham has begun a distinguished literary career, and if it is not too late to bring the facts of her case before the committee, will you kindly let me know and also tell me, to whom I should address my statement?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Bridgewater, Connecticut
October 2nd 1909

4-3966

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Excuse me for not replying long ago to your letter recommending Shirley Graham for a grant. It has been forwarded to me out here, but I think Julian Gaffin acknowledged it. I am not the chairman of the Committee for Literature but, as I member of it, I wish to delight to speak for Shirley Graham. She seems to me a first-rate candidate.

Yours sincerely,

Van Wyck Brooks

8-1-17

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

October 26, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

A Dinner Meeting of the National Institute of Arts and Letters will be held on

Tuesday evening, November 15th at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

for the purpose of discussing the award of

THE GOLD MEDAL FOR PAINTING

THE GOLD MEDAL FOR ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

to be presented by the Academy, 1950.

Please make every effort to attend and designate on the enclosed card whether or not we may expect you.

Very sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32

December 7, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

The next regular meeting and dinner of the Institute will be held on

Wednesday evening, December 21, 1949 at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

for the purpose of discussing the candidates who have been nominated for membership in the Institute.

Kindly designate on the enclosed card whether or not we may expect you.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

183-4

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

December 30, 1949

To the Members of the Institute:

According to the By-laws, ARTICLE VI, Section 5, the names of the twelve candidates up for election who have qualified in their respective departments, are submitted herewith for approval or rejection by written ballot.

Kindly mark and forward your ballot in the enclosed envelope by return mail, as no ballot will be counted unless received before the Annual Meeting on January 17, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

William Rose Benét

William Rose Benét
Secretary

23a-4

23a-4

National Institute of Arts and Letters

633 West 155th Street

New York 32, N. Y.

δ

[1949]

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

THE GOLD MEDAL

ARTICLE XI — Section 1. A medal to be known as The Gold Medal may be awarded under the following conditions:

Two awards may be made each year for distinguished achievement in arts or letters. Any citizen of the United States is eligible for this award. Presentation will be made in the name of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Section 2. The medal shall be awarded for the entire work of the recipient, and it shall not be awarded more than once to any person.

Section 3. Nominations for The Gold Medals shall be invited annually from all members of the department in which they are to be awarded. Each nomination must be seconded by two members from the same department.

NOMINATION FOR THE GOLD MEDAL FOR ESSAYS AND CRITICISM, 1950

Name of Candidate _____

Address _____

Name of Proposer _____

Names of Seconders _____

_____

Qualifications:

N. B. Immediate response is requested as all names sent in will be submitted to the Council and Departmental Committee for Literature thirty days after the receipt of this notice.

[1949]

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

PROPOSAL OF CANDIDATES

"Any nomination for membership in the Institute must be submitted in writing signed by three members, of whom two must belong to the department for which the candidate is proposed, and must be received by the Secretary not later than October 1st." By-laws, ARTICLE VI, Section 3.

Name .....

Address .....

Department of Literature ☐ Art ☐ Music ☐

Name of Proposer

.....

Names of Seconders

.....

.....

Qualifications:

(IF NECESSARY USE REVERSE SIDE)

230-41

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE *National Labor Conference For Peace*

SUITE 905 • 179 WEST WASHINGTON STREET • CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS • TELEPHONE: STATE 1-1349

360

September 9, 1949

W.E. DuBois, Vice Chairman
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There will be in Chicago on October 1 and 2 a rank and file conference of labor called in support of world peace. This conference represents the first move made in this country for the organization of peace sentiment within the ranks of labor. Such a move has long been needed. From many sources deliberate efforts have been made to infect American workers with the same virus that brought many German workers into at least passive support for the late Adolph Hitler's war designs.

23-9-24

The response we have received to our conference calls indicates that such poison has not yet been swallowed by American workers. More than 400 local union officers have signed their names as sponsors of the conference call.

I am writing to you on behalf of the entire arrangements committee to invite you to speak to the Conference at the Saturday night mass meeting, scheduled for October 1st. We are all most anxious to have you with us at that time and the whole period of the Conference.

I am enclosing a copy of the Conference Call which will give you its full background.

I hope very much that you may be with us in Chicago. Will you advise me of your decision in this matter at your early convenience.

If you care to have us make hotel reservations for you, please advise me well in advance of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

James Wishart

JAMES WISHART,
Executive Secretary

JW:mg
uopwa24cio
encl.

(no enclosure!)
9/13/49

September 21, 1949

Mr. James Wishart
Executive Secretary
National Labor Conference for Peace
179 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

My dear Mr. Wishart:

I have your kind invitation of September 9, which found me still in Europe. I returned on the 16th. I should like very much to attend your conference, October 1, and 2, but I am afraid it is going to be difficult for me to get away, even if I could afford the expense.

If I find later than I can come, I will let you know. At any rate I hope you will have a most successful meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Miss Graham.
Did not mail
original from Silverstein

Lee com

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 10, 1949

Mr. Robert J. Silverstein
National Lawyers Guild
902 20th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

My dear Mr. Silverstein:

I have your letter of January 3. I think I could prepare the topic which you outlined, but something depends upon just what you have in mind. Are you thinking of a statement for printing? In that case, how long a statement would you like, and would you like to have notes and references? Or are you thinking rather of a statement to be delivered as a speech for a discussion; and in that case, what length do you want ?

In addition to that, I am not sure as to whether or not I could be present at the meeting in Detroit, February 21. I am supporting myself mainly by writing just now and it might not be possible for me to afford the trip without compensation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Detroit, Feb 21

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

Lee Compton

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY

Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN

Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

January 11, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-9-9

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have and appreciate your letter of the 10th of January. We are thinking of a paper with notes and references which could be published in the Lawyers Guild Review. However, the paper, without the notes and references, and perhaps in an abbreviated form, is intended to be read at our Convention panel on Civil Rights. The maximum reading time of the part read would have to be 20 minutes. The published document could be longer.

I hope that it will be financially possible for us to arrange for your attendance at the Convention. If more would be required than fare I am quite sure it will not be possible. We might be able to manage the fare though this is by no means certain, notwithstanding our earnest wish to have you present your paper in person. Please let me know about this.

Charles Houston will undoubtedly want to set his paper against the background of your own. I wish, therefore, that a draft could be made available as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Robert J. Silberstein
Executive Secretary

RJS:ew

Sec. complete

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY
Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN
Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

January 29, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
Bronx, New York

Re: Convention Panel on Civil Liberties

23-44-61

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was very glad to learn through Mr. Benedict Wolf that it has been arranged for you to present in person your paper on the historical conditions in which the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were enacted, and the violation of the original intent - in practice.

A room has been reserved for you at the Book-Cadillac Hotel (where the convention will be) for the day and night of the 21st of February. If you will advise me whether you will travel by plane or train, I will either send you a check for the fare of secure the tickets for you, whichever you prefer. If we are to secure tickets please indicate your planned time of departure and return. I estimate that you would be called upon to speak at about 11:00 or 11:30 A.M. and that we should be discussing the subject until 12:30 o'Clock with the probability of resuming at 2P.M. to continue until 3 or 3:30. We have allowed about 20 minutes for your oral presentation.

Because Mr. Houston's address must pick up where you end, avoiding duplication of material, I wish that you could get two or three copies of your remarks to me as soon as possible, and not later than the 8th of February. If stenographic facilities are not available to you, and you write in legible long hand, we can make the copies here.

I enclose two suggested outlines which have been prepared for possible use in guiding the presentations - one proporting to cover the whole subject and the other only the discussion as it relates

to the 14th Amendment. Neither Mr. Houston nor you are expected to be bound in any way by anything contained in them. They are suggestions only, reflecting the views of two individuals who make no claim to being experts. They are sent to you for your consideration and should be totally rejected unless any part is approved by you. I would like to know, however, whether you will deal with the second section of the 14th Amendment to any substantial extent, for the guidance of Mr. Houston.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Robert J. Silberstein
Executive Secretary

RJS:ew
enc.s

28-44-62

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 2, 1949

23-44-63

Mr. Robert J. Silberstein, Executive Secretary
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.
District 3205

My dear Mr. Silberstein:

Answering your letter of January 29, I beg to say that I propose to go to Detroit and return by air, and the cost including limousines I figure at $61.10 . Also if I am to speak the morning of the 21st, I should prefer to get to the hotel on the 20th, therefore to have my reservation there for me for the 20th and 21st. I do not like to travel at night, or to speak the day on which I travel. I should prefer to have the cash sent me and I will make my own plane reservation. I will depend upon you for the hotel reservation.

With regard to the treatment of the subject, I plan to treat the history of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments; and the struggle for political and economic power at the time of their adoption. I shall follow substancially "part one" of your outline and will have the statement in your hands on or before February 18.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Returned

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY

Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN

Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

February 4, 1949

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
25 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In accordance with the suggestion contained in your letter of February 2,1949 I enclose herewith check in the sum of $61.10 to cover your fare to Detroit.

23-9-2

I have asked the Book-Cadilac Hotel to change their reservation for you to the 20th and 21st.

Please send your paper to me at the Book-Cadilac Hotel in Detroit, copy to David Rein,Esq.,1105 K St,N.W . Washington,D.C. at the earliest possible date.

Your porposed treatment is precisely what we want.

May I again express our sincere appreciation for your cooperation in this worthy project.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Silberstein
Executive Secretary

RJS:ks
encl.

P.S. Please call my room at the Hotel Statler of your arrival there.

Sect Congress

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 7, 1949

Mr. Robert J. Silberstein, Executive Secretary
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
District 3205

20-9-16

My dear Mr. Silberstein:

Enclosed is the article which I promised you. It may be too long but you are at liberty to cut it for printing. If I go to Detroit, I shall select enough from this paper to occupy 20 minutes in reading.

Meantime, I am sure I made it clear that I shall expect round trip fare with taxi-cab and limousine, board and room for two nights at the hotel.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Article.

Ltr copy

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY

Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN

Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

February 8, 1949

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

Dr. W. E. B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of the 7th enclosing the address you intend to present to our Convention Panel.

23-9-1

I wish that you would give consideration to my suggestion that you condense the discussion of the numerous suggested amendments which failed of passage in the Congress and develop somewhat more the intent and meaning of the amendments as they were adopted and as they were understood at the time. I had hoped also that you could make some general comment upon the situation we now have with respect to the rights of the Negro people, by way of conclusion.

On February 4th, we sent you our check for $61.10, the amount you requested, for plane fare. I advised that we would pick up your hotel bill for payment. I trust that the enclosed check for $25.00 will cover the other expenses to which you refer.

With best wishes and sincere appreciation for your contribution to the success of our discussion, I am

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Silberstein
Executive Secretary

RJS:ew

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
February 10, 1949

Mr. Robert J. Silberstein
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

23-9-3

My dear Mr. Silberstein:

I wish to acknowledge your checks for $61.10 and $25.00 and I understand that you will pick up my hotel bill.

No human being could, in a twenty-minute paper, treat the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and "add general comment upon the situation which we now have with respects to the rights of the Negro People." After all, I am just a writer, not a magician.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req to write Articles

THE LAWYERS GUILD REVIEW

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • PHONE: DISTRICT 3205

Please address reply to:
122 East 42 Street
New York 17, N.Y.

February 14, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

23-3-4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You have on occasion written for the Lawyers Guild Review, the bi-monthly legal periodical of the National Lawyers Guild. Because of the high regard of the members of the staff for your efforts as a past contributor, I have the honor to request, on their behalf, any further legal articles from you on subject matters which you may currently wish to publish.

May I suggest that you consider forwarding to us for publication, articles by you, which may now be ready for print, or some idea of articles, either in conception or progress, which will be available for publication.

Your contributions to our pages will be most welcome, now or in the - I hope - not too distant future.

Very truly yours,

Gloria Agrin

Gloria Agrin
Articles Editor

ga;b
uopwa

Tech. Corres

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY

Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN

Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

March 1, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
25 W. 26th Street
New York, New York

100-44-57

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to take this occasion to thank you again for your cooperation in the convention panel discussion on the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

As you could see, your presentation was genuinely appreciated. I am submitting your paper to the editors of our Lawyers Guild Review for publication in the next issue which should come out in May.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Robert J. Silberstein
Executive Secretary

RJS:ew

Thank you for your letter of March 1
Please let me have my paper back for
corrected
format, copying & deciphering before printing

23-44-58

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 4, 1949

Mr. Robert J. Silberstein
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
District 3205

Dear Mr. Silberstein:

Thank you for your letter of March 1. Please let me have my paper back for final correction, copying and deciphering before printing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Leo. Comm. 1949

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY
Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN
Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

76 Beaver Street
New York 5, N.Y.

March 10, 1949

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

23-44-55

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find the paper that you delivered at the National Lawyers Guild convention which you asked us to return to you for final correction prior to printing.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,
Robert B. Seidman

Robert B. Seidman
Editor in Chief
Lawyers Guild Review

RBS:EC

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Mr. Robert B. Seidman
Editor in Chief
Lawyers Guild Review
76 Beaver Street
New York 5, New York

23-44-56

Dear Mr. Seidman:

Enclosed is the copy of my speech before the National Lawyers Guild, which you are at liberty to use in the Guild Review if you so wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[LAWYERS GUILD REVIEW]

Left Complete

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

President
HON. ROBERT W. KENNY
Executive Secretary
ROBERT J. SILBERSTEIN
Treasurer
NATHAN B. KOGAN

Please reply to:
76 Beaver Street
New York 5, N.Y.

Vice-Presidents
BARTLEY C. CRUM, California
THOMAS I. EMERSON, Connecticut
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, New York
MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Louisiana
ELMER GERTZ, Illinois
HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Virgin Islands
HON. IRA WAITE JAYNE, Michigan
DANIEL G. MARSHALL, California
LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania
MARTIN POPPER, Washington, D. C.
O. JOHN ROGGE, New York

August 3, 1949

23-9-74

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find a proof of your article on the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Will you kindly make whatever corrections are necessary and return to me.

I was very happy to meet you in Norwalk on Sunday last. I trust that you will be a frequent visitor to our new community.

Cordially,

Robert B. Seidman
Editor in Chief
Lawyers Guild Review

RBS:EC
Enclosure

LAWYERS GUILD REVIEW

PUBLICATION OF
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

BOOK REVIEW SECTION

TEL. DIGBY 4-0515

October 11, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council of African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

23-9-66

My dear Mr. DuBois:

five I am sending to you under separate cover, ~~three~~ copies of the recent issue of the National Lawyers Guild Review containing your ~~book review of~~ article "The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments".

Please accept our sincere thanks for your courtesy in ~~reviewing the book~~ writing the article for us. I hope we may have the pleasure of printing further contributions from you in the future.

Sincerely,

Morton L. Leavy

Morton L. Leavy

MLL:im-5

Morton L. Leavy
Associate Editor, Current Books
Lawyers Guild Review
39 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.

[NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN COMM f. t. Def.]

file →

PAUL ROBESON

August 16, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At the Bill of Rights Conference on July 17th, I took the initiative in proposing to a number of the leaders of the Conference, the formation of a National Non-Partisan Committee For The Defense Of The Rights Of The 12 Communist Leaders. On July 26th, I wrote to you asking you to join with us in initiating this National Non-Partisan Committee.

The tempo of the trial in Judge Medina's court room is increasing. Time is growing short. The liberties of all of us are daily being placed in increasing jeopardy by the proceedings at Foley Square.

The general response to my invitation to join this Committee has been heartening. I would like to have you join with us before the Committee is officially launched, on Monday, August 22nd.

One of the immediate jobs of the National Non-Partisan Committee is to bring the facts and the dangers of this trial to the American people. The favorite trick of the enemies of Democracy is to disarm the people by raising the cry of Communism. The National Non-Partisan Committee is not concerned with defending Communism. We are concerned with defending the rights of Americans who happen to be Communists. If the 12 Communists can be jailed under the Smith Act for thinking and advocating Communist ideas, then all of us can be jailed for thinking and advocating any progressive ideas. All that we hold dear in America is in danger at Foley Square.

I hope that you agree with me that there is a great need for this Committee and that you will return the enclosed signature card by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson

P.S. The first meeting of the Committee will be held on Monday, August 22, at 7 PM in room 102-104 of the Theresa Hotel, 7th Ave and 125th St. NYC. I would like to see you present at this initial meeting so that we may have the benefit of your ideas and experiences in launching this Committee.

P.R.

23a-8

National Non-partisan Committee

TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE 12 COMMUNIST LEADERS

SUITE A • 23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 6-9251

September 27, 1949

23-49-22

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The trial of the 12 Communist leaders is nearing its close. It is an unprecedented trial in which ideas, words, and books have been treated by prosecutor and judge alike as though they were criminal acts. It is a trial which violates our Constitution and our American democratic traditions.

In a few days the lawyers for the defense will begin their summations - - - lawyers who themselves repeatedly have been threatened with punishment by the judge for daring to defend the rights of their clients.

While the lawyers' voices are raised in the courtroom, the voice of democratic Americans must be heard outside. For on the outcome of this trial depends not only the fate of the defendants and their lawyers, but the right of every democratically minded individual to think, read, hear and say what he pleases, the right of every democratic organization to continue its existence and activities.

For this reason the National Non-Partisan Committee deems it essential that a delegation comprising representatives of the broadest sectors of American life see Attorney-General McGrath and request that he use his offices to recommend that the indictment against the defendants be quashed.

Tentative dates for the delegation are Monday, October 10th, or Tuesday, October 11th.

We urgently request that you join with Congressman Vito Marcantonio, O. John Rogge, James Durkin, Prof. Philip Morrison, Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., ourselves and many others, as a member of the delegation.

Please fill out the enclosed card and return it to our office today. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed. We will confirm the date and arrangements for the delegation by telephone.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson — Howard Fast — Harold Christoffel

Paul Robeson, Co-Chairman — Howard Fast, Treasurer — Harold Christoffel, Exec. Dir.

CO-CHAIRMEN:
PAUL ROBESON
JUDGE NORVAL K. HARRIS
SULLIVAN, INDIANA

VICE-CHAIRMEN:
ELMER BENSON
APPLETON, MINN.
GRANT W. OAKES
INT'L. PRES., FARM EQUIP. UNION
CHICAGO, ILL.

OFFICERS

FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
CHICAGO, ILL.
MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS
CO-CHAIRMAN, S. C. REPUBLICAN PARTY
COLUMBIA, S. C.
PROF. LOUISE PETTEBONE SMITH
WELLESLEY, MASS.
MRS. THERESA LEE ROBINSON
DIR., ELKS CIVIL LIBERTIES COMM.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TREASURER:
HOWARD FAST
NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL

Organizations listed for identification only

National Non-partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders

(IN PROCESS OF FORMATION)

ARIZONA
William Wells Denton

CALIFORNIA
Charlotta A. Bass
Edward Barlow
Hugh Bryson
George A. Coe
Hugh Hardyman
Albert Maltz
Howard Edwin Sweeting
Eddie Tanger

COLORADO
Rev. William H. Burnette, Jr.
Samuel D. Menin
Mrs. Harvey Weeks

CONNECTICUT
Jacob E. Holmes
Dr. John M. Marsalka

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Prof. E. Franklin Frazier
William Glazier
John H. Martini
David Rein
Theresa Lee Robinson
Thomas G. Sampler

FLORIDA
Stetson Kennedy

GEORGIA
Larkin Marshall

ILLINOIS
Alice S. Belester
Solon C. Bell
Dr. Ray A. Billington
Dorothy Bushnell Cole
Ernest De Maio
Joseph Edelman
Theresa C. Ehrlich
Joseph M. Evans
Abe Fineglass
Rabbi David Graubart
Alfonso Iannelli
Michael Levin
Willard Motley
Grant W. Oakes
Father Clarence Parker
Dr. Boris Rubenstein
Mrs. J. Russell
Antonio Rubio, Ph.D.
Rabbi Samuel Teitelbaum

INDIANA
N. L. Crosby
Willard B. Ransom

IOWA
Chas. P. Howard

MAINE
Dr. J. Melnick
The Rev. Michael Millen

MASSACHUSETTS
Robenia Anthony
William Harrison
Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes
Florence H. Luscomb
Luther K. Macnair
Dr. Benjamin F. Miller
Dr. Louise Pettebone Smith
Eric A. Starbuck

MICHIGAN
Rev. Ernest W. Arthur
Rev. Charles A. Hill

MINNESOTA
Bertha Anderson
Elmer A. Benson

MISSOURI
Douglas MacLeod

MONTANA
Chet Kinsey

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Francis J. Bealey
Abraham Welanko

NEW JERSEY
Helen F. Alfred
George Cherlin
Dr. A. R. Melnicoff
Richard J. Ryan, Jr.
Ruth Young

NEW YORK
Daniel Benjamin
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Sam Burt
Sol. H. Cohn
Prof. Ephraim Cross
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Dr. Arnold Donawa
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
James H. Durkin
Frank Dutto
Howard Fast
Shirley Graham
Ben Gold
B. Z. Goldberg
Ewart Guinier
Robert Gwathmey
Uta Hagen
Arthur Hurwich
Leo Jandreau
Philip O. Keeney
Rockwell Kent
Paul Kern
John A. Kingsbury
Alfred C. Kuchler
Andrew Leredu
Cong. Vito Marcantonio
Dr. Wm. H. Melish
Prof. Philip Morrison
Capt. Hugh Mulzac
George B. Murphy, Jr.
Clifford Odets
Arthur Osman
William L. Patterson
Max Perlow
Albert Pezzati
Martin Popper
Anton Refregier
O. John Rogge
Arthur Schutzer
Samuel Sillen
Mary Van Kleeck
Leonard Velardi
Theodore Ward
Prof. Gene Weltfish
Joseph Winogradsky

NORTH CAROLINA
Edwin Bjorkman

NORTH DAKOTA
Don C. Matchan

OHIO
Prof. Henry Blumberg
Russell N. Chase
Hugh De Lacy
Thelma C. Furn
Ray Ginger
Bernard V. McGroarty
Elsie R. Torca

OREGON
Prof. Henry N. Woman

PENNSYLVANIA
Calvin Brock
Alvin B. Christman
David Davis
Donald Henderson
Mrs. Charlotte K. Krall
W. F. McCabe
Alexander Wright
George S. Wuchinich

RHODE ELAND
Clement J. France
Albert J. Hallington

SOUTH CAROLINA
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins

TENNESSEE
Tom Ludwig
Mrs. Clara M. Vincent

VIRGINIA
Virginia Durr
Mrs. Robbie M. Riddick

WASHINGTON
Dr. Ellis B. Merriam
Wm. J. Pennock

WEST VIRGINIA
Pace Meldahl

WISCONSIN
Krzycki

National Non-partisan Committee

TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE 12 COMMUNIST LEADERS

SUITE A • 23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 6-9251

October 18, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

23-19-23

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On Monday, October 24, a delegation sponsored by the Non-Partisan Committee, will go to the United Nations to meet with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, head of the Commission on Human Rights.

The delegates will carry with them a statement, a draft of which is enclosed, which will point out that the recent trial of the Communist leaders, the conviction and contempt citations grossly violate many tenets of the Declaration on Human Rights. They will propose immediate intercession by the United Nations to call these violations to the attention of the United States Government.

The delegation will be small in number, comprised of outstanding individuals as broadly representative of the American people as possible.

Among those who already have agreed to be members are O. John Rogge, Paul Kern, Mary Van Kleeck, Paul Robeson and Howard Fast.

We are very eager that you as an internationally known educator and historian participate in the delegation. I have already spoken with Dr. Hunton about this. He suggested that I write you and that he would discuss the matter with you further.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Isserman

Joan Isserman

JI:mm

OFFICERS

CO-CHAIRMEN:
PAUL ROBESON
JUDGE NORVAL K. HARRIS
SULLIVAN, INDIANA

VICE-CHAIRMEN:
ELMER BENSON
APPLETON, MINN.
GRANT W. OAKES
INT'L. PRES., FARM EQUIPMENT UNION
CHICAGO, ILL.
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
CHICAGO, ILL.
MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS
CO-CHAIRMAN, S. C. REPUBLICAN PARTY
COLUMBIA, S. C.
PROF. LOUISE PETTEBONE SMITH
WELLESLEY, MASS.
MRS. THERESA LEE ROBINSON
DIR., ELKS CIVIL LIBERTIES COMM.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TREASURER:
HOWARD FAST
NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL

Organizations listed for identification only

NATIONAL SOCIETY
FOR THE
PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS
INC.

Office of the Treasurer, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

May 2, 1949

23-50-39

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Nothing I might say would strengthen the appeal designed and contributed by the eminent artist and author, Rockwell Kent.

Cordially yours,

Mason H. Bigelow

Mason H. Bigelow
President

HONORARY OFFICERS

John M. Glenn ..... *Vice-President*
Hon. Thomas P. Gore ..... *Vice-President*
Helen Keller ..... *Vice-President*
Homer Folks ..... *Vice-President*

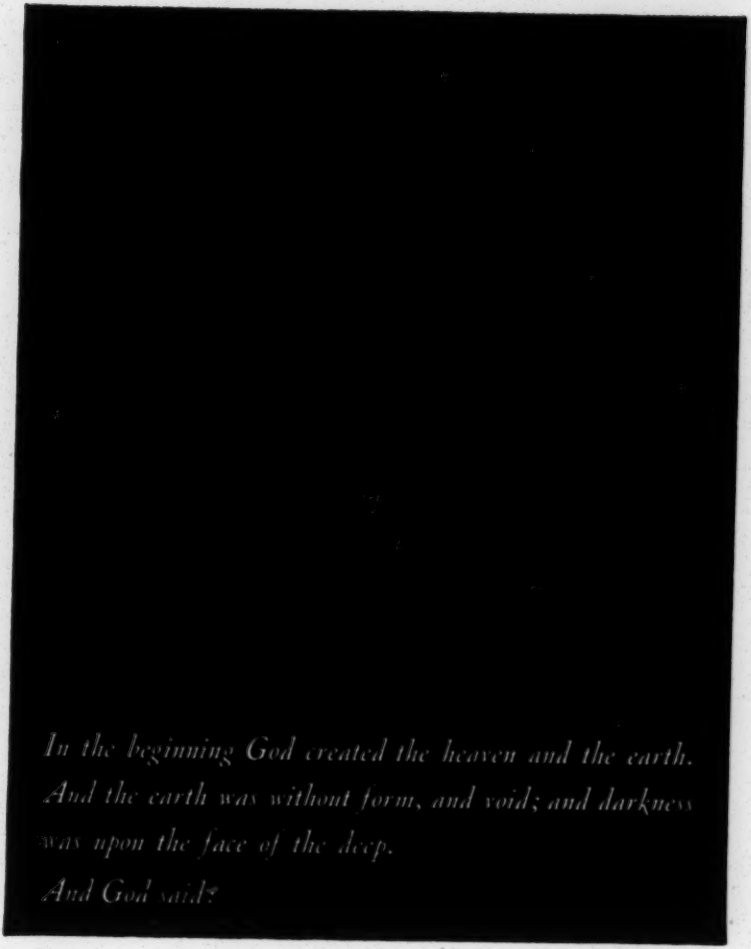
OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mason H. Bigelow ..... *President*
Conrad Berens, M.D. ..... *Vice-President*
Preston S. Millar ..... *Vice-President*
Pauline B. Williamson ..... *Vice-President*
Eugene M. Geddes ..... *Treasurer*

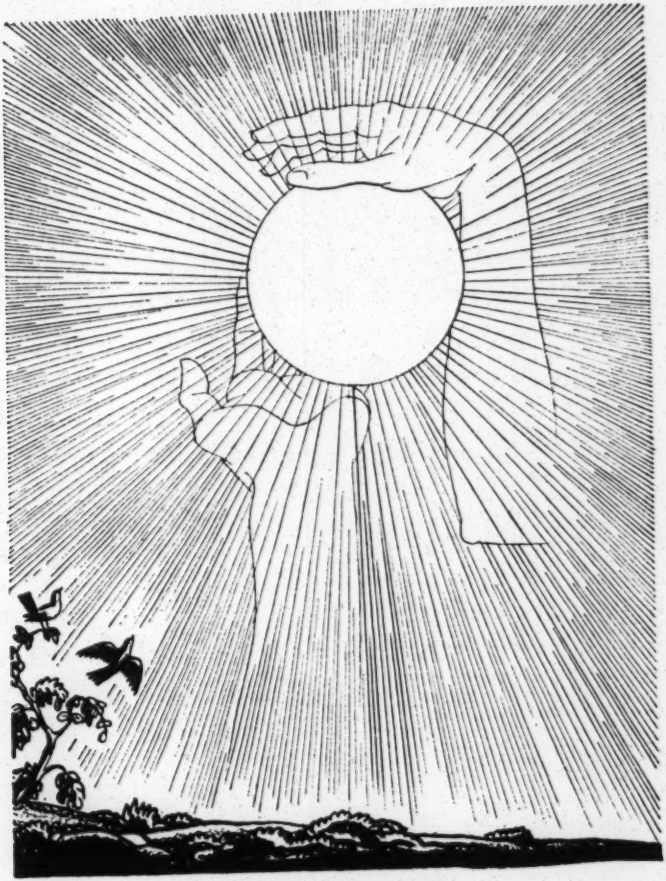
John W. Avirett, 2nd
Edith M. Baker
William L. Benedict, M.D.
Eugene M. Blake, M.D.
A. J. Chesley, M.D.
Leonard Greenburg, M.D.
Wilton L. Halverson, M.D.
Ira V. Hiscock, Sc.D.
Robert F. Irwin, Jr.
Thomas H. Johnson, M.D.
Walter B. Lancaster, M.D.
Clarence G. Michalis
R. Townley Paton, M.D.
Carl E. Rice, M.D.
John L. Rice, M.D.
Bernard Samuels, M.D.
Rev. Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J.
Charles Sheard, Ph.D.
William F. Snow, M.D.
Frank H. Woods, Jr.
William Zentmayer, M.D.
William Ziegler, Jr.

Franklin M. Foote, M.D. ..... *Executive Director*

230-52



In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness
was upon the face of the deep.
And God said?



Let there be light: and there was light.
And God saw the light, that it was good.

To those who are blind it is as it was before the beginning: darkness is for them upon the face of the deep. Enduring sorrow is their lot. God help them.

There are thousands of little children who are threatened by blindness yet who, with our help, can be saved. Let us contribute what we can to the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. The number saved depends upon our charity.

Edward Ayres

[NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - HARLEM]

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK, Inc.

202-6 WEST 136th STREET AUdubon 3-7200 • NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

EDWARD S. LEWIS
Executive Director

ROBERT J. ELLY
General Secretary

Lech. comes

HARLEM COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN
EDUCATION

DR. WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK
President

DR. JOHN H. LATHROP
First Vice-President

DR. LUCIEN M. BROWN
Second Vice-President

MRS. EDITH M. ALEXANDER
Secretary

MACEO A. THOMAS
Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. Catherine Alexander
William H. Baldwin
G. Hinman Barrett
Com. Samuel J. Battle
Jack Blumstein
Judge Jane Bolin
Daniel L. Burrows
Dean Harry J. Carman
Edwards L. Cleaveland
Mrs. Malcolm Crusius
Dr. Neva Deardorff
James Felt
Arthur L. Funn
Dr. Wm. R. R. Granger
Miss Helen Hall
Charles M. Hanson
Arthur H. Harlow, Jr.
Rev. Edler Hawkins
Mrs. Sadie S. Hobday
Clarence N. Johnson
Com. J. Raymond Jones
Mrs. John Paul Jones
Miss Clara A. Kaiser
Mrs. Leona Gillette Russell
Dean Margaret Kiely
Whitman Knapp
Miss Loula D. Lasker
Clarence E. Lucas
Newbold Morris
Mrs. Alfred Mudge
Michael M. Nisselson
Mrs. Phyllis Oliver
Mrs. Louise Oswell
Bernard Reswick
Benjamin C. Ribman
Norman W. Robinson
William Sachs
Frank Schiffman
Wolfgang Schwabacher
Louis Simon
Dr. John H. Singleton
Judge Nathan R. Sobel
Rev. Samuel H. Sweeney
J. Raymond Walsh

23-9-85

March 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Harlem Committee Against Discrimination In Education is deeply concerned over the current dispute for the control of the New York State University system.

The Committee has taken the position that administrative control should be lodged with the State Board of Trustees rather than with the State Board of Regents. The attached fact sheet gives details on our thinking in this matter.

In order to bring this issue into sharper focus in the Harlem community, the Committee will present a public forum on Sunday, March 13, 4:00 - 6:00 P.M. in the Urban League building, 202 West 136th Street.

The Committee has instructed me to contact you and request that you address this meeting. They hope that you will key-note the forum for us by pointing up the underlying significance of some of the current problems relating to education in New York State.

Will you contact me as soon as possible as to whether you can be present?

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES CAMPBELL
Chairman

Edward S. Lewis

EDWARD S. LEWIS
for the Committee

Enc.

[URBAN LEAGUE]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 8, 1949

23-9-86

Mr. Edward S. Lewis
Harlem Committee Against
Discrimination in Education
Urban League of Greater New York, Inc.
202-6 West 136th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I regret to say that I shall be in Baltimore, March 13, but I agree with the position that your Committee has taken.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK, Inc.

202-6 WEST 136th STREET AUdubon 3-7200 • NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

EDWARD S. LEWIS
Executive Director

ROBERT J. ELY
General Secretary

Sect. comm

HARLEM COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN
EDUCATION

DR. WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK
President

DR. JOHN H. LATHROP
First Vice-President

DR. LUCIEN M. BROWN
Second Vice-President

MRS. EDITH M. ALEXANDER
Secretary

MACEO A. THOMAS
Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. Catherine Alexander
William H. Baldwin
G. Hinman Barrett
Com. Samuel J. Battle
Jack Blumstein
Judge Jane Bolin
Daniel L. Burrows
Dean Harry J. Carman
Edwards L. Cleaveland
Mrs. Malcolm Crusius
Dr. Neva Deardorff
James Felt
Arthur L. Funn
Dr. Wm. R. R. Granger
Miss Helen Hall
Charles M. Hanson
Arthur H. Harlow, Jr.
Rev. Edler Hawkins
Mrs. Sadie S. Hobday
Clarence N. Johnson
Com. J. Raymond Jones
Mrs. John Paul Jones
Miss Clara A. Kaiser
Mrs. Leona Gillette Russell
Dean Margaret Kiely
Whitman Knapp
Miss Loula D. Lasker
Clarence E. Lucas
Newbold Morris
Mrs. Alfred Mudge
Michael M. Nisselson
Mrs. Phyllis Oliver
Mrs. Louise Oswell
Bernard Reswick
Benjamin C. Ribman
Norman W. Robinson
William Sachs
Frank Schiffman
Wolfgang Schwabacher
Louis Simon
Dr. John H. Singleton
Judge Nathan R. Sobel
Rev. Samuel H. Sweeney
J. Raymond Walsh

23-9-83

March 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On March 3 we wrote you requesting that you speak at a public forum on the matter of administrative control of the New York State University system to be held on Sunday afternoon, March 13, at the Urban League Building, 202 West 136th Street.

For reasons beyond our control it is necessary to postpone this forum until Sunday, March 27. Needless to say, we still are hopeful that you will be able to accept our invitation.

Will you advise us as soon as possible as to whether we may expect you?

Sincerely yours,

Charles Campbell
Chairman

Edward S. Lewis (t)
Edward S. Lewis
For the Committee

P:

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 11, 1949

Mr. Edward S. Lewis
Harlem Committee
Urban League of Greater New York, Inc.
202-6 West 136th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Answering your letter of March 8, I regret to say that I will be unable to speak for you on March 27, due to a previous engagement.

Thank you for your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

April 12, 1949

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New york

NEGRO DIGEST

W. E. B. Du Bois, Debtor

Twenty-Five dollars for reprinting article from
The New York Times.

Please remit.

[NEGRO DIGEST]

Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.

Publishers of Negro Digest and Ebony Magazines

1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

November 25, 1949

Dear Mr. DuBois: When Paul Robeson made his now famous Negroes-won't-fight speech several months ago, it touched off a controversy that resounded around the world.

23-3-1

Now that the excitement and confusion have passed, we feel that the facts on both sides of this vital question should be carefully weighed and presented to the public. We can think of no one in America more qualified to defend the Robeson point of view than yourself. We would like for you to give us about 1500 words by December 3rd justifying his stand for a NEGRO DIGEST feature, "Paul Robeson, Right or Wrong."

We can offer you a token payment of $40 for this article. Please let me hear from you on this matter immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Era Bell Thompson

Era Bell Thompson
Managing Editor
NEGRO DIGEST

EBT/gd

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West Twenty-sixth Street
New York 10, New York

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

January 31st, 1949.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The enclosed evaluation sheets are for our B. A. candidates. It is essential that we have your appraisal of each student's ability and progress.

Inasmuch as the grades are being supplied separately it is not necessary to repeat them.

The completed evaluation sheets should be returned in the self-addressed envelope. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

H. Eichner
Student Adviser

he/js
enc.

FACULTY EVALUATION

Hellman Sondra L. ~~B.A. candidate~~ Gen.Cr.

Course # 106 Negro in Amer.Dem. (Du Bois)

Grade for term paper_____
Grade for examination_____
Final grade for course_____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date_____

_____
Signature of Faculty Member

T-227

FACULTY EVALUATION

Berger, Howard B. A. candidate

Course # 106, Negro in Amer. History (Du Bois)

Grade for term paper _____
Grade for examination_____
Final grade for course_____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date_____

_____
Signature of Faculty Member

230-2

FACULTY EVALUATION

Pawel, Ernest B. A. candidate

Course # 106, Negro in American History (Du Bois)

Grade for term paper _____
Grade for examination_____
Final grade for course_____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date_____

_____
Signature of Faculty Member

132-3

FACULTY EVALUATION

Daly, Robert M. A.M. candidate Gen.Cr.

Course # 196. Negro in Amer. Hist. (Prof.) Du Bois

Grade for term paper _____

Grade for examination _____

Final grade for course _____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date _____

_____

Signature of Faculty Member

230-2

FACULTY EVALUATION

Ruhm Herbert B. A. candidate

Course # 106 Negros in Amer. Hist. Du Bois

Grade for term paper_____
Grade for examination_____
Final grade for course_____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date_____

_____
Signature of Faculty Member

230-2

FACULTY EVALUATION

Selltiz Claire A B. A. candidate

Course # 106 Negro in Amer.Hist. Du Bois

Grade for term paper _____
Grade for examination _____
Final grade for course _____

Can you give us other information about this student's intellectual interests, methods of study, participation in class, etc.?

What is your general impression of the student?

Date _____

_____
Signature of Faculty Member

2-2821

DATE February 1, 1949

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 West 12th Street, New York

The following students in my course, #106--DUBOIS

have satisfactorily completed the requirements for credit:

Name	Credit	Examination	Term Paper	Final Grade
Berger, Howard M.	B.A.	C	B	B
Daly, Robert	B.A.	A	C	B
Hellman, Sondra	General	B	A	A
Pawel, Ernest	B.A.	C	A	A
Ruhm, Ernest	B.A.	C	C+	C
Sellitz, Claire	B. A.	A		

230-43

Signature _____

PLEASE USE INK

Note: Students should be graded as follows:

A---Excellent
B---Good
C---Average
D---Poor
E---Incomplete
F---Failure

DATE February 1, 1949

106 DuBois

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 West 12th Street, New York 11

/ Following are the grades in my examination for Veteran (non-credit) students:

Name	Grade
Breitman, George	B
Stuart, Lyle	

230-43

Signature _____

PLEASE USE INK

NOTE: Students should be graded as follows:

A---Excellent
B---Good
C---Average
D---Poor
F---Failure

NEW-School

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

Sondra Hellman---106 DuBois B.A. Credit---B

Robert M. Daly --106 Du Bois Gen. Credit--A

Herbert Ruhm----- ---C

Claire Selltiz-------- ----A

Goerge Breitman ---- --------B

Ernest Pawel------- --------C

Howard M. Berger --- --------C

23C-43

"Race Attitudes"-----Howard M. Berger---mark B. A good general paper, lacks bibliography.

330-43

"The Negro Newspaper"-----Robert M. Daly---mark C. Rather short and sketchy and lacks bibliography.

B3C-43

"The Negro and The American Cinema--1896-1948"-- Sondra Hellman. Mark A.-----A good paper perhaps it might be a little more thoroughly digested.

"Race Attitudes and Personality"----Ernst Pawel -mark A.

An excellent and thoughtful paper. Possibly there should have been a wider consultation of authorities, like essays, biographies, novels and theory.

ABC-113

"The Meaning of Lucas Beauchamp"----by Herbert Ruhm--mark C Plus. This is an excellent beginning of a study, not quite adequately finished and not very neatly done. It points towards possibilities of something much better.

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

February 8,1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In checking back our records we find that we did not deduct the fees of the last two lecturers for your course.

We therefore overpaid you $100.00.

Will you please send us a refund in that amount.

Trusting to hear from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Yours very truly,

H. George Bamberg

RFS.

H. George Bamberg

232-2

New School

A Proposed Course of I5 Lectures on the Negro in American History; New School, Fall, I949

By W.EB. Du Bois

I. The Negro in Africa and Europe, I600-I800

2. The Slave Trade, I442-I860

3. American Slavery, I787-I800

4. The Cotton Kingdom, I820-I86I

5. The Free Negro and Abolition, 1830-1860

6. Civil War, 1861-1865

7. Reconstruction, 1865-1876

8. Color Caste, 1876-1900

9. The Negro Church

I0. Negro Education

II. Negro Occupations and the Labor Movement, 1865-1945

I2. Social Conditions, health and physique

I3. The Fight for Civil Rights 1905-1945

I4. Negro Art and Literature

I5. The Future

New School

36-3-34

45-3-34

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Fee for each lecture $1.80 unless otherwise stated. A number of courses scheduled to be open for single lectures are closed because filled to capacity.

TUESDAY, MARCH 8 (Continued)

8:30 Ferand
Ear Training
Fine
Techniques of Publicity ($2.40)
(See Guest Speakers)
Lewis
Social Psychology
C. Mayer
Problems in Sociology
J. Meyer
Current Labor Events
A. Mirsky
Chemical Biology

8:30 Perlmann
Islamic Middle East
Recasens-Siches
Philosophy of Law
Tartak
Russian Literary Criticism
Schools of radical thought: 60's and 70's
Van Den Haag
Planning
Vladeck
Collective Bargaining
Seniority
Zuckerkandl
The Unity of the Arts

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9

11:20 Hermes
English ($3)
4:00 Mathews
Art of Translation
4:20 Deri
The Szondi Test ($4)
Sawyer
Gertrude Stein
Critical works
6:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)
6:10 Murphy
Modern Psychology
6:15 S. Kaufman
Mass Communication Arts ($2.40)
(Meets 109 E. Houston St.)
Joughin
The New Criticism
Malaquais
French Literature
Warburg
American Foreign Policy ($2)
A revised U.S. policy
Watson
Public Opinion
Zemansky
General Physics
Work and energy. Fluids
6:30 Dillon
Political Parties
7:00 von Eckardt
Gymnastics ($1.65)

8:00 Jelinek
Graphic Arts ($3)
8:20 Ferand
Introduction to Music
Oratorio and passion
Huth
Mass Media (See Cover)
8:30 Abelson
Psychological Methods of Studying People
Deyrup
American Economic History
Kazin
Thoreau
The Libertarian and other works
Lichtheim
The Ancient East
Nagel
Logic in Practice
B. Stern
Anthropology
Weyl
Contemporary Germany
Wittenberg
Camp Workshop
Zeisel
Market and Opinion Research ($2.40)
Zucker
Styles through the Ages
The new style in the Netherlands

THURSDAY, MARCH 10

10:30 Reich
Pre-School Child
1:00 Weber
Writing Workshop ($3)
(See Guest Speakers)
4:00 Dover
Biology and Society
5:10 Joughin
The Research Paper
Technique of quotation
5:20 Troy
British and American Poetry
6:20 Brecht
Current Events

6:20 Ferand
Free Composition
Hamburger
Social Evolution
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2)
Montagu
Development of the Human Being
Slochower
Culture Epochs
The Faustian man
8:10 Kaufman et al
Film for Public Relations ($2.70)
(Meets 109 E. Houston St.)

THURSDAY, MARCH 10 (Continued)

8:30 Bieber
Greek and Roman Art
(No session. See Note)
Elkin
American Culture and Personality
Emery
Motivation
Ferguson
The President and Congress
Lenrow
20th Century Novel in America
Erskine Caldwell and Julia Peterkin

8:30 Masselman
Economic Basis of Political Power
Perlmann
Middle East Today
Staudinger, Melamid
Economic Geography
(See Cover)
Steinberg
Public Relations ($2.40)
van de Kamp
The World of Stars
Kepler's laws

FRIDAY, MARCH 11

11:20 Cowell
Living Composers
2:00 Yunkers
Oil Painting, Drawing ($4.50)
4:00 Brandeis
Fiction and Poetry ($2.70)
Cowell
Music Theory (Adv.)
Dover
Intergroup Relations
4:20 Glicksberg
Writer's Laboratory ($3)
6:00 Schanker
Abstract Drawing ($3)
Yunkers
Lithography ($3)
6:20 Andrade
South American Government and Politics
Borne
Contemporary Art
Abstract art
Cowell
Music Theory (Elem.)
Ettinger
Factfinding Techniques ($2.40)
Hermes
Writing ($4)
Lawton
Aging Successfully
A philosophy for maturity
K. Mayer
Social Change
Skelton
American Social Structure

6:20 Sternberg
Living in Truce
Marshall Plan and European crisis
8:10 Munson, Giniger, Hall
Book Publishing ($3.25)
How publishers sell books (Final session)
8:30 Cowell
Music of the World's People in America
Dubitsky
Economic Development of the Soviet Union
Fischoff
Sociology of Literature
S. James
Publicity Writing ($2.70)
Kullmann
History of Roman Culture
Rome and Latium
Platt
Mechanics of Practical Publicity ($2.40)
Rado
Psychodynamics
Read
Modern European Civilization
Roy
Indian Philosophy
A. Stone
Marriage and the Family
Psychological factors
L. J. Stone
Case Studies of Normal Children
Troy
Modern Fiction: Proust

SATURDAY, MARCH 12

9:30 Kaback
Psychological Procedures ($5.50)
10:30 Ginsberg
Play Analysis ($2.40)

10:30 Margolius
How to Buy More for your Money
Quality of merchandise
11:00 Fischoff
Sociological Classics
2:00 Royal
Henry George ($2)

3:00 Bieber: Field Trip: To Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. & 82nd St., Archaic Greek Art collection.

SUNDAY, MARCH 6

7:30 Elson Dances of the Peoples of Many Lands ($1.65)

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23c-9

NEW SCHOOL BULLETIN

VOL. VI No. 27 MARCH 7, 1949

GUEST SPEAKERS

ROBERT NATHAN March 7

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR PALESTINE

Mr. Nathan, consulting economist, was former deputy director, War Production Board; author, *Palestine: Problem and Promise.*

Course: *Problems Facing the New State of Israel*
Carl Herman Voss, Chairman, 1st Mondays, 8:30 P.M.

VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON March 10

THE ARCTIC IN THE MODERN WORLD

Mr. Stefansson, famous Arctic explorer, author of many books, the latest of which *New Compass of the World* will be published by Macmillan, March 22, is now engaged in a monumental project, Encyclopedia Arctica.

Course: *Economic Geography*
Hans Staudinger, Alexander Melamid, Thursdays, 8:30 P.M.

WILDER FOOTE and CARL MILAM March 9

THE PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF LIBRARIES

Mr. Foote is director of the United Nations Press Division; Mr. Milam is director of the U.N. Library Services.

Course: *Mass Media and International Relations*
Arno Huth, Wednesdays, 8:20 P.M.

66 WEST 12th STREET, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Telephone ORegon 5-2700
(Return Postage Guaranteed)

ADULT EDUCATION

By Clara W. Mayer

It seems so new to me, so recent, such an incredibly short time in which the phrase, adult education —dull, colorless, boring—became not a phrase for me, but a reality, the vehicle of the good life.

What makes life good? Interest — adventure — accomplishment. But for how many are they within reach? The routine of one day follows the routine of another, precedes the routine of a third. In the factory, the office, the home. We use the phrase, "We could die of boredom." Actually we cannot, but often we wish we might. Boredom even more than tragedy brings with it the sense of futility, of the utterly useless weariness of living.

We owe it largely to the machine age. Not only has work ceased to be interesting which consists in feeding the machine, but play has become almost equally uninteresting which consists largely in the machine feeding us. We are on the receiving end of radios, motion pictures, even of flying and driving, in which most of us are passengers. We have become largely the passive medium of technological progress, we have been used by mechanical inventions instead of using them.

Adult education is the reassertion of our independent humanity, the rediscovery of ourselves and of the fact that the goal of our leisure time activities need not be necessarily to prevent us from thinking but may even be to contribute toward it. I quote from the more or less casual letter of the prime minister of an Eastern people:

> "Ordinarily I am immersed in this sordid sickening sea of business and most of my time is spent in talking shop and in other similar formal matters. The soul, however, needs some fare and it can only feed on what is congenial and wholesome. These in the present circumstances I can seldom find. . . . It is nevertheless true that it is not worthwhile gaining the kingdom of the world if in the bargain one loses one's own soul—that indefinable eternal, and maybe as some say, mythical substance, which has held humanity in the midst of all trials, tribulations and pitfalls."

Adult education is the way back to one's own soul. . . . And finding the life that is most meaningful to our individual selves with all the variety of interest that individuality requires, proves at the same time to be the road to a purposeful life, for the community, the nation, the world. The colossal dilemmas of our time, apparently insoluble, are the accumulated individual incompetence and the resulting pessimism of generations. Instead of analyzing our own responsibility, we seem to see a solution in attacking others, as if we suffered less from the mistakes of others than we do from our own!

But mutual vituperation engenders lasting resentments that drain energies, paralyze effort and preclude enthusiasms. That we have the collective wisdom to solve our problems if only we permitted it to operate individually, is something of which we are, generally speaking, altogether unaware. . . .

What the New School seeks to give to its students, is direct contact with men and women who by their own efforts are adding to the sum of knowledge—opportunity to see the human spirit at work, to see the imagination with which it conceives and formulates significant problems, the ingenuity with which it devises methods, the objectivity and perseverance by which it finally arrives at solutions. This is the dynamics of learning with the drama and the thrill of exploration, with the sense of fulfilment that flows from achievement and winning new areas from the limitless reaches of the unknown. *(From a broadcast of the "Voice of America")*

GUEST SPEAKERS

Mar. 8—**JEROME E. KLEIN**—"Retail Store Publicity"
8:30 P.M. Mr. Klein is public relations director of Lane Bryant.
Course: *Techniques of Publicity* **Benjamin Fine**

Mar. 10—**HARRY ROSKOLENKO**, author of four books of
1 P.M. poetry, will read his poems in **Brom Weber's *Writing Workshop.***

Mar. 11—**HENRY A. GILBERT**, 78, member of a Philadelphia
6:20 P.M. real estate firm, will be interviewed informally about his colonization project for older people in **George Lawton's** course ***The Psychology of Aging Successfully.***

GENERAL SEMINAR

Wednesdays, 8:30 P.M.

Mar. 9—**LUIS RECASENS-SICHES**—"The Antinomies of Law"

The General Seminar is open to students registered in any New School or Graduate course and to invited guests. Please present course card or guest ticket at the door.

DRAMATIC WORKSHOP

MARCH OF DRAMA REPERTORY

President Theater **CASEY AT THE BAT** **Franklin Irving**
247 West 48 Street
Thurs. thru Sun. Mar. 10-13
Wed. thru Sun Mar. 16-20
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

Rooftop Theater **TWELFTH NIGHT**
111 East Houston Street **William Shakespeare**
Thurs. thru Sun. Mar. 10-13
Ev'gs. 8:30, Mat. Sat., Sun. 2:30 P.M.

For information about enrollment in this course and attendance at repertory performances, consult M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, President Theater, CIrcle 5-7287.

MARCH OF FILM

Lectures and Film Showings ($2.70) **Lewis Jacobs**
Meets, 109 East Houston Street, Fridays, 8:20 P.M.
Mar. 11—Lewis Milestone and the Regional Film:
Of Mice and Men

Published weekly from September through May by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH at 66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Entered as second class matter November 12, 1943, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.
808

CALENDAR OF OPEN COURSES

The following courses are open for single lectures, titles of which are given where possible. Fee for each lecture $1.80 unless otherwise stated. A number of courses scheduled to be open for single lectures are closed because filled to capacity.

MONDAY, MARCH 7

10:30 Kullmann
Introduction to Philosophy
Montesquieu, Vico, Rousseau
11:00 Levy
Legislative Process
1:00 Wdowinski
Normal Psychology
2:00 Molzahn
Form and Color
Composition ($4.50)
Tagliacozzo
Economics
2:20 Zipper
The Orchestra
4:00 O'Neill
Classical Politics
Tartak
Dostoyevsky
Views on the west
5:45 Yunkers
Woodcuts (Adv.) ($3)
6:00 Munson
Professional Writing ($3)
On finding a native style
6:20 Brameld
The Coming Struggle in Education
Hula
The Soviet Union
Kogbetliantz
Mathematics ($2)
G. Stern
Philosophy of Art
Weinberg
City Planning
Wunderlich
American Economy
8:15 Kelman
Neuroses and Psychoses
The successful neurotic
8:30 Aaroni
Hebrew Literature
Bychowski
Analytic Psychopathology
Evolution of thinking
Goldzieher-Roman
Graphology
Hirsch
Marketing
Leirens
Beethoven's Quartets
Leslau
Semitic Languages
Malaquais
The Writer: Problems of Creation
Minkoff
Modern Yiddish Literature
O'Neill
Sources of Reason and Unreason
Nationalism
Parkes
American Cultural Development
Ratensky
Housing Design
Voss
New State of Israel ($2)
(See Cover)
Wdowinski
Normal Psychology
White
Modern Political Thought

TUESDAY, MARCH 8

9:00 Lipton
Sculpture ($6)
10:30 Koch
The Freedom Train—Some Basic Documents
R. Mirsky
Music by Parents and Children ($1.65)
1:00 Deinhard
The Art of Our Time
4:00 Gurevitz
Psychology of Displaced Persons
4:20 Fritz Kaufmann
European Reconstruction
5:45 Yunkers
Lithography ($3)
6:00 Safranski
Pictorial Journalism ($3.60)
6:10 Turner
The Changing World
6:20 Bretnall
Abnormal Psychology
Ferand
Keyboard Harmony (Int.) ($2)
6:20 E. James
Latin American Civilization
Fritz Kaufmann
History of the Jews
Era of liberalism and assimilation
Lenrow
Masterpieces of World Literature
John Donne
O'Neill
Greek Drama
Sophocles and the Tragedy of Character
Salomon
Goethe: *Faust*
Faust, the mystic and philosopher
Wallach
Experimental Research Problems
8:00 Yunkers
Woodcuts ($3)
8:15 Rosenthal
Work and Play for Children

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 10, 1949

Mr. H. George Bamberg
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Sir:

Enclosed is my check for $100 in accordance with the enclosed note.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

23-2-3

Mr. H. Eichner
THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Sir:

The contacts which I have had with my students in course number 106 has been too casual for me to make any appraisal of ability and progress. I have met the class once a week for an hours' lecture during one semester.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th St NEW YORK 11
GRAMERCY 7-8464

SCHOOL OF POLITICS

March 15, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-9-63

Some time ago you indicated a desire to repeat your course next year but without using visiting speakers to the extent you have been doing. I have not heard from you since. I am now in the process of shaping up the catalog for next year and would like to have your proposal within the next few days.

I am under obligation to transform all financial arrangements to our usual plan, whereby we pay instructors 50% of net course income. Would this be agreeable with you? It would also be helpful if you would indicate the day and hour you prefer.

Cordially,

John H. Ferguson

John H. Ferguson
Dean

JHF:hk

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

23-9-64

Mr. John H. Fergason, Dean
School of Politics
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Ferguson:

I enclose an outline of a proposed course on the "Negro in American History" at the New School in the Fall. I regret to say that I could not undertake such a course on a contingent basis. The appeal of the course, judging from last year, does not seem to be very wide, and there is no reason to think it would be wider next year. I should have to be assured of at least $750 for the 15 lectures.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[ENC]

A PROPOSED COURSE OF FIFTEEN LECTURES
On The
NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY: New School

Fall, 1949
By

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-9-65

1. The Negro in Africa and Europe, 1600-1800
2. The Slave Trade, 1442-1860
3. American Slavery, 1787-1800
4. The Cotton Kingdom, 1820- 1861
5. The Free Negro and Abolition, 1830-1860
6. Civil War, 1861-1865
7. Reconstruction, 1865-1867
8. Color Caste, 1876-1900
9. The Negro Church
10. Negro Education
11. Negro Occupations and the Labor Movement, 1865-1945
12. Social Conditions, health and physique
13. The Fight for Civil Rights 1905-1945
14. Negro Art and Literature
15. The Future

File

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Franklin, John Hope--"From Slavery To Freedom"--Alfred A. Knopf, 1947--N. Y.

Du Bois, W. E. B. --"The World And Africa"--The Viking Press, 1949--N. Y.

Du Bois, W. E. B. --"Color And Democracy"--Harcourt, Brace and Co.--1945-N. Y.

Weaver, Robert G.--"The Negro Ghetto"--Harcourt, Brace and Co.--1948-N. Y.

Logan, Rayford W.--The African Mandates in World Politics"- Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C. 1948.

Frazier, E. Franklin--"The Negro in the United States"--The MacMillan Co. 1949-N. Y.

Logan, Rayford W. --"What The Negro Wants" Van Rees Press, N. Y. 1944

Bontemps, Arna--"Story of the Negro"--Alfred A. Knopf, 1947--N. Y.

Moon, Henry Lee--"Balance of Power"--Doubleday & Dompany, Inc. N. Y. 1948

Embree, Edwin R.--"13 Against the Odds"--The Viking Press, N. Y. 1944

Somerville, J. Alexander--"Man of Color"--Lorrin L. Morrison, L. A. California-1949

Murray, Florence--"The Negro Handbook"--Current Books, Inc. A. A. Wyn, 1947-N. Y.

28-11-4

[1949]

A PROJECT OF THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH,

66 WEST 12TH STREET, NEW YORK 11.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COURSES AND SERVICES IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

*

The bulletins of the New School reflect our interest in the many problems of intergroup relations which are so urgent today. Several courses offer techniques and perspectives of importance in studying these problems, but we have long felt that we should establish a group of specific courses in intergroup relations for professionally concerned students, while not neglecting those who wish to enlarge their background to enable them to take full advantage of the growing number of available books and research publications.

This feeling has arisen out of an awareness, emphasised at recent conferences of intergroup workers, that more fruitful efforts in the field of intergroup relations require critical redefinitions of standards and objectives. It is accordingly obvious that the promotion of this requirement must depend to a large extent on providing increased facilities for comprehensive basic training and sound scientific perspectives.

Such facilities have grown in Chicago through the enthusiastic leadership of Dr. Louis Wirth and his colleagues, but need to be expanded elsewhere. In New York, we have the advantage of offering them under distinguished direction, as well as at times which do not encroach upon the office hours of those who are already employed in intergroup organizations but feel the need of refresher courses or further studies.

Therefore, as an initial experiment, we organized two basic courses, within the administration of the Graduate Faculty, which were conducted by Cedric Dover during the Fall semester. One of these was an open lecture and discussion course on RACE AND RACIALISM; the other was a seminar on RACE PROBLEMS confined to students qualified for intensive study.

The response to these courses has been distinctly encouraging. They were well-attended, and included students who were professionally concerned with the subject, as well as those who were interested for other reasons. The seminar worked so closely as a group that it is publishing a mimeographed symposium on RACE RELATIONS. This symposium is not only valuable for its material, but as a token of what can be achieved in the teaching of special subjects through adequately directed group effort.

Two other courses offered in the Fall were also concerned with race relations, but with a specialized emphasis. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, assisted by a panel of eminent professors, guided an intensive survey of THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY, while Will Maslow reviewed the rapidly multiplying trends and events affecting RACE AND RELIGION IN AMERICAN LAW. Both these courses, too, were highly successful.

These four courses formed the core of our contribution during the Fall of 1948 to the study of intergroup relations, but they were extended by several others, notably those on Palestine and the Near East, and on Latin America. And there was, of course, a comprehensive syllabus of relevant studies on population, group organization and dynamics, social psychology, and economic geography, while the value of the cultural appreciation of other peoples and groups was implicit in much of the work done in the departments of art and music.

The future program of the School will continue, naturally, to embody our concern for the improvement of human relations. This Spring, for example, Cedric Dover will give a course on INTERGROUP RELATIONS, supplemented by one on BIOLOGY AND SOCIETY, which will cover a somewhat neglected approach. Kenneth Skelton will deal with ANTI-SEMITISM: THE AMERICAN SCENE, and Rachel Davis DuBois offers eight two-hour sessions, arranged by request, on INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY: LOCAL

WORKSHOPS. In addition, there will be regional surveys, and a fundamental academic program, which, in several of its aspects, is of importance to students of intergroup relations.

We realise, however, that our intergroup program still needs to be systematized, correlated, stabilized and expanded. We want to set up, with the help of friends who feel that such work is important, a definite foundation of teaching and service in the field of intergroup relations, which will give added meaning and value to courses that are a normal part of our academic functions, or which have been developed through the pressure of particular needs. We wish, therefore, to appoint a full-time professor to the Graduate Faculty, whose duties will be as follows:

1. He will give two basic courses on race and race problems in the Fall. They will be continued in the Spring by courses on ethnic minorities and intergroup relations respectively. At least one course in each semester will be specially devised for intergroup relations workers, the emphasis in the Fall being on foundations and perspectives, and in the Spring on methodology, tactics and new insights. Certificates of performance will be issued to those students who are not enrolled for credit but have satisfied the requirements.

2. He will cooperate in promoting and integrating more specialized courses on intergroup problems, such as particular groups (e.g., Negroes and American Indians), regional surveys (e.g., An Ethnic Survey of Latin America), legal aspects (e.g., Race and Religion in American Law) and technical considerations (e.g., Techniques of Intergroup Adjustment). He will also give attention to the arrangement of occasional public forums on important aspects of intergroup relations.

3. His advice on relevant courses in the general program of the School will be available to students especially interested in intergroup relations, whether they are taking his courses or not.

4. He will undertake research, with the assistance of graduate students, on behalf of organizations contributing more than $500 to the maintenance of this scheme. He will also continue his own research and general publications.

5. He will advise, when required, on the research programs and projects of organizations contributing more than $100.

Moreover, we feel certain that he will not interpret this service too literally and that he will be happy to cooperate in other ways.

6. He will encourage, during each semester, the publication of a symposium by his graduate seminar, assisted by other interested students.

7. He will be available, when teaching duties permit, for lectures and conferences outside the School.

These duties visualise multiple objectives. We want to help in the general enlargement of public decencies in intergroup relations. We want to provide one more needed centre where serious students can qualify for future research, teaching, executive and publicity appointments concerned with the reduction of intergroup tensions. And we want intergroup organizations to draw on this centre for personnel, supervised researches, advisory services and the maximum cooperation that we can give.

We have in Cedric Dover the man to whom we can entrust this combination of academic, research and advisory functions. He came again to the United States, on the invitation of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, to teach anthropology there for a year and to help with the editing of their monthly summary on RACE RELATIONS. Dr. Johnson based his invitation, he says, on his knowledge of Professor Dover's"very unusual experience and scholarship in the anthropology of culturally marginal peoples. His background in India, Malaya, England and Europe, his previous study-travels in Canada and the United States, his books in this field, and his wide connections with persons and studies concerned with it, prompted our invitation with the view to providing materials and insights not otherwise available within this country ...."

It should, perhaps, be added that Cedric Dover's books and other writings have had a considerable influence on democratic social thought, especially amongst colored peoples and minority groups. Few books have,

in fact, affected the worldwide trend of recent ideas on "race" as profoundly as his HALF-CASTE, which the publishers of another of his books describes as "the most widely praised, abused, argued, quoted, extracted and influencing book of its kind and time." A revised edition is now in progress, but it remains so contemporary after twelve years that it was used three months ago by Justice Carter to support the decision in the important "California Miscegenation Case" (Perez et al v. Lippold: Pacific Reporter, 2nd series, pp. 17 - 47, November 5, 1948), which legally recognises that the fundamental right to marry must not be impaired by so-called racial considerations.

Cedric Dover came to us, through the generosity of Dr. Johnson, after he had completed his assignments at Fisk University. The scheme outlined here would therefore have the added advantage of utilising his services as fully as possible, but it cannot be maintained by our present budget. We need $10,000 to develop it for three semesters ending in the Spring of 1950. We would then submit a progress report, and reconsider the future of the project with the help and advice of those who will, we hope, make its initial stages possible.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 1, 1949

New York Central
4 West 33rd. Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve for me one coach ticket and window seat---New York to Cleveland on the Empire State leaving 9:00 a.m. Saturday, March 5, and a Pullman ticket and lower berth or a roomette on the Knickerbocker leaving Cleveland, Sunday night, March 6, at 11:45 p.m. Please telephone me at MUrray Hill 3-7894.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-44-3

Lecture Bureau

[NEW YORK - CITY COLLEGE]

WADSWORTH 6-5400

SOCIOLOGY SOCIETY

EVENING SESSION, MAIN

The City College of New York

139TH STREET AND CONVENT AVENUE

NEW YORK 31, N. Y.

194

IRVING A. LANZER, FACULTY ADVISOR

February 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N Y

23-44-25

My dear Dr. Dubois:

The Sociology Society of City College Evening Session, extends an invitation to you to address the Society and other students of the College on a Friday night at 9:00 p.m. during the Spring term, February 18 to June 3, 1949. We have purposely left the date open for your convenience in fitting it into your busy schedule.

The Sociology Society is composed of graduate and undergraduate students in the field of Sociology and would consider it an honor to be addressed by you on a subject of your own choosing.

With kindest personal regards, we are

Sincerely yours,

Clement J. Christian

Clement J. Christian,
Secretary

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

Mr. Clement J. Christian
Sociology Society
The City College of New York
139th Street and Convent Avenue
New York 31, New York

23-44-26

My dear Sir:

I shall be glad to speak to the Sociological Society of City College sometime in April or May. I shall have to decide later as to just when.

You will have to arrange to pick me up at my residence, 409 Edgecombe Avenue before the lecture and return me there afterwards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Leo. Pandiy
WADSWORTH 6-5400

SOCIOLOGY SOCIETY
EVENING SESSION, MAIN
The City College of New York
139TH STREET AND CONVENT AVENUE
NEW YORK 31, N. Y.
194

IRVING A. LANZER, FACULTY ADVISOR

February 28, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-1/4-23

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

In your reply to our invitation to address the Sociology Society of City College (Evening Session) you indicated your willingness to speak to us sometime in April or May.

Accordingly, we will appreciate it if you would find it convenient to address us on Friday, May 6, at 9 P.M. A committee consisting of Miss Erna Sternheimer and myself will call for you at your home.

Very sincerely yours,

Clement J. Christian
Secretary

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 10, 1949

Mr. Clement J. Christian, Secretary
Sociology Society
The City College of New York
139th Street and Convent Avenue
New York 31, New York

23-44-34

My dear Mr. Christian:

I shall be glad to speak to the Sociology Society of City College at 9:00 p.m May 6, and shall expect you and Miss Sterhheimer to call for me at my home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

April 26, 1949

Mr. Clement J. Christian, Secretary
Sociology Society
The City College of New York
139th Street and Convent Avenue
New York 31, New York

My dear Mr. Christian:

I regret to inform you that Dr. Du Bois will not be able to speak for you on May 6, at 9:00 p.m. as promised. Dr. Du Bois is in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress and I am not certain just when he will return to the States.

I am very sorry.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:m

[New York (City) Public Library]
Req for speech by author

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, February 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Vice-chairman
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-40-18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please know how happy I am to write to you concerning the highly informative paper you read at the concert-forum presented by the Workers Fellowship of the Society for Ethical Culture on Monday, February 7th. The text of your paper is of real value to all Americans interested in improving race relations. The tribute paid Dr. Woodson is to be commended, for so many years he has worked unceasingly to create better understanding among the people in America.

As you know, we here at the Schomburg Collection are always interested in keeping materials of interest to our patrons in the files. In view of this fact, I should like very much to include a copy of your paper in our permanent files.

Any satisfaction that you may be able to give us in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Blackwell

Jean Blackwell
Acting Curator
Schomburg Collection

Send Copy

JB:n

Copy sent March 22, 1949
L. M.

[NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBR]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Miss Jean Blackwell
Acting Curator
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York 30, New York

23-40-19

My dear Miss Blackwell:

I have just noticed again your letter of February 8, and do not know whether you have received a copy of my Ethical Culture speech or not, at any rate I am sending you one.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Moscow peace congress 1949

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
August 18, 1949

European Edition
Published Daily in Paris

230 West 41st Street, New York 18
PEnnsylvania 6-4000

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

23-43-14

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I regret to tell you that it does not seem likely that we could use a series of articles based on the trip abroad which you have in mind. We are already receiving more material from our own people than we can place.

Thank you however for suggesting the idea to us.

Yours very truly

George A. Cornish
Managing Editor

23-42-1

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 9, 1949

The Editor
THE NEW YORK POST
New York, New York

Sir:

I am planning to attend the Peace Congress in Paris, beginning April 20, for the special purpose of conferring with those who represent the colonies and the darker peoples of Africa and Asia.

I have had, as perhaps you know, some experience and knowledge in colonial matters. I am wondering if the POST would want to give me any assignment for reporting concerning these people while I am abroad.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

WHITEHALL 4-9000

New York Post
FOUNDED 1801
AND THE HOME NEWS
MAIN OFFICE: 75 WEST ST., NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

PAUL A. TIERNEY
Executive Editor

April 11, 1949

23-2-6

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have received your kind letter of the 9th in which you raise the possibility of writing for the Post-Home News from Paris.

We are already represented in Paris by Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer, our European Editor, who is very ably meeting all of our requirements.

Consequently, I feel obliged to decline your offer but I do wish to thank you for thinking of the Post-Home News.

Sincerely,

Paul A. Tierney

Paul A. Tierney
Executive Editor

Feild - Hewlett

June 8, 1949

New York Telephone Company
P.O. Box 241, Station G
New York 19, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you please as of July 1, cancel my contract for the telephone --Mu. 3-7894. I am going to keep the instrument, but have the messages for me sent through the Council on African Affairs, whose phone number is Mu. 3-6209. They will make the proper arrangements with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-11

File N.Y. Times

June 20, 1949

35-3-24

To the Editor of the Times:

In your editorial commending Mr. Dewey's speech at Williams College on a "Free World" you express interest in his mention of Africa. I wonder if you have noticed carefully just what part Africa occupies in this speech. Africa is mentioned seven times, in six sentences out of three columns. These sentences include:

"The infinite riches of Africa."

"Communists are working busily in Africa."

"Emigration of millions of European emigrants look hopefully to Africa."

"Keeping Africa free from Communist domination is an essential part of any program."

"Enormous investments of capital are essential for the development of Africa."

"A united western Europe...with free access to the immense resources of Africa."

"Closer relationship...between the people of the still free continents western Europe, Africa, the Americas and Australia."

Of the people of Africa themselves, of their present and future; of their education, , access to the land; freedom to work; protection from disease, and disfranchised colonial status--there is not a single word in Dewey's address, save in the vague assumption that Africa is already "frdd." And in your commendation of the speech, your only reference to Africa is "as an outlet for Europe's oversized population, ad and source of food and raw materials."

Editor of the Ti es:

35-3-230

Is not this eloquent testimony as to what a shrewd western politian and the average white editor thinks of Negroes? May we not assume that the Communists at least pretend that their interest is in human beings and not goods. There is not even that pretence in your editorial and mr. Mr. Dewey's speech.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[N.Y. Times]

23-43-11

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its de-ferred character is in-dicated by a suitable symbol above or pre-ceding the address.

1949 AUG 18 AM 10 59

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(54)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.NA133 PD=MO NEWYORK NY 18 1040A=

1949 AUG 18 AM 10 56

:W E B DUBOIS=
23 WEST 26 ST=

:WE THANK YOU FOR THINKING OF US BUT REGRET WE CANNOT ACCEPT OFFER OUTLINED YOUR LETTER AUGUST SEVENTEENTH=

:TURNER CATLEDGE NY TIMES=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Lecture Corp

MEMBERS
Alumni Association
Art Education Society
Business Students Forum
Craftsmen
Dramatic Art Club
Education Playhouse
Education Sun
Education Violet
Elementary Education Club
English Club
Faculty Committee
Freshman Class
Home Economics Club
Industrial Arts Club
Junior Class
Lines and Letters
Men's Physical Education Org.
Men's Glee Club
Music Education Club
Nurses' Club
Occupational Therapy Club
Photography Club
Platform-Arts
Science Club
Secondary Ed. Club
Senior Class
Social Studies Club
Social Work Club
Sophomore Class
Women's Physical Education Org.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
STUDENT COUNCIL
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

80 WASHINGTON SQUARE EAST
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
SPRING 7-2000 EXTENSIONS 234-777

OFFICERS FOR 1948-1949
President
Morris Donn
Vice-President
George Davis
Treasurer
Marilyn Mittman
Secretary
Joan Fields
Executive Secretary
Dr. Morris L. Appell

HONORARY AND PROFESSIONAL FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES
Delta Pi Epsilon
Kappa Delta Pi
Kappa Phi Kappa
Phi Delta Kappa
Pi Lambda Theta
Sigma Epsilon
Sinfonia
Alpha Psi Omega

January 12, 1949

23-9-49a

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council of African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The Student Council of the School of Education is sponsoring the celebration of "Negroe History Week", sometime at the end of February. We are intensely interested in developing a full program which points up Negroe people both here at home and throughout the world. We have received promises of cooperation from faculty members, students and student groups in making this week a real live demonstration of democratic living and democratic understanding. Various student groups are preparing exhibits and demonstrations of the contributions of the Negroe people to American life. We should like to invite you to speak on the developments of Negroe life in Africa and any other related material you may be interested in.

Tentatively the program is scheduled for the week of February 21 through the 25th. May we suggest the possibility of an afternoon speaking engagement to you sometime during this week. May I personally offer my congratulations to you on behalf of your recent fight in NAACP. As a member of NAACP

I am very encouraged in carrying on the best traditions of Negroe-White unity for a free democratic America.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Yale

MY/kb

Milton Yale
For Student Council

23-9-52

[illegible]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Mr. Milton Yale
New York University
Student Council
School of Education
80 Washington Square East
New York 3, New York

23-9-51

My dear Mr. Yale:

I greatly sympathize with the purpose of the Student Council to celebrate Negro History week. I regret, however, that I have already accepted so many engagements at that time that it will be impossible for me to appear before your club. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

See. Dept

23-42-23

April 6, 1949

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director, Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
2 0 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Sociology-Anthropology Club of Washington Square College, New York University in conjunction with the local chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. is planning a meeting for April 22 at 4 P.M.

We feel that you would be a valuable contribution to the session and I hope it will be possible for you to speak at the meeting.

Respectfully yours,

Ann Chantz

(Miss) Ann Chantz, President
Sociology-Anthropology Club

Sorry expect to be in Europe on that date

23-42-24

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 11, 1949

Miss Ann Chantz, President
Sociology-Anthropology Club
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

My dear Miss Chantz:

Answering your letter of April 6, I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to speak for you on April 22, as I expect to be in Europe on that date.

I thank you for your invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

Let - Pending

June 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

23-44-21

Dear Dr. du Bois:

On Friday, July 22 at 2 p.m., New York University, School of Education Summer Session Activities is holding the second in its series of cultural programs.

This program, entitled "AMERICAN HISTORY AND NATIONAL MINORITIES", is to be a historical music-drama focusing attention on the cultural contributions and present-day problems of American national minority groups—the Negro people, the Jewish people, the American Indians and other minority groups.

We would like to have you join with us as one of the experts in our discussion of these minority groups on this day at LaGuardia Hall, 50 West 4 Street, New York.

We will be looking forward to hearing from you so that we may arrange our program accordingly. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Milton Yale

Milton Yale, Director
Special Events and Films
Summer Session Activities
School of Education

June 20, 1949

Mr. Milton Yale
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

23-14-22

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of June 15, may I say that so far as I can now see, I can attend your program, Friday, July 22, at two p. m. and join in the discussion of American History and National Minorities. I imagine that a fifteen minute statement would be as much as you would require.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

June 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

23-9-21

Dear Dr. du Bois:

We are very pleased that you have accepted our invitation to speak on our program on "AMERICAN HISTORY AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" on July 22 at 2 P.M. As you may remember, we had invited you to be our guest during our celebration of "Negro History Week" this past February. We hope that our two-hour program will be a miniature of our activities back in February. We also hope that by linking up the minority question generally with problems of democracy and peace today, to make this more than a mere academic discussion.

Our students and faculty, I am sure, will look forward to a vital discussion on your part.

If it is possible, may we have a short biographical sketch and a glossy print for our publicity material?

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Yale

Milton Yale, Director
Special Events and Films
Summer Session Activities
School of Education

my/gn

Lead

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

July 19, 1949

W. E. B. duBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

23-9-77

Dear Dr. duBois:

This is a confirmation with reference to your generous participation in our program on "AMERICAN HISTORY AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" which will take place on Friday, July 22, 1949 from 2 - 4 P.M.

Our program calls for a dramatic script presentation and we are scheduling you to speak at approximately 2:15 P.M. We would appreciate your being with us, however, at 2:00 P.M. so that you may hear the previous script material as a frame of reference.

The program will be held at LaGuardia Hall, main floor of the South Building, 50 West 4 Street near Washington Square East. Many students and faculty members have expressed intense interest in your appearance and we are sure of an excellent attendance.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Yale

Milton Yale,
Director of Special Events and Films
Summer Session Activities
School of Education

my/gn

Lecture Complete

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT DEAN

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

August 16, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. duBois
Council on African Affairs
?3 West 26 Street
lew York, N. Y.

23-9-2D
2

Dar Dr. duBois:

On behalf of the students and faculty of the School of Education, I ish to thank you for your help in carrying through our program on "AERICAN HISTORY AND NATIONAL MINORITIES" on Friday, July 22, 1949.

Sincerely yours,

Florence B. Beaman

Florence Beaman
Dean of Students
School of Education

my/gn

Invitation to Lester

Sec. Corner

New York University
New York City
1491 Coney Island Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y.
March 9, 1949

Dear Sir:

The New York University chapter of the Young Progressives of America is planning a meeting on March 16, 1949, on the Negro Question and would deem it a privilege and an honor if you would present this meeting with your views on this important subject.

We expect other notables to be there and anticipate a huge attendance of the student body.

We plant to hold the meeting in the afternoon. If you could arange to be present for an hour somewhere between three and six we would greatly appreciate it.

23-9-82

If for some reason, you are unable to attend March 16, do you think that you could arrange to address us some other Wednesday in the new future?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Dugoff

Chairman

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 11, 1949

Mr. Arthur Dlugoff
1491 Coney Island Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Dlugoff:

Answering your letter of March 9, I regret to say that Dr. Du Bois will be unable to speak for you on March 16.

He is is sympathy with your program and appreciates deeply your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

November 30, 1949

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Home Office
Durham, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

I have the following policies taken out with your company.

According to my records they are all paid up to date. Will you kindly check and see if this agrees with your records.

Very sincerely yours,

LIST ON INSURANCE POLICIES

328811 ---- Insurance on DuBois Williams $200----Due November 2, 1951

341869 ---- Insurance on DuBois Williams $200----Due March 1, 1952

341867 ---- Insurance on Yolande Du Bois Williams --$200---Due March 1, 1957

328816 ---- Insurance on Yolande Du Bois Williams --$200---Due November 2, 1956

100539 ---- Insurance on Yolande Du Bois Williams --$1500--Due November 30, 1951

23c - 51

Due---1951-52----$1900 .00
Due---1956-57----- 400 .00

TOTAL DUE----------$2300.00

other Engagement
Cannot accept.

See Carrie

[NORTH END]

Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

North End Community Center
180 Main Street
Hartford 3, Conn.

[Jan? 1949]

23-9-45

Dear Sir

As you are undoubtedly aware the week of February 6 to 13 has been set aside as National Negro History Week. It is the feeling of several organizations in our center, that you are one of the foremost speakers, of our race, in the world — you are rated very high as a political scientist, lecturer and historian, and because of this high standard we would like to engage you as our principal speaker for Friday, February 11, 1949 at 8:00

We could think of no other person who could immeasurably advance the inter-racial understanding of all citizens of our great city.

You alone could draw attention to the contributions made by Negro America, which would further the advancement of the efforts of all men and women of good will who are devoting their energies towards promoting better racial relationships.

23-9-46

We urge your consideration of our request and trust that you will look favorably upon us, for your appearance will assure our success. Please let us know what your expenses are and send any communications to: Mrs. Priscilla Dalton, 29 Blake St. Hartford 5, Conn.

Very truly yours,
Priscilla B. Dalton
Program Director

Forgot to say that it will be impossible for me to accept your invitation to speak on Oct. 11 due to a previous engagement.
Thank you for
the time.

Ltr Read Completed

Ltr

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
The Department of History

December 22,1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
New Yrk, N.Y.

23-44-444

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have heard indirectly that you will or may be in Chicago in February and I am wondering whether it would be possible to fit into your calendar an engagement with the Graduate History Club of Northwestern University. We are a group of about sixty graduate students in history and about a dozen faculty members.

I think almost any subject within your large range of interests would be agreeable to our program committee. There would be greatest interest I believe,in your interpretation of the Reconstruction period but if you preferred to discuss Africa or the colonial world or review the historiggraphy of the Negro in recent years that would be most satisfactory.

Our resources are such that we are not able to pay fees to bring speakers from out-of - town. But we hope that if you are in Chicago we will be able to meet your fee for a speaking engagement. As you may know, we are only about forty minutes from the center of town. We usually meet on Friday evenings and any Friday after February third is open. If you plan to be in town later in the year, we might have an opening for then instead.

If, by any chance, you intend to be at the American Historical Convention in Boston at the end of December, we could make arrangements then. I will be in New York City for a few days before then as well.

With all good wishes, I am,
Cordially,

Feb 10
$100
Reconsidered

Alfred Young
Pres., Graduate History Club

23-44-45

November 30, 1949

Mr. Alfred Young
Pres. Graduate History Club
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Mr. Young:

Answering your letter of November 22, I shall be glad to speak to you on "Reconstruction", Friday, February 10, 1950.

My charge will be $100.00

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Corr. D.

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 W. 26th St.
New York City

Mr. Merritt R. Olver, Jr.
217 Park St.
Honesdale, Penna.
(permanent address)
June 14, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I trust you won't consider it presumptuous of me to ask your advice. At one point in my undergraduate life, I wrote a paper on South Africa. During the process I became interested in the potentialities of that still rather dark continent. It has several times since occurred to me that I might be able to find some sort of work in connection with it. This of course brings us back to my own capacities.

23-414

As an English major and avid devourer of the best in English and American literature, the choice of profession sways on the balance between teaching and journalism. I am primarily interested in the latter. But, as you may be aware, it is exceedingly difficult to wedge one's way into journalism, publishing or radio in this country at the moment, without some experience. I have the additional handicap of being a non-veteran and therefore subject to the draft.

My interests extend further, into the social sciences. It seems to me there ought to be some way of connecting these two. To immerse myself in study and explanation of a "new" country such as South, East, or West Africa would perhaps offer the largest scope for my abilities and ideals.

I wonder, then, whether you could suggest some way to combine these. The most obvious solution would be a post on an African newspaper or a magazine dealing with the African situation. Could you refer me to a man engaged in this sort of work?

A resumé of my background is included. I am afraid there is little in it of use. Mere intelligence doesn't count for much in today's world. But I am quite willing and eager to undergo a period of training. What more can one do, lacking the money for graduate school?

Sincerely yours,

Merritt Olver

23-4-5

NAME: Merritt Richard Olver, Jr.

FATHER'S NAME: Merritt R. Olver

MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME: Flora Alice Herald

FATHER'S OCCUPATION: General insurance agent,

Olver Insurance Agency
958 Main St.
Honesdale, Penna.

RESIDENCE: 217 Park St.
Honesdale, Penna.
(Wayne County, extreme north-eastern part of Pennsylvania.)

DATE OF BIRTH: May 10, 1928. PLACE OF BIRTH: Scranton, Penna.

HEIGHT: 5'8". WEIGHT: 138 lbs.

HEALTH: Good. PHYSICAL DEFECTS: Vision corrected by glasses.

d32-4

EDUCATION: Honesdale High School, 1941 - 1945
Academic course.

Yale University, July, 1945 - June, 1948
B.A., June, 1948

COLLEGE MAJOR: English. With several courses in the social sciances.

HOBBIES: Reading -- chiefly in the social sciences, English and American literature; music; tennis; golf.

PREVIOUS JOBS: Clerk in The Pratt Store (linoleum, window curtains, paint, etc.)
Main St.
Honesdale, Penna.
Fall, 1944 - Spring, 1945

Bursary Job System:

Office aide: Master's Office
Jonathan Edwards College
Yale;
Registrar's Office
Yale Music School;
English Dept. Office
Yale

Secretary to Associate Professor of English
February, 1946 - July, 1947
(longest tenure)

Assistant in Editorial Office
Decca Records, Inc.
50 W. 57th St.
N. Y. C.
October, 1948 - January, 1949.

Reasons left: 1. Company poorly administered.
2. Some employees treated unfairly.
3. It was not the type of work I wanted.

REFERENCES:

Professor Richard B. Sewall
1832 Silliman College
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
(Assoc. Prof. of English and Assoc. Dean of Freshmen)

Professor Robert Menner
English Dept. Office
Hall of Graduate Studies
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
(Prof. of English and Director of Graduate Studies in English.)

Mr. Edmund W. Peaslee, Sr.
1105 Park Avenue
New York City
(Investment banker)

Mr. Paul Brock
Honesdale High School
Honesdale, Penna.
(Principal of the High School)

2 32 - 4

PRESENT STATUS: Working informally for my father and writing short stories on the side, mostly for my own amusement.

June 22, 1949

Mr. Merrit R. Olver, Jr.
217 Park Street
Honesdale, Pennsylvania

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of June 14. I am afraid that I cannot be of very much use to you. There is no African paper with which I am acquainted, which would be in position to pay for the services of a student of English who is eager to know the African question.

The weekly paper, WEST AFRICA, published in London is the best journal, but it is published primarily in the interest of investors, although it does have a pretty independent editorial department. I would recommed you to write them. The papers edited by Africans are for the most part in West Africa and are poor and struggling although they are doing a pretty important job.

You might write to Mr. Aziwiki, Lagos, West Africa. Further than that, I am afraid I cannot advise you; but if a person wants to do a thing very much, he just has to get out and make an opening for himself, which is a bit of advice easier said than done.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

file - Bunche

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

honoring

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

cordially invites you

to attend a

Testimonial Dinner-Dance

on

Saturday, October 22, 1949

Dinner 7:30 P. M.

at Hotel Pierre

Two East Sixty-first Street

New York City

Grand Ballroom

Subscription
Twelve dollars and a half

Dress
Formal

Gratuities Included

232-11

EACH YEAR the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity votes its award to the outstanding citizen of the year. In December, 1948, the Fraternity, at its Grand Conclave in Columbus, Ohio, voted its award to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Mediator for Palestine. Dr. Bunche was out of the country at that time and the award could not be presented.

On the occasion of this formal dinner the 1948 Omega Psi Phi Outstanding Citizen's Award will be presented to Dr. Bunche in recognition of his distinctive contributions to world peace in 1948.

EDGAR A. LOVE, Honorary Chairman

LUDLOW W. WERNER, Chairman

NATHANIEL A. BURRELL, Co-Chairman

MIFFLIN T. GIBBS, Co-Chairman

MARCELLUS GOFF
Treasurer

CHARLES H. MATTHEWS
Secretary

C. V. HARRIS
Chairman, Journal

ROGER M. YANCEY
Chairman, Invitations

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

(Partial List)

Wendell Alston
Hewitt Bourne
Eugene Brandon
William H. Brown
S. E. Burke
Hayes Burnett
Grant Campbell
Richard E. Carey
Frank R. Conwell
Aloysius B. Cuyjet
Herschel W. Day
Monroe V. Dowling
James A. Douglas
Archer Drew
Marion English
Chester Gibbs
Wilbur Grant
H. G. Humphrey
Hutchins Inge
George C. Meares
Daniel G. Morris
Henry M. Smalls
John J. Spurling
Roscoe C. Ward

OMEGA PSI PHI TESTIMONIAL DINNER

DR. MARCELLUS GOFF, Committee Treasurer

81 EAST 125th STREET

NEW YORK 35, N. Y.

Suite 501

11-2320

RESERVATION CARD

OMEGA PSI PHI TESTIMONIAL COMMITTEE

Kindly reserve ..... tickets for Testimonial Dinner on Saturday evening, October 22, 1949, at the Hotel Pierre, for which I enclose $.....

Reservations must be made before Saturday, October 15, 1949.

Name .....

Address .....

P.S.—Please list names of your guests on reverse side of this card.

11-282

GUESTS (Please Print)

Reg to Syracuse

[ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH ST]

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, JR.
PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. CULBERSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

110TH STREET COMMUNITY CENTER, INC.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF INTERCULTURAL LIVING

31 WEST 110TH STREET • NEW YORK 26, N. Y. • RIVERSIDE 9-8200

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

BENJAMIN J. BUTTENWIESER
VICE-PRESIDENT

EDWARD S. LEWIS
VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. LUISA FRIAS HEMPEL
VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. ALICE B. FAIRCLOUGH
SECRETARY

THOMAS THACHER
TREASURER

CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER
ALFRED R. BACHRACH
MRS. RICHARD J. BERNHARD
JOSEPH A. BOCCIA
HON. GEORGE FRANKENTHALER
DR. NATHAN E. COHEN
DR. LEONARD COVELLO
MRS. WILLIAM H. DEAN
WILBUR H. FERRY
JOHN M. HANCOCK
MRS. CLARA KAISER
JOE LOUIS
ROBERT J. MANGUM
KATRINA MC CORMICK
REV. JOSEPH N. MOODY
MRS. CHARLES H. RIDDER
RUPERTO RUIZ
MRS. ERICKSON W. RUSSELL
ORVILLE H. SCHELL, JR.
G. HOWLAND SHAW
LOUIS M. VIDAL
MORGAN D. WHEELOCK

May 20, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On Thursday evening, June 9th, M. Nicolas Guillen, one of the three top-ranking poets of Latin America, and the leading poet of Cuba, will be the honored guest at a Latin American Art Festival sponsored by the Board of Directors and Staff of the 110th Street Community Center.

Outstanding civic, social and professional leaders, artists, writers, musicians, composers, actors, etc. have been invited to act as sponsors for this occasion.

We would like very much to have the privilege of adding your neme to the list of sponsors.

A meeting will be held at the 110th Street Community Center on Thursday evening, May 26th at 8:00 p.m. to plan details of the program and invitational reception. Please come, if you possibly can.

It would help us if you will return the enclosed card at once.

With kindest personal regards and an expectation of your support, I am

Cordially yours,

Alice S. Onqué

Alice S. Onqué
Coordinator, Community Services

ASO/mj

23-8-3

[ONE HUNDRED]

May 23, 1949

Miss Alice S. Onque
110th Street Community Center, Inc.
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Miss Onque:

Answering your letter of May 20, to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that he is still abroad in Paris.

He is expected to return about the end of this month. I will bring your letter and request for him to act as sponsor to his attention and let you know his decision as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

_____ I will

_____ I will not

attend the meeting of the committee to plan for the Nicolas Guillen program.

_____ You may

_____ You may not

use my name as a sponsor for this program.

(signed)_____

[ONE HUNDRED]

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

110TH STREET COMMUNITY CENTER, Inc.
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

23-7-44

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

Dr. Fernando Ortiz
Calle L esq. 27
Havana, Cuba

My dear Dr. Ortiz:

May I take the liberty of introducing to you Mr. William Sherwood who is interested in social conditions, especially pertaining to the Negro people in South America and the Caribbean. I shall appreciate any help that you may give him.

May I extend to you my own very cordial greetings and my hope to see you sometime in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

FULTON OURSLER
112 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

23-43-15

August 24 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have your letter of August 17 regarding the possibility of your doing an article for us while you are visiting Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

We have such an accumulation of material along this line that we do not feel that we can take on any more. But thank you for calling the matter to our attention and suggesting an article.

Sincerely

Fulton Oursler

March 11, 1948

Mrs. Mae Owings
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Owings:

Your letter of March 8, to Dr. DuBois, has arrived during his absence. As you know, he is in California lecturing, but I shall see that your letter is brought to his attention when he returns to New York in April.

It was good seeing you when you were here in February. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

August 18, 1949

fill

Mrs. Mae Owings Kaufman
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

23-4-3

Dear Mae:

Forgive me for not answering your letter. I am flying to Russia Saturday. I will write you as soon as I return.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[1949?]
[PADMORE]

230-49

READ GEORGE PADMORE'S

Sensational new book.

AFRICA: BRITAIN'S THIRD EMPIRE

Please send in your order at once to make sure of getting a copy of this great classic on the Colonial Question.

price 12/6d.

Special rates quoted for orders of six and more from Colonial booksellers, trade unions, political, national and cultural organisations.

****

Write direct to the publishers

Dennis Dobson Ltd., 12, Park Place, St.James's.
London, S.W.1.

Here are the contents of the book.

Part One.

Chapter 1. COLONIAL FASCISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.
- Coming of the White Man.
- The Land Question.
- Native Service Contract Act.
- Taxation and Labour.
- The Pass Laws.
- The Urban African.
- Recruitment for the Mines.
- The Industrial Colour Bar.
- African Education.
- Non-European Minorities.
- 'Greater South Africa' - The Protectorates.

Chapter 2. THE RHODESIAS: LEGACY OF AN EMPIRE BUILDER.
- Native Reserves.
- African Segregation.
- Racial Legislation.
- Legalised Brothels.
- Child Labour on Tobacco Farms.
- 'Herrenvolk' Education.
- Northern Rhodesia.
- Nyasaland Protectorate.
- Where Copper is King.
- The Economics of Colour Bar.
- European Political Aspirations.

Chapter 3. EAST AFRICA: LAND OF PUKKA SAHIBS.
- The White Highlands.
- Taxation and Labour.
- African Education.
- Tanganyika: Trusteeship Territory.
- The Masters and Servants Ordinance.
- Religious Wars in Uganda.
- The Agrarian System in Buganda.
- Taxation and the Peasantry.
- Economic Partnership in Sudan.

(Continued over-leaf)

Chapter 4. WEST AFRICA: THE 'MODEL' COLONIES.
Land and Cocoa on the Gold Coast.
Foreign Monopolies.
Cocoa Marketing Board.
Land Tenure in Nigeria.
Land Ownership in Sierra Leone.
Palm Oil in Nigeria and Sierra Leone.
Groundnut Cultivation in Gambia.
Mining Industry in West Africa.
West African Seamen.
Civil Liberties in West Africa.
Education in West Africa.

Chapter 5. INDIRECT RULE: NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.
PART TWO. Lugard "Father" of Indirect Rule.
Native Administration on the Gold Coast.
Native Administration in Nigeria.
Native Administration and Taxation.
Native administration in Sierra Leone.
Native Administration in East-Central Africa.
Native Administration in Tanganyika.
Native Administration in Uganda.
Indirect Rule and National Development.

Chapter 6. DIRECT RULE: CROWN COLONY ADMINISTRATION.
Origin of Crown Colony Government in Africa.
The growth of an Intellectual Class.
Crown Colony Government in Nigeria.
Chiefs on the Gold Coast Legislative Council.
Feudalism Merged with Imperialism.
Sierra Leone Constitution.
Gambia Constitution.
Crown Colony Government in East-Central Africa.

Chapter 7. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE: A REVIEW.
PART THREE. Origin of Colonial Development and Welfare Act.
Labour Continues Tory Policy.
Nigeria's Ten Year Plan.
Kenya's Ten Year Plan.
Role of Colonial Intellectuals.

Chapter 8. DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION: STATE CAPITALISM.
Overseas Food Corporation.
Colonial Development Corporation.
West African Corporation.
Anglo-French Colonial Relations.

Chapter 9. NATIONALISM IN WEST AFRICA.
PART FOUR. The Fanti Confederation.
Aborigines' Rights Protection Society.
Gold Coast Sedition Ordinance.
West African National Congress.
United Gold Coast Convention.
Eweland Unity Movement.
Sierra Leone Political Movement.
Nigerian Youth Movement.
National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.
Yoruba Nationalism.
Trade Union Nationalism.

Chapter 10. NATIONALISM IN SOUTH & EAST AFRICA.
African National Convention.
All-African Convention.
Nationalism in the Protectorates.
Rhodesian African Congress.
Nyasaland National Congress.
East African Association.
Kenya African Union.
Uganda Bataka Movement.
Somali Youth League.

Chapter 11. NATIONALISM IN THE SUDAN.
The Condominium.
Ashigga and Umma.
Anglo-Egyptian Protocol.
Sudan for the Sudanese.
European Colonial Policies Compared.

****

[PAN AFRICAN FEDERATION]

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

FRANK BLAINE (Jamaica) · DAVID S. TALBOT (Ethiopia) · W. ESUMAN-GWIRA SEYKI (Gold Coast) · JOMO KENYATTA (Kenya) · YAGOUB OSMAN (Sudan)
Dr. C. PILISO (South Africa) · T. K. UTCHAY (Nigeria) · DOROTHY LIVINGS (England) · Prof. ST. CLAIR DRAKE (U.S.A.)
H. W. SPRINGER (Barbados) · MAGNUS O. WILLIAMS (Nigeria) · GEORGE F. McCRAY (U.S.A.)
Dr. P. McD. MILLIARD (British Guiana) · MOHAMOUD JAMA URDOH (Somaliland)
SAMSON MORRIS (Grenada) · GEORGE F. DANIELS (Trinidad)

PAN - AFRICA

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LIFE HISTORY AND THOUGHT.

T. R. MAKONNEN,
Publisher and Managing Editor
FLORENCE M. NICHOL.
Research Secretary

211, OXFORD ROAD,
MANCHESTER 13,
ENGLAND.

Telephone: ARDwick 2856

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
23, West 26th Street,
New York,
New York, U.S.A.

2nd February 1949

23-6-1

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I sincerely hope that you are now settled once more after your unfortunate break with the NAACP in December. Dr. Smythe has kept us very well informed of the controversy, and as always we have followed with interest your columns in the papers. Your letter to me of the 9th November came as a most welcome encouragement, and I hope that now you are separated from the NAACP our collaboration may be even more positive.

At the moment we are trying to prepare a permanent home for the Federation in Manchester, and while the set-backs are many, I nevertheless feel that when these premises are ready we shall be in a position to formulate a definite programme of activities. I do not know to what extent you will be able to give us help in this, but I do know we shall always be welcome in seeking the benefit of your experience and advice.

At the beginning of December I wrote to you enclosing all the material on the Grantley Adams affair, and also intimating to you something of the concern I felt after reading the petitions presented to the United Nations by the Somali organisations. Unfortunately, because of its bulk, the envelope had to be sent by surface mail, and it was, I see, sent to the NAACP since we did not at that time have your private address. I trust that it reached you safely despite

these factors.

Abdullah Issa, Secretary of the Somali Youth League, has just spent several days in Manchester. He called on me to discuss the trip which he intends to make to New York to attend the new session of the United Nations on behalf of his organisation. So far we have not had any replies on the matter of the Somali petitions to the UNO from the organisations and outstanding men whom we know to embrace the principles of Pan-Africanism, and whom we circulated with the information sent to yourself. Doubtless while with us in sympathy, they all find their own local and national problems of sufficient magnitude to occupy their full attention. Nevertheless, I am still hoping that we may have some expressions of opinion from those among the more mature of our people and on which we can then base our own judgment.

Needless to say, I did not allow the opportunity to pass without confronting our Somali brother with the opinion that the particular points to which I drew your attention are a definite breach of faith, and serve only to weaken the case they wished to press. He agreed with me that it was indeed a tactical error on their part and my own observation that they had been swayed by elements in the enemy camp endeavouring to play on their natural pride to separate them from the rest of Africa, were admitted to be true. The extent to which they are coming to realise the implications of their past policy, is indicated by the fact that at long last they have made it part of their programme to destroy the myth that they are an Asiatic people, more Arab than African. This reversal of policy has been brought about by their own realisation that those leaders who have emphasised their connections with Arabia, have in fact been more concerned about Arabia than about Somaliland. The young men are coming to realise that they have been nothing more than slaves to Arabia, and that as long as they look outside their country for inspiration and leadership, they will never move forward. With this they have also realised that their Memorandum is a great blunder. While not relaxing their vigilance on Ethiopia - and quite rightly - they acknowledge now that the Ethiopians are their kinsmen, and by no means their enemies. Nevertheless, my suggestions for a Pan-African mission are still, I believe, of the utmost importance; probably even more so than when I first made them, since any such project would now have the support of the Somalis themselves, and would demonstrate to them that they are in the fullest sense part of Africa.

23-6-2

At long last the Adams affair is bearing fruit. We have had a few replies from the United Nations delegations, and it is possible that the new session will see a reopening of the issue.

(that the principle of Marshall Aid be extended)

At the same time it is most interesting to watch the manner in which his words are belied by every action of the Colonial Office. Creech Jones has now asked ~~for the help of the World Bank~~ to finance the development of the British Colonies in an obvious attempt to get the sympathy of the United States and other members of the United Nations for the "difficultes" facing the British Government, and to impress upon them the "sincerity" with which Britain is carrying out itsprinciples of colonial administration. How the Colonial Office manages to reconcile this step with the speeches made by Mr. Adams is a mystery that only they can solve. To us it is the contradiction which we have all along known to be there. Adams spoke for his masters in an endeavour to suppress opposition to their policies, and now they are compelled to beg for charity for the very same reason. This seems to be the nature of the world today.

23-6-3

While we are on this matter, it is well to notice that the speeches made by Adams at the United Nations Assembly have made it well-nigh impossible for us to demand political intervention in South Africa on behalf of our kinsmen there, at a time when they are in especial need of our help. Be that as it may, however, I am of the opinion, after discussion with Mr. George Padmore, that steps should be taken by the Pan-African Federation and in collaboration with other African organisations in America and elsewhere, to make an appeal for funds whereby the services of liberal lawyers could be obtained to conduct the defence of those Africans imprisoned and sentenced as a result of the Durban riots. At least we must make our voices heard and one of the ways in which this can be done, I believe, is by making this demand that we should be allowed to send lawyers in whom we have confidence to South Africa.

The casualty figures as given to Dr. Malan indicate the seriousness of the case. Our people are accused of attacking the Indians; to quote the editorial columns of the "West African Review" - "In a few hours the Zulus of the city cruelly put to death half a hundred men, women and children of an alien race..." But the finally casualty figures reveal the interesting fact that although the Indian population far exceeds the African in Durban, 90 Africans were killed as against 50 Indians, and 1,085 Africans were injured as against 768 Indians. Reports say that 570 Non-Europeans "mostly Natives" were arrested and awaiting trial, and so far the High Commissioner has made report of 40 Africans being brought to trial, 4 being given 6 months hard labour and the rest 4 months hard labour. There is as yet no mention of sentences on Indians, though the High Commissioner has again admitted in his Bulletins that several were arrested while driving round the city shooting at everything they saw, and another was caught setting his own house on fire.

Obviously the position is a grim one for our people, as we knew it would be, and the consequences, both in the immediate future, and in the long run may well be tragic.

There has, of course, been a lot of talk placing the blame on the Europeans for instigating the antagonism of the Africans against the Indians. We cannot, of course, overlook the overall responsibility of the Europeans in South Africa for the hell on earth they have made it. But at the same time it strikes me as being the height of folly for our people above all to forget the active part the Indians themselves have played in earning their reputation with the Africans. We cannot overlook the fact that wherever the y are, in South Africa, in East Africa, in the West Indies, they always display certain characteristics which are anti-social and damaging to other sections of the country in which they live. Our people calling for unity based on colour disregard the forces making this impossible, not least of these being the reluctance of the Indians themselves to regard themselves as part of the larger community, which in many instances makes the gap between Indian and African even greater than that between European and African. Unity cannot be relaised until these fundamental differences are ironed out, and in attempting to put unity first, the leaders of our people are in grave danger of becoming the victims of one evil in a vain hope of eliminating another. They forget that while the Indian is an oppressed community, its members are in their turn oppressors. They have a sense of the value of money which our people have not yet realised, and this together with their refusal to embrace the community in which they live, represents, I think, a fundamental sociological facotr underlying the conflict.

23-6-4

It is a matter on which we cannot afford to be silent, and we have decided to communicate with Pandit Nehru, with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, with important papers such as the Manchester Guardian, with the South African Government, and with the more important organisations throughout the African world, making the facts as we see them perfectly clear. We must emphasise the true facts behind both the outbreak itself and the greater number of African casualties which were obviously caused not because of the "savagery" of the Zulu attack, and a consequent need for defence, but because of the greater potential threat to white safety which lies in the African superiority of numbers and growing restlessness. I would like to have your comments on the whole affair, and any suggestions which might occur to you for making this a case as big as the Scottisborough case was made by the International Labour Defence.

This has been a long letter, but before I bring it to a close there is just one further point I would like to make.

PAN-AFRICA, while it has suffered a long interruption in its publication due to many factors beyond our control, is far from dying, and I am ever conscious of the need to make, through its pages, and under its banner, a definite contribution to the history and heritage of our people. I have been wondering therefore, if you could put me in touch with anyone who has the rights on your own writings, especially those of the earlier days which are now unobtainable. If it is possible I should like to make arrangements for the republishing of these in cheap editions for the colonial market, and with introductions from men such as Alain Locke. I have every reason for believing that such cheap editions would have a ready market in Africa where they are as yet practically unknown. Any help you can give me in the way of information will be deeply appreciated.

23-6-5

I shall look forward to hearing from you again when you have a little time.

With my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ato T.R. Makonnen

T.R. Makonnen.

[PADMORE]

22, CRANLEIGH HOUSE,
CRANLEIGH STREET,
LONDON, N.W.1.

24th March, 1949

Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois,
International Chairman,
Pan-African Congress,
23, West 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-9-9

In spite of my long silence, due to pressure of work, I want to assure you that you are always in my thoughts. I was delighted to learn that you have been able to continue your work on behalf of Africans and peoples of African descent under what, I hope, will be more congenial auspices. Our work on this side continues to make steady progress and we are daily seeing concrete achievements on foundations solidly laid. The decisions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress are serving as a guide to Africa. We are exploring ways and means of convening a Sixth Congress, this time in Africa. I shall keep you informed when something concrete materialises.

This is to introduce one of our friends, Mr. Abdullah Issa, the general secretary of the Somali Youth League. He is going to the United Nations to present his country's case to the Trusteeship Council. We shall indeed be grateful to you for any assistance you can render him.

Very sincerely yours,

George Padmore.

Hall Theresa -

Mr. Issa

317

Monday - or Tuesday -

4 -

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 7, 1949

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N.W.1.
England

My dear Padmore:

I have your letter of March 24 and was glad to get it. As I have written you, I have been having my ups and downs. It was quite impossible to get on with Walter White and other reactionary elements of the NAACP. The NAACP is supported by working people and yet is gradually developing into a bourgeois set-up, afraid to do anything that is not respectable. I advocated the election of Henry Wallace which they resented; and in addition to that I protested against Whites' going to the meeting of the United Nations in Paris without any preprations or real authority from the Board. This controversy became known in the papers, not by my personal action but certainly with no protest. The result was dismissal as of December 31, 1948.

23-6-7

I moved my offices, January 1, 1949, to the headquarters of the Council on African Affairs, of which Paul Robeson is Chairman and I am Vice-Chairman. They furnish me an office and a Secretary. I am giving advice but receive no salary from the organization. I think, however, that through the intervention of friends, I shall be able now to give my time to writing.

I am very glad to hear what you say about the Pan-African Congress. Probably I shall attend the Peace Congress in Paris, April 20. I do not know that I will be able to get over to London, but hope to see you in Paris.

At any rate it is time for collaboration concerning the future of Africa. I want very much to talk with you about it.

Unfortunately, I did not see Mr. Issa when he called, but I hope that perhaps later I can get in touch with him.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Telephone: CEN 0250.

(PAN AFRICAN FEB)

Padmore

PAN-AFRICA

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LIFE HISTORY AND THOUGHT

Publisher & Managing Editor - - T. R. MAKONNEN.
Research Secretary - - - - FLORENCE NICHOL

Published at - 58, OXFORD ROAD MANCHESTER, 1. ENGLAND

From Paris.

London address.
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London. N.W. I.

Oct 31st, 1949.

23-5-0

Dear and Esteemed Doctor:

Although it is quite a long time since I have written to you, be assured that you are always in our thoughts. We have been following your activities in the cause of peace. We read your speeches at the conferences in Paris (from where I am now writing) as well as in Moscow. These reports reach us not through the British Press, but the pages of the Russian English journal "New Times" which we get regularly in exchange for Pan African journals. I hope you are in good health and that you will be shaped to take part at our 6th Pan-African Congress - this time on the African Continent. We are still exploring this possibility. Recently there was a Conference of Asian + African Peoples in London. I shall send you all the literature on my return to England.

I gave your name + address to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, who organised the Conference, and requested them to send you their manifesto and reports. I shall see that this is done. Quite a number of African delegates attended. Among them Dr Azikiwe, the leader of the Nigerian National Council + Yusuf Osman, the assistant Secretary of the Umma Party of Sudan. I have been in Paris carrying on discussions with French friends. Dr Azikiwe joins me in a few days before returning to Africa. We are trying to get him to take the initiative in preparing the 5th Congress. The African Nationalist + Anti-Imperialist movements are faced with the difficult problem of being branded as "Communist" + "Moscow Agents" — by the British, even the Labour Party. This has resulted in splits in the camp + in weakening the Pan-African front. However, without identifying ourselves openly with either the Anglo-Saxon or Russian power blocs, we are leading the banner of Pan-Africanism firmly in our hands, cooperating with those who support our 5th Congress Programme + ignoring the others. In order to restate our independent anti-imperialist position, free of all "entangling alliances" in the

present East-West "cold war". I have completed a new survey of the Colonial Problem in Africa and put forward our uncompromising demand for complete self-government. I have dedicated the book to Jomo Kenyatta & the late Casely-Hayford of the Gold Coast - founder of the W. African National Congress. It attempts to cover new ground by reviewing the various nationalist & progressive movements between the two world wars & since. I am asking my British publishers to send you a review copy (apart from the personally autographed one you will receive from me). I should appreciate if you could write a short foreword or preface to the

23-5-9

(4)

American edition + recommend me to a progressive publisher. Of all the dependent territories, Africa is in the forefront and the most topical subject in Britain. As a consequence of this, the first edition has already been sold before publication in Dec or early Jan. 1950. Events have moved so fast that I have had difficulty keeping the book up-to-date, but as you will see, it does not lag far behind and a one man job — researcher, typist, editor, etc. etc. How can I get a fellowship to continue my work? Do you think Dr Johnson of Fisk would help. My life has been very much like yours — work but no money. With affection + warmest regards. George Padmore.

PANAFRICA
A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LIFE HISTORY AND THOUGHT
Publisher & Managing Editor — Research Secretary — Research Nichol
Published at 58, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER, 13, ENGLAND
Telephone: CEN 0[illegible]

May 23, 1949

Mr. John W. Parker
Fayetteville State College
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Parker:

Your Phylon article to Dr. Du Bois has been received. Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris.

He is expected to return on or about June 1. I will bring your article to his attention immediately upon his arrival. I am sure he appreciates your thoughtfulness in sending him a copy.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Circ. P

Phylon Profile, XIX:
Benjamin Brawley—Teacher and Scholar

By JOHN W. PARKER

32-3-44

Reprinted from PHYLON, the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, First Quarter, 1949

Hope to elaborate into a complete biography

By JOHN W. PARKER

Phylon Profile, XIX:

Benjamin Brawley—Teacher and Scholar

"MY AMBITION was never to be known as the son of a distinguished father, but rather that my father should be singled out as the father of a distinguished son" is a statement by which many people still remember Benjamin Brawley and one that gave a sense of direction to much of his striving. He was not primarily a controversial character, although his creative and scholarly writing and his firm stand on issues of the day kept him constantly before the American public for more that a quarter of a century. Of the Hope-Brawley-Archer triumvirate that laid the foundation for Morehouse College and combined in itself the best for which the institution has stood, Dr. Brawley was the youngest and the most scholarly. Manifestly a man who stood solidly by his convictions, he spent his life in the struggle to give the Negro the widest education in the liberal arts and to set no limit to the extent of his cultural advancement.

Benjamin Griffith Brawley came of a well-to-do family in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1882, the second son of Edward McKnight and Margaret Saphronia (Dickerson) Brawley. His Charleston-born father was a graduate of Bucknell University in Pennsylvania and a learned and influential clergyman, who, when Benjamin was but three years of age, became president of the newly-created University for Negroes at Salem, Alabama. His people had been free as far back as they could remember. Columbia was the home of his mother, a woman of unusual ability, bearing and charm. "While my father was my chief mentor and critic," Dr. Brawley once said, "it was my mother who gave me my love for the beautiful and who urged me to produce things worthy of criticism." Mrs. Jeannette Brawley Stewart of Morehouse College, about whom Dr. Brawley wrote and to whom he dedicated the poem "To Little Sister," recalls that her brother's insistence upon taking people of all classes simply for what they were was perhaps the richest heritage that came to him from their parents. The Brawley home was a place of warmth and culture and understanding; not quite so much could be said, however, for Columbia back in the early 1880's.

A precocious child from the outset, Benjamin Brawley developed very early, perhaps from contact with his parents, a rugged honesty, a spirit of independence and a sense of fellow-feeling — qualities that were

to characterize the whole of his subsequent career. An early boyhood experience about which he was wont to tell concerned a baptismal ceremony. "One Christmas my sister, two years younger than I, had received seven dolls from the tree in the church next door. By this time," he continued, "I was a strict fundamentalist, and having seen my father set the example in the large pool from time to time, I filled a bowl with water and proceeded to baptize the whole seven. As the fun grew furious I immersed some victims several times, and just as one lady was about to lose her head, my mother and sister appeared in the doorway — at which point I respectfully ask that we draw the curtain."

As a result of his father's ministerial duties, the family removals from one place to another were frequent. Young Brawley's education, however, never suffered. He was first taught by his mother in the home and when he entered school in Nashville, Tennessee, he was placed in the third grade. Nashville was also the place where he spent the long Sunday afternoons learning verses and reading Bible stories with his mother. At twelve he began the study of Latin under a Miss Susie Matthews of Petersburg, Virginia; two years later he took Greek with his father. In his free time Brawley earned money by means of doing an assortment of odd jobs. One summer he went to Connecticut to work on a tobacco farm; for two summers he worked in a printing office; and for a time he drove a buggy for a white physician and studied Greek while the physician made his calls.

The majority of his summers, however, were spent at home in private study. One summer, with the assistance of his father and his sister, he put forth special effort and when he returned to school in the fall he passed the examinations and was advanced to the next class.

At Atlanta Baptist College (now Morehouse College), which he entered as a boy of thirteen, Brawley found that "not everybody had read Shakespeare and Hugo at home." He immediately excelled in his classwork and before long, when they had the courage to interrupt his study, the men in the room next door and in the room next to that one brought their English assignments for his inspection before depositing them on the instructor's desk the next day. Partially at least, it was these tutorial experiences at Morehouse College that led him to choose English as an area of concentration. At Morehouse Dr. Brawley showed signs of leadership outside the classroom. He was quarterback on an early football team, manager of the baseball team, foreman of the college printing office; and in 1898, he assisted Timothy Williams, a fellow student, in founding the student journal, the *Athenaeum,* which has served through the years as a medium of expression for student talent and opinion, and which in 1925 became the *Maroon Tiger.* His poem, "A Prayer," he wrote Arthur B. Spingarn in 1937, was written in response to a Georgia lynching that occurred while he was a student at Morehouse College. The poem

appeared in the *Athenaeum* with a special introduction by the president of the institution. Again, he figured prominently in the activities of the literary societies that flourished in the church-supported college around the turn of the century. When, as Dr. Brawley humorously related the story, at one of these all-student debate gatherings, the presiding officer had called the roll and it was discovered that one of the scheduled participants was absent, the group promptly chose him to fill the vacancy. Without quite knowing why he was doing so, young Brawley accepted only to discover that gradually his courage was failing him. "I was sitting in the extreme rear of the room," he related, "and as the speaker whom I was to follow proceeded to the stage, I sensed my opportunity and by way of the back door headed for the street." Graduating from Morehouse College with honors in 1901, he became one of the youngest students, if not the youngest, to take the Bachelor's degree from that institution.

Just out of college, young Brawley accepted his first teaching position in a one-room school at Georgetown, Florida, a little town exactly ten miles from a railroad. The salary was thirty-five dollars a month and the school term was limited to five months. No sooner had he signed a contract to teach at Georgetown, than he was invited to teach at DeLand, Florida, "in a school that ran for a longer term and paid a much better salary." Dr. Brawley declined. He was determined not to initiate his teaching career by breaking a contract. The months passed, and the next year Dr. Brawley found himself serving as instructor at Morehouse College. Meanwhile, he became interested in advanced study, and by completing a considerable portion of the work through summer courses, he took the A. B. degree at the University of Chicago in 1906 and the A. M. degree at Harvard University in 1908. Later he returned to Chicago for special courses or research. At these two universities he met two great teachers who influenced him greatly — Dodd at Chicago and the immortal Kittredge at Harvard.

In Washington, D. C., where in 1910 he joined the faculty at Howard University, he met a Miss Hilda Damaris Prowd of Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, who was subsequently to become his wife. After two years at Howard University, however, Dr. Brawley was called back to Morehouse College to serve as professor of English and the institution's first dean and to become a member of the Hope-Brawley-Archer triumvirate, famous in Negro education.

Debating at the collegiate level among Negro colleges began in 1906 when Dr. Brawley's team from Atlanta Baptist College met a team from Talladega College in Alabama. That was just twenty years after the debate between Harvard and Yale which is said to mark the beginning of a colorful tradition of intercollegiate debating in the American college. Still "Dean Brawley" to Morehouse men everywhere, his work at the

institution has linked his name inseparably with that of Morehouse College. Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Brawley's former student and at present Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Haverford College, has said, "Dean Brawley, more than anyone else, gave Morehouse efficiency, power of expression and habits of study."

In 1920, after seventeen years of teaching at Morehouse College, Brawley gave up his work and went to Liberia to make an educational survey of that republic. Three years later he took a position at Shaw University, an American Baptist Home Mission college in Raleigh, North Carolina, which gave him the opportunity to be near his father who was teaching theology at the same institution, and whose health was failing. In 1931 he accepted a professorship at Howard University, where he had taught twenty years before. At both institutions, as at Morehouse College, Dr. Brawley distinguished himself as an inspiring teacher whose basic interest was in the intellectual and spiritual growth of his students.

That Dr. Brawley was a born teacher no one who has sat under the spell of his lectures will deny. I have known few men capable of more sustained and high-powered exertion. Whether in the classroom or out, his enthusiasm developed into a contagion. To him the profession of teaching was a sacred calling, the effectiveness of which was contingent upon the intelligence and the integrity of the teachers themselves. Much that is legendary has grown up around the teaching career of Dr. Brawley, especially his monomania for "tone," good taste, and precision. A now-distinguished Morehouse College man recalls how when the students in English IV indicated that they had failed to prepare the week-end assignment, Dr. Brawley politely stepped to the door, opened it and said, "Gentlemen, that is all." Professor Oliver E. Jackson, Chairman of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages at the Arkansas State College, tells of a "student apparently en route to the laundry with soiled garments neatly wrapped in a newspaper, but who ultimately appeared with his precious bundle in a class conducted by Mr. Brawley. The newspaper contained a theme which the student realized had to be presented without the slightest trace of untidiness." "Too carelessly written to be carefully read" was the characteristic comment that adorned a theme that was sloven in logic or in appearance. At Morehouse, Shaw and Howard there developed a Brawley tradition of emphasis on good form and high standards in scholarship and living.

Perhaps the secret of Dr. Brawley's effectiveness in teaching was that he lived what he taught; he was the essence of order and precision and tone. The idea of excellence characterized what he possessed no less than what he did. Whether it was books or shoes or typewriters or seats at the opera, Dr. Brawley was never content with anything short of the best. Likewise, his interest in people as *people* increased his stature as a teacher. He was wont to view a student as a whole — his intellectual

capacity, his emotional make-up, his physical condition, his economic resources and his aesthetic and religious values. A former student lying critically ill in a Georgia hospital requested that Dr. Brawley come and read to him William Cullen Bryant's "To a Waterfowl." The request was granted. Again, a student registered at the Divinity School at Yale University, Grady W. Johnson, whom Brawley had taught at Shaw University, said one morning to his nurse as he lay in a sanitorium for tubercular patients: "I will not eat my breakfast until Dr. Brawley comes," although he had no previous knowledge of his friend's coming. When shortly thereafter Dr. Brawley arrived, Johnson responded, "I knew you would come to see me." In the summer of 1926, Dr. Brawley went to fill a speaking engagement in New York City and some twenty odd students from Shaw University met him at the station as an act of courtesy. They were glad to greet their celebrated teacher; he was elated.

From the mid-Nineties to the 1930's the paramount issue in the education of the Negro was whether he should be trained in the trades, as advocated by Booker T. Washington, or in the Humanities, following the idea of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. While by background and by training, Dr. Brawley was inclined toward the DuBois conception, he saw the virtue of adhering to both systems. "We must never forget," he remarked, "that it is through education that our major problems are to be solved. We shall build homes, cultivate business enterprises, and strive in every way toward the full realization of our civil rights. At the same time we must remember that there is a great deal to be done for the inner spiritual development of our people."

Nor did Dr. Brawley ever become quite reconciled to the so-called "new fangles" in educational procedure and methodology. In the study of English, for example, he decried the brushing aside of Greek and Latin and the fact that on the whole, to use his own phrase, "the mental diet had been made as innocuous as possible." He was known to require that his students commit long passages from the classic English and American authors. While he was at odds with some aspects of modern educational theory and method, his teaching procedures were aimed at and produced in abundance the results which modern methodologists seek. For example, he insisted that no one teaches or should teach a class as such, but the individual students who compose it, and that to teach a student successfully one must first of all know something of his total background.

Again, as Dr. Brawley saw it, the whole question of teaching as compared to the facilities that existed or should have existed merely to enhance effective teaching were sadly out of focus. At no time did he express this idea in more forthright fashion than in 1927 when he declined the Harmon Foundation's second award in education:

> "I am not at all satisfied with the position of the teacher in the American schools and colleges. We have in our country today a great

> deal of machinery for education, and when we meet we have a great deal to say about endowments and curricula, and about buildings and salaries, and the length of school terms. Very seldom do we hear about what goes on in the classroom, or about what influences surround the individual student. Men who spend a little time in an office and a great deal of time traveling are known as distinguished educators, while the teacher who does the actual work from day to day receives much less recognition and much less pay, no matter how efficient he may be. I suggest that our whole attitude toward the profession of the teacher is in need of radical revision."

One ambition which Dr. Brawley never gave up was that of adding professional dignity and status to the teacher in American schools and colleges. In this connection he asked: "And what is the task: to take our boys and girls, our young men and young women and to lead them into the knowledge of truth; to acquaint them with the master-minds of the ages; to help them to be clean of heart and pure of speech; to teach them to have self-respect without arrogance and chivalry without pride; to motivate them to love their country and to have the dignity of high renown, to help them to have faith, even if they see wrong all around them. This is no mere business, no simple matter of office routine. It it the highest task that God can give a mortal. It calls for the most unselfish service that any patriot can render to his country."

II

With the influences that attended his early years, it is not unnatural that Dr. Brawley should have turned to the ministry. To follow this calling was to follow his natural inclination, for if ever a man was a Christian idealist, Brawley was. The example set by the Master and the principles which underlay the Christian way of life he accepted without reserve. A close friend of his said that "he had a singleness of purpose that may well have sprung from a Bunyan or a Milton." No less compelling must have been the example of Christian piety set by his father, in appreciation of whom he wrote in the preface to *A Social History of the American Negro*: "I must be grateful to my father, the Reverend Edward M. Brawley, for that stimulation and criticism which all my life has been most valuable to me." Again there was the influence of Morehouse College with its emphasis upon the tradition of Christian education. Brawley lived during the day of the church-related school; and, like the others, Morehouse College maintained a Department of Theology and required of each student a course in Bible.

Ordained into the Baptist Ministry in the Peoples Baptist Church of Boston, Massachusetts, on June 2, 1921, Dr. Brawley became the pastor of the Messiah Baptist Church in Brockton, Massachusetts. Mr. Watt Terry, New York realtor, who was Superintendent of the Sunday School at the time, speaks of Brawley as a "scholar," and Mrs. Edith M. Royster, clerk of the church for the past twenty-nine consecutive years, recalls that "he

reorganized and systematized our church, began the services on time and built up the prayer meetings which lasted exactly one hour." After a year or so at Brockton, however, the classroom again beckoned, and Dr. Brawley accepted a professorship at Shaw University, where he combined creative writing with his work as teacher and clergyman.

Everywhere Dr. Brawley insisted upon a positive, dynamic Christianity — one based upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The application of the principles of Christian justice he construed as the most desirable approach to the problems of every age. His dissatisfaction with the rôle played by the Young Men's Christian Association, for example, led him to ask: "Is the Y.M.C.A. really a Christian organization? For some time this problem has baffled us. For a year we listened carefully to the addresses of representative speakers, and not once could we detect a note of positive faith in Jesus Christ. We heard a good deal about war and peace, about marriage relations and the improvement of the social order; we were told to have an adequite philosophy of life and to be sure to adjust ourselves to the new era; but again and again, Jesus was simply not mentioned." At an execution at the state penitentiary in Raleigh, North Carolina, when it was learned that he was a minister, Dr. Brawley was asked to read the Scripture and to pray for the three condemned Negro men. The experience lingered, and in a subsequent editorial in "The Home Mission College Review" (September, 1929), he raised the question as to what Jesus would have done with similar men as regards whose guilt there was no doubt. This question he answered by asking another — "What would Jesus do?"

III

Dr. Brawley was a scholar. This is evidenced by the character and the quantity of his published writings. The appearance of what he called "experimental stories and poems" in the *Springfield Republican* marks the beginning of his career as an author; these were followed by contributions to *Lippincott's Magazine* and *The Voice of the Negro*. "The Negro in American Fiction" (published in *The Dial* for May 11, 1916), he told Arthur B. Spingarn in 1937, "I have always taken as representing the first appearance of my work in a standard literary periodical." His publications, designed for the cultured public as well as for the classroom, divide roughly into history, biography, school texts, and books of general interest.

Of the twenty-six registrations now in the Library of Congress under Benjamin Brawley's name, those by which he is best known include *A Short History of the American Negro*, his first book, *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States, A Social History of the American Negro, A Short History of the English Drama, A New Survey of English Literature, Freshman Year English, Doctor Dillard of the Jeanes Fund,*

History of the English Hymn, Early Negro American Writers (edited), *Paul Laurence Dunbar: Poet of His People, Negro Builders and Heroes, The Negro Genius,* and *The Best Stories of Paul Laurence Dunbar* (edited). One of Mr. Brawley's distinguished pupils, Dr. Nathaniel P. Tillman, Chairman of the Department of English at Atlanta University, has said, "Dr. Brawley had a wider range of first-class publishers and a longer list of solid publications than any other Negro author." When in 1927 Brawley declined the Harmon Foundation's second award in education, he did so primarily on the ground that he had not catered to second-rate work and hence was justified in accepting no badge in direct contradiction to his ideal of excellence.

Several booklets of his poems were privately issued at Atlanta Baptist College or at Howard University: *A Prayer, A Toast to Love and Death, The Problem and Other Poems, The Desire of the Moth for the Star, The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* and *The Dawn and Other Poems.* Apart from his books and pamphlets, Dr. Brawley for nearly a quarter of a century wrote constantly for literary journals, four of which years he also edited *The Home Mission College Review,* published at Shaw University, where he was Professor of English from 1923 to 1931. Meantime, at the request of the editors, he contributed "Varied Outlook" to *The Harvard Advocate,* "The Negro in American Literature" to *The Bookman Anthology of Essays,* and a short story, "The Baseball," to Professor Addison Hibbard's *Stories of the South.* Among Dr. Brawley's collection of writings is found an anniversary hymn written in 1917 commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Morehouse College and another written in 1929 in response to the sixty-third annual Founder's Day celebration at Shaw University.

IV

In the main, Dr. Brawley's literary faith as stated in the preface to *A New Survey of English Literature* was that of a Johnsonian classicist. Each of his twelve sonnets was written in conventional English or Italian patterns. As regards a literary selection, Dr. Brawley was wont to ask three questions: What has the author tried to do? Has he done it? Was it, after all, worth doing? As he saw it, praiseworthy literature must needs rest upon a sound artistic foundation; and in instances where it is designed to teach, its teaching must fall within the pale of traditional moral standards. In literature as elsewhere, good taste was its own excuse for being. Dr. Brawley, therefore, found himself in disagreement with a majority of the Negro writers who became a part of the so-called Negro Literary Renaissance of the 1920's. For one thing, he objected to the coarse, hedonistic aspects of much of the literature they wrote; for another, he decried the then-current tendency to think of Harlem as the center of the Negro's literary striving. "One would hardly care," he wrote in 1934, "to have the real life of the Negro in the United States

judged by the glitter and tinsel of Lennox Avenue, and when the permanent books written by Negroes appear, they will come from the great open spaces and not from the sidewalks of New York."

The Negro, he insisted, hitherto the scapegoat of the American social order, ought to maintain the highest standards of efficiency and culture rather than to cater to the hectic, the vulgar and the sensational in the name of literature. "If we read of one coarse and ignorant Negro, then of another coarse and ignorant Negro, then of another and another and another, it is by very simple deduction that we conclude that all Negroes are coarse and ignorant."

V

Dr. Brawley combined the cultural approach to the American Negro-white problem with that of Christian justice. He saw that Negroes as an ethnic group would have to bring themselves up to the standard of American citizenship and that the white man would eventually have to recognize character and merit wherever he saw them, the color of the skin not withstanding. His appeal was therefore to the white man's sense of justice and to his simple human kindness. Moreover, Dr. Brawley's objection to the indiscriminate singing of Negro spirituals by young Negroes, especially for guests at chapel exercises, was that rather than to look forward to the day of self-realization, far too many of these spirituals look back to a period of hope deferred. In his scheme of the black man's world of tomorrow, many Negro spirituals had little or no place. "After all," he wrote in the *Home Mission College Review* for November 1929, "the destiny of the Negro is mainly in his own hands. . . By the force of his character, and by this alone, will he win the prizes of American life."

Dr. Brawley's last work was done at Howard University where, according to the invitation, he was to teach, "whatever his scholarly attitude suggested." A spacious two-story structure on Harvard Street became the home of the Brawleys. Here for the first time, he was free to write, and volumes appeared in quick succession. In the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection at Yale University is a letter to James Weldon Johnson dated March 4, 1933, in which Dr. Brawley explained a proposed series of twelve biographies of eminent Negroes, and suggested that Johnson write the volume on Paul Laurence Dunbar. It turned out, however, that Dr. Brawley wrote the Dunbar volume — *Paul Laurence Dunbar: Poet of His People.*

During these years he maintained close contact with Morehouse College whose history he had written back in 1917. On February 19, 1933, he delivered the Founder's Day address on the occasion of the sixty-sixth anniversary of the institution. Four years later, Morehouse College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters.

At Howard University, the institution to which he willed his entire

library, Dr. Brawley's days were very crowded. His interest in the work of the University and of the community led him to follow over-zealously the many tasks he had undertaken. One day he complained to his wife that he was "so tired," and on the second day of an illness that persisted quite two weeks, he labeled each item on his desk and proceeded to choose the hymns, the Scripture and the speaker for his funeral. On the day of his death, he called to his bedside a neighbor and friend, Mrs. Lucy Campbell, and admonished her to "look after my wife." It was to his physician that he uttered his final words: "Dr. Terry, I am proud of my wife; she measures up to every emergency." His passing at 2:10 on the morning of February 1, 1939, at fifty-six years of age, is reminiscent of his poem, "I Shall Go Forth in the Morning," written many years before his death:

I shall go forth in the morning,
  In the crimson and the dew;
In the glint and glow of the sunlight,
  To buy me garments new.
But I shall arise in the sunlight,
  In the realms beyond the blue,
And wander forth in the morning,
  To buy me garments new.

For assistance in tracking down the data included in this article, the writer is indebted to many libraries — too many to mention here. He is grateful also for significant contributions to the success of this study made by Miss Eva M. Grice of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mrs. Edith M. Royster of Brockton, Massachusetts; Dr. Nathaniel P. Tillman and Mrs. Jeannette B. Stewart (Dr. Brawley's sister) both of Atlanta, Georgia; and by his wife, Mrs. Hilda P. Brawley of Washington, D. C.

Case P

June 8, 1949

Miss Adella Parks
1935 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

23-4-2

Dear Trudel:

Thank you so much for the little supper. Also remember that you promised to look into two matters concerning DuBois.

Let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Kent Hall
Bennett College
Greensboro, N. C.
January 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23-7-3

I am a freshman at Bennett College and have choosen to write about your life as my major project for Social Science.

Will you please send me some information or tell me where to secure information concerning your life.

I will appreciate hearing from you of your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Respectfully yours,

Lillie T. Patterson

Lillie T. Patterson

[Payne]

2901 W. Washington Boulevard
Chicago 12 Illinois
December 5, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
African Aid Committee
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Excuses are distasteful to me, but at times explanations are necessary. Please accept my apology which may seem a way out for an apparent neglect of duty. As soon as I can find the book, which has been put away "too carefully", I shall send it immediately.

After I entered the hospital I made no effort to systematize a contribution list, but planned to return the book with at least my personal contribution. The teachers in our Chicago system receive no pay during vacation. I offered to work for the African Foundation during the summer, planning to make a contribution in this manner. I did not want to return the book without anything.

A few weeks ago I received your request for the book, but to my embarrassment I could not find it quickly. I think it is mixed up with my last Christmas mail. There are about five hundred greetings that I have not had time to open an enjoyable evening reading. Every day this year I have planned to do so, but never get around to it. Now to go thru this mail will take time and you would not understand not hearing from me.

I promise to send the book as soon as it can be found. No coupons have been used which will show that I have not collected or misappropriated funds that were not mine.

If circumstances had been different a few months ago I could have interested my friends and collected a wholesome amount. I am most interested in the committee and am still willing to do my bit, after I send the book.

With deepest regrets, I am

Bertha Keith Payne

84-83-84

NEW YORK, N.Y. JAN 5 1-AM 1949

GRAND CENTRAL STA

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
~~National Association for the~~
~~Advancement of Colored People~~
~~20 West 40th St.~~
~~New York 18, N. Y.~~

230 W 126th St.
N. Y. 10, N. Y.

230-40

CHANGE OF DATE FOR P.E.N. DINNER

Due to an error on the part of The Netherland Club, which is beyond our control, the date of the P.E.N. Dinner scheduled for Wednesday, January 12th has had to be changed to Wednesday, January 19th.

Place: The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza
Speakers: James Michener, Ira Wolfert, John Horne Burns, Allen Lyon; Henry Seidel Canby presiding.

Reservations already made for January 12th will be honored for January 19th unless the Executive Secretary is otherwise informed.

Jane Hudson, Executive Secretary
123 East 94th Street,
SAcremento 2-6751

V

THE AMERICAN CENTER OF P.E.N.
DINNER
NOVEMBER 2nd, 1949
The Netherland Club

Table 1

Mr. and Mrs. Frederic Melcher
Mildred Smith
Margaret Loring Thomas
Edward Thomas
Dorothy Graham Bennett
Gladys Taber
Gustav Breuer
Helen Hull
Kiyoshi Tanimoto

Table 2

Ben Lucian Burman
Alice Cady
Emily Cotton
Charles Morrow Wilson
Margaret Widdemer
Paul Schwarz
Mr. and Mrs. Walter Cutter
Boris Todrin
Lyda Rochmis

Table 3

Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Komroff
Evelyn Eaton
Mr. and Mrs. George S. Brengle
A. M. Sullivan
Michael J. Kelly
John Brick
Madeline Mason
Malcolm Forbes McKesson

Table 4

Mr. and Mrs. John Hersey
Mr. and Mrs. Joel Sayre
Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Lawrence
Cleveland Amory
Martha Hodge
Virgilia Sapieha
Gouberneur Paulding

Table 5

Mr. and Mrs. Norman Cousins
Harrison Brown
Mrs. Robert Lehman
Mrs. James Michaels
Richard Walsh, Jr.
Ellen Wales Walpole
Ruth Aley
Joe Anthony
Mr. and Mrs. Henry James Forman

Table 6

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Steele Commager
Hon. Joseph C. Grew
Mr. and Mrs. John Farrar
Julius Fleischman
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Amory
Rita Halle Kleeman
Aline Bernstein

Table 7

Mr. and Mrs. Blair Niles
Mr. and Mrs. John Scott Mabon
Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Haydn
Anne Miller Downes
Frank Harley Downes
Antonio Russi

Table 8

Charles W. Ferguson
Cuyler MacRae
W. E. B. DuBois
Shirley Graham
Mr. and Mrs. Whit Burnett
Dr. and Mrs. A. M. Meerloo
Emanie Arling
Jane Hudson

November 14, 1949

23-4-8

Mrs. Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary, P.E.N.
123 East 94th Street
New York 28, New York

My dear Mrs. Hudson:

I am sure that Shirley Graham, who was my guest at the last P.E.N. dinner, would be glad to join the P.E.N. Club. Can she be invited?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE P.E.N. A WORLD ASSOCIATION OF WRITERS
54 CENTERS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE AMERICAS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY · JANE HUDSON · 123 E. 94TH ST., NEW YORK 28, N.Y. SACRAMENTO 2-6751

AMERICAN CENTER

President
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Vice-Presidents
NORMAN COUSINS
RITA HALLE KLEEMAN
FREDERIC MELCHER

Secretary
MANUEL KOMROFF

Treasurer
KENNETH McCORMICK

★

EXECUTIVE BOARD

MAXWELL ALEY
EMANIE ARLING
JOHN MASON BROWN
PEARL BUCK
BEN LUCIAN BURMAN
HENRY SEIDEL CANBY
CARL CARMER
THOMAS R. COWARD
CHARLES FERGUSSON
ROBERT FROST
JOHN HERSEY
B. W. HUEBSCH
HELEN HULL
VICTOR KNAUTH
MERLE MILLER
IRA V. MORRIS
ELMER RICE
HARRY SCHERMAN
LILLIAN SMITH
LELAND STOWE
ROGER W. STRAUS, JR.

★

133-4

November 22, 1949

Three distinguished writers - John Dos Passos, Alec Waugh, and Louis Bromfield - will be Guests of Honor, and speak, at the next P.E.N. dinner, which will be held on Wednesday evening, December 7th, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza.

Dinner will be $3.75 per person. Dress optional.

Please make your reservations as soon as possible by filling out the blank at the bottom of the page and mailing it to the Executive Secretary, Jane Hudson. No cancellations or reservations will be accepted after noon the day before the dinner. We do not send out tickets or acknowledge receipt of reservations. Please make all checks payable to the P.E.N. Club.

THE DINNER COMMITTEE
Lewis Gannett, Chairman
Merle Miller
Ben Lucian Burman

* * * *

Mrs. Jane Hudson
Executive Secretary, P.E.N.
123 East 94th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Please reserve_____places for me, at $3.75 per person, for the P.E.N. dinner on Wednesday evening, December 7th, at 7:30 o'clock, at The Netherland Club, 10 Rockefeller Plaza. I enclose my check for_____.

_____

My guests will be_____

Seating preferences (if possible)_____

Published by
PACIFIC PUBLISHING
FOUNDATION, INC.
SAN FRANCISCO
232

PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 FOLSOM STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5

June 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o The African Aid Committee
23 West 26th Street
New York City, N. Y.

23-40-43

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As you know, the national convention of the NAACP will be held in Los Angeles on July 12th. Our paper covers the entire West Coast, particularly California, has considerable circulation in Los Angeles, and a special effort will be made to ensure a maximum distribution to the NAACP delegates. Therefore, we would be delighted if we could secure from you a statement or article dealing with the central problems before the NAACP for appearance in our weekend magazine dated July 8th.

Perhaps you are planning to direct a message to the NAACP convention through some other channels, and in that event we would appreciate it very much if you sent us a duplicate of the manuscript by July 5th.

In any case, we are highly desirous of receiving some expression of your views on the problems before NAACP to coincide with the national convention in Los Angeles.

Respectfully yours,

Al Richmond

Al Richmond,
Executive editor

AR:bf

I am no longer on Board of the NAACP

Published by
PACIFIC PUBLISHING FOUNDATION, INC.
SAN FRANCISCO

PEOPLE'S WORLD

590 FOLSOM STREET - SAN FRANCISCO 5

June 19, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-9-61

I do wish I were there for the big meeting today; but I'm finding there are important things to do here also.

My friends on PEOPLE'S WORLD are extremely eager to have you accept their invitatinn to submit a piece on NAACP for the week-end edition that coincides with the Convention in Los Angeles next month.

They suggested an article on problems before NAACP today. However, if you prefer to do an article summarizing and interpreting the history of NAACP, as only you know it, that would be equally satisfactory.

PW's normal week-end circulation is around 20,000; but they plan to do an enlarged edition if they get your piece. All delegates to the NAACP Convention will get copies.

Perhaps you know that PEOPLE'S WORLD, unlike the DAILY WORKER, is not an organ of the Communist Party. It is an independent, Marxist newspaper, which does not bow before red-baiting.

The article they want from you should be about 2500 words, and must arrive by July 1. I am certain that such an article could do a lot of good out here, not only in connection with the Convention. We hope you find itpossible.

Please wire (collect) to Editor Al Richmond, above address, to indicate whether you can do the piece.

The best of everything to you! Dorothy and Albert

I cannot write Article
but am sending material
from which you can
prepare your own article

[peoples world]

June 20, 1949

Mr. Al Richmond, Executive Editor
PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Richmond:

Answering your letter of June 15, may I say that I am no longer an official of the NAACP and therefore will not be attending the convention.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 22, 1949

SEND COLLECT

23-9-62

Al Richmond, Editor
PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco 5, California

CANNOT WRITE ARTICLE AM SENDING MATERIAL FROM WHICH YOU CAN

PREPARE YOUR WN ARTICLE.

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Brief for Article

June 22, 1949

23-9-60

Mr. Al Richmond, Editor
PEOPLES' WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Richmond:

I do not think it would be in place for me to write an article on the NAACP just now. But it happens that there are two statements which I made while in the NAACP, which have never been published.

From either one you can prepare an article only preface it by a statement:

> "We are publishing here a statement made by W. E. B. Du Bois while he was Director of Special Research at the NAACP."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Statements

Published by
PACIFIC PUBLISHING
FOUNDATION, INC.
SAN FRANCISCO
232

DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 FOLSOM STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5

July 11, 1949

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-9-76

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the paper that contained the statement you sent us. We selected for publication the memorandum you submitted in 1946, as it seemed to us a more general treatment of the problems before NAACP. I hope our handling of this statement meets with your approval.

Much has happened since 1946, and I am sure that were you to write such a memorandum today, it would differ in some respects. But I understand your reluctance to do any special article on NAACP at this time. At any rate, we found the 1946 statement very helpful, and wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Al Richmond

Al Richmond,
Executive Editor

AR:bf

Published by
PACIFIC PUBLISHING
FOUNDATION, INC.
SAN FRANCISCO
232

DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 FOLSOM STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5

August 23, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-3-5

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We are very anxious to print an answer to the story by Walter White in Look magazine, and we would appreciate it very much if you could write the piece for us.

We realize that you are very busy, but it is our strong opinion that you are best qualified to take issue with White.

The piece would be for our weekend magazine and should run about 2,000 words. We would like to have it as soon as you can do it.

Please let me know whether you see your way clear to write the piece for us.

Very sincerely yours,

George Lohr

George Lohr,
For the editorial board

August 31, 1949

Mr. George Lohr
PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Lohr:

Your letter of August 23, to Dr. Du Bois has arrived during his absence from the country. He is at present in Russia. I am not sure as to the exact time of his return. However your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to work.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

November 23, 1949

23-9-67

Mr. George Lohr
Foreign Editor
PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Lohr:

It will be impossible for me to prepare an article for you because of other commitments.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Baltimore Home

[PERDUE, SAUL]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2140 College Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

23-B-9

My dear Mr. Perdue:

Yolande keeps feeling that she ought to sell our house. It is a long way from her work and with Mrs. Du Bois sick, it is pretty lonely, especially when her daughter goes off to college. She is thinking of buying a home somewhere out near the Western High School. You probably know of the locality. I hate to have the house sold but I think that Yolande ought to be the one to decide and I am leaving it up to her.

I wish you would talk to her when you have time, and impress it upon her how much has got to be looked into in buying a second-hand house; the matter of the title of the house and the ground; the matter of the plumbing, the heating, the needed repairs; the orders, if any, from the city for repairs and changes; and all of the thousand and one things that must be taken into account. Also there is the question as to what purchaser we could find for our house, and at what price and terms.

I would be glad if you would talk this over with Yolande and give her the benefit of your opinions.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

TYPE FULLY No OMISSIONS

TRUSTEES

I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *President.*
EMORY ROSS, *Vice-President.*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary.*
EDWIN K. MERRILL, *Treasurer.*
CHANCELLOR HARRY WOODBURN CHASE, *Ex Officio.*
RT. REV. CHARLES K. GILBERT, *Ex Officio*
CLAUDE A. BARNETT, RALPH JOHNSON BUNCHE
ROBERT D. CALKINS, BAYARD DODGE
MRS. DYSON DUNCAN, MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.
GUY B. JOHNSON, FREDERICK D. PATTERSON
LISTON POPE, REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr.
CHANNING H. TOBIAS

REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Sr., *President Emeritus.*
THOMAS JESSE JONES, *Director Emeritus.*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

CHANNING H. TOBIAS, *Director.*
FREDERICK L. ROWE, *Executive Secretary.*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Education: I. N. PHELPS STOKES
Housing: MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).

CABLES: "Stokesfund"–Newyork.

EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

July 27, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have yours of July 24th asking for information concerning the life and activities of the late H. Sebastian Doyle. First let me say that I am glad that you are writing to his son, Dr. Bertram Doyle, Municipal College, Louisville, Kentucky for I am sure that he can supply you with exact data involving dates, birth and death and other facts that I do not have in my possession.

I know that he died in Kerrville, Texas where he spent the last five or six years of his life in a losing fight against tuberculosis. I am quite sure that he received his education at Clark College in Atlanta and Ohio Wesleyan University. He came to Augusta, Georgia to serve as pastor of the Trinity Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. This was when I was in my late teens. As a youngster I was greatly impressed by his learning, his eloquence and his courage. He was a lover of the classics and got a lot of fun out of stumping some of us who were just beginning our studies in Latin and Greek. While his sermons were shot through with emotion, he never stooped to the methods of some ~~trained~~ ministers who ~~purposely~~ played upon the emotions of the people in order to get their support.

~~In addition~~ to his pastoral and preaching ~~services~~, he was the one minister ~~in Augusta~~ who had the courage to challenge racial discrimination, even though he knew that his statements might be used against him by the so-called "Uncle Tom" Negro type of leadership so prevalent at the time. Not only had he the courage to challenge jim-crowism, he also had the courage to challenge the effectiveness of the dominant political parties. It was this that lead him into the Agrarian movement lead by Thomas E. Watson. Although in later years Watson denied it, it was a fact that ~~Doyle was his chief supporter and protag-~~ onist. Doyle's name was almost as much of a household word as Watson's among the poor whites as well as the Negroes in Georgia. He stumped the State in the interest of the People's Party ticket with Watson and on one occasion spent the night at Watson's home in Thomson to avoid a threatened attack on his life. Although the third party movement passed off the scene, Doyle never became reconciled to the Republican Party as

24-4-12

medium through which equal rights for the Negro could be secured. Of course there was no such thing as a Negro Democrat at the time because the door of that party was securely closed against the black man. So Doyle was a partyless man from the time of the dissolution of the Populist movement until he died.

I am glad that you are going to mention him in your book and I regret that I do not have more authentic information to give you, but as I said in the beginning, I am sure his son will be able to help you considerably.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

Channing H. Tobias
Director

CHT:wmr

24-4-13

[PHI BETA SIGMA - ANNV.]

Please return

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

December 19, 1949.

Dear Du Bois:

Perhaps you have heard the news that Azikiwe is coming. He is addressing a large public meeting in the Banneker High School Auditorium, Washington D.C. on December 27th at 8 p.m. Could you possibly be present at that time ? Could you make a brief comment upon Azikiwe's speech after he had spoken ?

Horace Mann Bond, who has just returned from West Africa, has been invited to do likewise. I have been asked to preside at this meeting which is the 35th Anniversary Conclave of Phi Beta Sigma. The meeting is open to all.

23-44-41

Sincerely Yours

L. D. Reddick

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Will go Happily
Dec. 27 - Send manuscript
Dec. 22

Lect.

The National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

and

The Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Open Meeting

Tuesday, December 27, 1949

8 P. M.

Banneker Junior High School Auditorium

Program

* * * *

Presiding Officer ..... Mrs. Olivia S. Henry
Supreme Basileus, National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

Piano Solo—Valse Gracille ..... *Horatio Parker*
Mrs. Lottie Chase

Invocation ..... Rev. Colbert Pearson

Vocal Solo —When I Have Sung My Song ..... *Charles*
Mr. Charles Fleming — Accompanied by John Hall

Welcoming Remarks—

Host Chapters ..... Mr. Hubert Pair
President, Alpha Sigma Chapter

Public Schools ..... Dr. Garnet C. Wilkerson
First Assistant Superintendent of Schools

Pan Hellenic Council ..... Mr. Verdie Robinson
President

Federation of Civic Associations ..... Mr. Woolsey Hall

Piano Solo—Toccata and Fugue in D Minor ..... *Bach—Busoni*
Miss Doris Holland

Response ..... Mrs. Olivia S. Henry
Supreme Basileus, National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

Program

• • • •

Introduction of Speaker ..... Mrs. Bernice S. House
Basileus, Beta Chapter

Address ..... Dr. William Stuart Nelson
Dean of Howard University

Vocal Solo—Devotion ..... *Richard Strauss*

Mrs. Otis Holley

Introduction of Speaker ..... Dr. Lawrence Reddick

Address ..... Dr. Nmamdi Azikiwe

Remarks and Introduction of Phi Beta Sigma National Officers—
Dr. R. O. Johnson, National President, Phi Beta Sigma

Introduction of National Officers of National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

Mrs. Hilda G. Bryant, Conclave Chairman

Violin Solo ..... Mr. Albert Burgess

Benediction ..... Rev. Pearson

LOCAL PRESIDENTS

Beta Chapter ..... Mrs. Bernice S. House
Alpha Sigma Chapter ..... Mr. Hubert Pair
Alpha Chapter ..... Mr. Ernest Tollerson

PROGRAM CHAIRMEN

Mrs. Hilda G. Bryant
Mrs. Delilah W. Pierce
Lt. Col. Robert L. Pollard
Mr. George A. Parker
Miss Ruby E. Duffy

HAMILTON PRINTING COMPANY

Port-au-Prince, September 6, 1949.-

Dr. Burghardt Du Bois
23 W. 26th Street
New-York, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

23-7-40

I have to inform you first that I have the idea to write for the children of my country a book of short biographies of outstanding Negroes in history.

Your international standing as a saholar and my great admiration for you as a remarquable writer make me think your place is among the Negroes who have done so much for the advancement of the Negro Race.

But for my work I need all the biographic materials concerning you and also two pictures of you and one with your autograph.

May I hope, Dr. Dubois, you will be able as soon as possible to send me the materials I ask you for.

Very sincerely yours

René Piquion

René PIQUION

Direction générale de
l'Enseignement
urbain
Port-au-Prince
Haïti

September 21, 1949

Mr. Rene Piquon
Direction Generale de L'Enseignment
Urboin
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

23-2-41

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of September 26, I am enclosing a short statement of my life and work. It is taken from "Who's Who in America". There is also a statement in the British "Who's Who- 1949" which you can doubtless secure.

My autobiography was published in 1940, under the title: "Dusk of Dawn", by Harcourt, Brace and Company. I am enclosing two photographs.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Courier

POST OFFICE BOX 1828
PITTSBURGH 30, PA.
MAyflower 1401

Office of the
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

AIRMAIL SPECIAL

23-1-40

14 December 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 W. 26th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This letter is written as a follow-up to our telephone talk a few minutes ago.

With the first issue in January, the Pittsburgh Courier intends to start celebrating its fortieth anniversary by memorializing the progress which the Negro has made in the first half of this century. It is our purpose to devote at least a page every other week throughout the year to tell with words and pictures the story of some phase of Negro life during the fifty-year period. These articles will cover such subjects as the fight for civil rights, for housing, for jobs, for education and will describe our progress in business, the professions, the arts, etc. We are trying to get the best men and women in the country to write these articles and we are hopeful that the quality of the essays will be such that thousands of people will want to keep them after they are published. The stories are to be limited to two thousand words.

We would like for you to do the first article. It should be an introduction to the series and should cover, in bold, short strokes, significant advances along the entire front of our racial endeavors. We think it should be written so that it will inspire our readers, old and young. If you have pictures which suggest themselves to you, we would like for you to send them to us, or if you do not have them, to apprise us of appropriate pictures as quickly as possible so we can try to obtain them. Your article should reach us by December 28.

Of course, "fifty years" should be in the subject. If you will write out your complete subject, however, and send it to us, we would like to use it for advertising purposes immediately.

14 December 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Page Two.

Is one hundred dollars agreeable as the price for this article?

Yours very truly,

P. L. Prattis

P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

PLP/fej

23-1-41

Pittsburgh Courier

[PITTSBURGH COURIER]

Pittsburgh Courier

Dec. 23, 1949

Dear Mr. Prattis:

Here is the article; it may be a little too long. If so the last part may be cut, but let me decide how.

For illustration, I suggest the portraits of twelve men:

"Who fought the good fight during the twentieth century for Negro rights in America and died in harness."

These are the names which I suggest:

B.T. Washingyon
Dunbar
Chesnutt
K. Miller
Trotter
Burleigh
Carver
Just
Vann
Moton
J.W. Johnson
John Hope

Very sincerely,

23-9-21

[POLICY.]

POLICYHOLDERS COMMITTEE

(IN FORMATION)

PAUL O'DWYER
ACTING CHAIRMAN

40 WALL STREET
ROOM 5603
NEW YORK 5

March 10, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As an outstanding person in the community, you must be concerned as I and many others have become at the increasingly dominant position the so-called "mutual" insurance companies have come to occupy in the economic life of our country.

These companies with their interlocking directorates, their self-perpetuation of officials and their enormous control of finance, are second to the government alone in terms of their influence on our economy.

It has been reported that the assets of the "big five" alone -- New York Life, Equitable, Mutual, Metropolitan and Prudential have increased over a thousand percent in the ten years since the U. S. government exposed the abuses of the companies in the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) Investigation.

It is high time that the cold light of factual investigation should again be thrown on the practices of these and other companies, but this time with a view to positive action eliminating the abuses and creating regulatory forces that can be effective.

As a policyholder, it is your right to take a more active part in the management of the mutual companies that you presumably own. I know that there are many prevalent policies, such as those discriminating against Negroes, which do not carry forward your viewpoint, but rather the viewpoints of a handful of self-perpetuating officials who vote mechanically collected proxies of approximately 2% of the policyholders.

As the acting chairman of the Policyholders Committee, which is still in the process of formation, I cordially invite you to join the Committee as one of its sponsors. It is my feeling that you will understand the importance of establishing activity in this very vital field which has been so long neglected.

I will be deeply grateful for your affirmative response, which I ask you to mail me as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Paul O'Dwyer

[POLICY.]

Req to Sponsor 1949

POLICYHOLDERS COMMITTEE
(IN FORMATION)

PAUL O'DWYER
ACTING CHAIRMAN

40 WALL STREET
ROOM 5603
NEW YORK 5

March 10, 1949

Dear Mr. Dubois:

As an outstanding person in the community, you must be concerned as I and many others have become at the increasingly dominant position the so-called "mutual" insurance companies have come to occupy in the economic life of our country.

These companies with their interlocking directorates, their self-perpetuation of officials and their enormous control of finance, are second to the government alone in terms of their influence on our economy.

It has been reported that the assets of the "big five" alone -- New York Life, Equitable, Mutual, Metropolitan and Prudential have increased over a thousand percent in the ten years since the U. S. government exposed the abuses of the companies in the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) Investigation.

It is high time that the cold light of factual investigation should again be thrown on the practices of these and other companies, but this time with a view to positive action eliminating the abuses and creating regulatory forces that can be effective.

As a policyholder, it is your right to take a more active part in the management of the mutual companies that you presumably own. I know that there are many prevalent policies, such as those discriminating against Negroes, which do not carry forward your viewpoint, but rather the viewpoints of a handful of self-perpetuating officials who vote mechanically collected proxies of approximately 2% of the policyholders.

As the acting chairman of the Policyholders Committee, which is still in the process of formation, I cordially invite you to join the Committee as one of its sponsors. It is my feeling that you will understand the importance of establishing activity in this very vital field which has been so long neglected.

I will be deeply grateful for your affirmative response, which I ask you to mail me as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Paul O'Dwyer

[POLICYHOLDERS' P

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mr. Paul O'Dwyer
Acting Chairman
Policyholders Committee
40 Wall Street, Room 5603
New York 5, New York

23-8-9

My dear Sir:

Answering your circular letter of March 10, may I say that I agree entirely as to the necessity of factual investigation of the Insurance business. On the other hand, I am not a policyholder and therefore doubt as to whether I could take any part in your movement. I have been ~~applicyy~~-holder in the past, but I received such treatment that I did not continue.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-9-13

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(150)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. The time of delivery is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1949 MAR 29 PM 5 49

NA257 DPR PD=NR I NEWYORK NY 22 540P:

=W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMB AVE=

=WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR BRIEF COMMENT FOR PRESS IN POLAND ON ASP CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE STOP WHY YOU THINK IT NECESSARY AND WHAT YOU EXPECT OF IT STOP PLEASE WIRE COLLECT PRESS RATE=

POLISH PRESS AGENCY 50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA=

50=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 24, 1949

Polish Press Agency
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

The artists and scientists of the world have a grave responsibility in this grave crisis. They know better than most men that war is simply a bad and dangerous habit of manking, inherited from a barbarous and ignorant past. War settles nothing and raises more problems than it answers. It causes death, suffering, poverty, insanity.

Knowing this all too well the artists and scientists of America and such invited guests as Government has permitted to come are trying in New York meetings, March 25 to 28, to focus the attention of mankindon this growing threat to civilization. We wish to emphasize the fact that no matter how much we differ in thought, government and industrial organization- War, force and murder can never settle our differences or bring agreement or save civilization.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

WEBD:lm

24-9-12

[POLLACK

Cover P

ERWIN PISCATOR

invites you to be his guest at the Opening Performance
of the Dramatic Workshop and Technical Institute.

WEDDING IN JAPAN

by Ted Pollack

at the President Theatre, 247 West 48th Street
Thursday, November 10th, at 8:30 p. m.

As the seating capacity is limited please be kind enough to reply
today, and tickets will be sent to you.

10th Year

JUdson 6-4800

(over)

23a-5

Dear Dr. Du Bois:
This play strikes a very
hard blow at Jim Crow in
America and, as such, does a
service. Please try to come. Your
opinion would mean a great
deal to me. I look forward to
meeting you.
Ted Poelsch

November 14, 1949

23-5-11

Mr. Ted Pollack
President Theatre
247 West 48th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Pollack:

I thank you for your invitation to view the "Wedding in Japan," but on the night of November 10, I already had an engagement at the Vyshinsky dinner and consequently could not come.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College

presents

CAROL BRICE, Contralto

assisted by

JONATHAN BRICE at the Piano

23c - 44

College Auditorium

Monday Evening, November 7, 1949 at 7:30 o'Clock

Program

I

IN QUESTA TOMBA (In Yonder Tomb) ..... **BEETHOVEN**

Would that I were in yonder half-hidden tomb! While I live, thou unfaithful one, must think of me. But upon my departure from this unhappy life, and finding peace, I implore you not to trouble my ashes with a pretense of grief.

MARMOTTE ..... **BEETHOVEN**

PRAYER ..... **BEETHOVEN**

DRUMS LOUDLY BEATING (*From "Egmont"*) ..... **BEETHOVEN**

II

DER WANDERER AN DEN MOND (The Wanderer and the Moon) ..... **SCHUBERT**

The wanderer says to the moon: "I am of the earth, you of the sky. I am serious and sad, you are gentle and pure. I wander from land to land and find nowhere a home. You wander from your eastern cradle to your western grave and are everywhere at home. The whole heaven is your beloved homeland."

DER MUSENSOHN (The Son of the Muses) ..... **SCHUBERT**

Through field and forest I stray and carry all before me with my merry song. Each village lad and lass trip lighter when they hear me sing. From the one I love my song has sent me straying. Oh, muses, when shall this roving heart return.

LITERNEI (Litany) ..... **SCHUBERT**

Rest in peace, all souls departed. Who lived in joy, or sorrow, or hardly saw the dawn. Departed from this world the loving souls of maidens whose tears could not be counted, those who never laughed. Those who lay sleepless on thorns through the night that they might see God face to face in Heaven's pure light. May they rest in peace.

DIE BOSE FARBE (The Evil Color) ..... **SCHUBERT**

Away from the boundless world I go, and everywhere I see the hateful green. My tears shall wither the green leaves and the green, green grass. I sing at her door: Farewell, my love. The hunting-horn sounds. I take the fatal green ribbon from your faithless brow. Let me touch your hand in parting. And so farewell.

III

DIVINITES DU STYX, (*From "Alceste"*) ..... GLUCK

Alceste, legendary Queen of Greece, pleads with the Gods of the underworld for the return of her husband. She offers herself in his place, and this aria is her challenge to the fiends of the Styx.

"Ye Gods of endless night that wait on Death,
I appeal no more to your mercy - Gods without
pity for my grief and woe."

INTERMISSION

IV

SHEPHERDS CRADLE SONG ..... ARTHUR SOMERVELL

BY A BIER SIDE ..... C. ARMSTRONG GIBBS

LOVELIEST OF TREES ..... JOHN DUKE

GYPSY LIFE ..... CLARA EDWARDS

V

SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT ..... ARR. BURLEIGH

HARD TRIALS ..... ARR. BURLEIGH

HE AIN'T COMING HERE TO DIE NO MORE ..... ARR. NOAH RYDER

ROLL, JORDAN, ROLL ..... ARR. HALL JOHNSON

Miss Brice records for COLUMBIA MASTERWORKS RECORDS

EXCLUSIVE MANAGEMENT

W. COLSTON LEIGH, INC.
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

November 23, 1949

23-5-10

Mr. James C. Proctor
545 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Proctor:

I want to thank you very much for giving me the privilege to see "Death of a Salesman". I had been trying a long time to get a seat.

The evening was most enjoyable.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 N Y MURRAY HILL 6-5300

January 22, 1949

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

23-7-71

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

It was nice to talk to you again, particularly after so long a time. I still think I should leave the PP pro tem and clear all your speaking engagements, seeing to it, of course, that you did just the ones I wanted you to do.

At the moment all interest here is focused on the Legislative Assembly and Conference, Washington, D. C. February 11th and 12th. We have obtained quite a broad sponsor list and it is felt that we may really be able to get some action on these issues, to say nothing of the opportunity to form a firm coalition for future activity. For these reasons, as well as many others too numerous to go into now, I do hope you will keep yourself free to chair the Saturday afternoon session. It is not only the wind up, but also to my mind one of the most important parts of the conference.

I'll call you on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Cordially yours,

Theodora M. Peck
Speakers Bureau.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

232-7

January 24, 1949

Dear Friend:

Allow me to congratulate and thank you for the splendid work you did in the local campaign of the Progressive Party.

You have played an important role in the history of our country's march toward full democracy for all the people. Far from being a defeat for the Progressive Party's platform, so heroically advanced by Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor, the election returns have shown us that without the Progressive Party neither one of the old parties would have discussed the crucial issues of peace, civil rights and the end of Jim Crow, high prices, housing, the Taft-Hartley Law and the rights of labor, or the heroic fight of the Jewish people to make Israel live as a free nation.

These vital issues are still with us. The American people have told President Truman that he must make good his promises to act on them; and one of the major promises made by President Truman was the enactment of civil rights for all people.

The Progressive Party is participating in a Legislative Assembly and Rally for Civil Rights, initiated by a number of outstanding Negro leaders, in Washington February 11 and 12, 1949.

Group after group of Americans from all walks of life have come to recognize that our professions of democracy do not square with our practices toward our own Negro citizens. The repercussions abroad are evident. At home the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has called for an end to segregation as an essential step in building our democracy and our faith. Only the united efforts of many groups will ensure the passage of such a program against the great forces that are arrayed to perpetuate discrimination and segregation.

We are therefore inviting you to join with the many thousands in this Civil Rights Legislative Assembly which will end with a giant Rally for Civil Rights on the Birthday of the

Great Emancipator, February 12, a day which is not now celebrated in any fitting manner in the nation's capital.

We feel that such an assembly of representative leaders would have a profound effect on the Congress in stimulating the passage of the legislation that is basic to preservation of our system of equal rights. We feel that such an Assembly and such a Rally, coming one month after Congress has had a chance to deliberate the legislation, will do much to ensure the passage of adequate legislation.

We are enclosing a copy of the Call to that Assembly and a credential card for your use. I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of your being present that weekend. Please send in your card immediately so that your registration may be expedited.

Your past work in building the Progressive Party can and must be solidified by this action.

Cordially yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson
Co-Chairman
PROGRESSIVE PARTY

23a-7

Progressive

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 N Y MURRAY HILL 6-5300

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

February 9, 1949

Dr. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City,

Dear Dr.DuBois:

Enclosed find your ticket for Washington Saturday morning, 11:50 a.m. You have an open return. When you get to Washington, I'll make whatever reservation is convenient for you.

A Doctor Robert Morton will pick up you at the 135th Street "Y" between 10:30 and 10:45 a.m. Saturday. If, for any reason, you should wish to change the arrangement, he can be reached in the afternoon and early evenings at WAdsworth 6-0049. I'm leaving for Washington tomorrow night and will look forward to seeing you there.

Cordially yours,

Theodora M. Peck
Speakers' Bureau

TMP:vp

[Progressive]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 14, 1949

Miss Theodora M. Peck
Speakers' Bureau, Progressive Party
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Peck:

Enclosed is my bill for extra expense for the Washington, D. C. trip, that is if you have not already covered.

Thank you for your hospitality while I was in Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E.. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Eenlosure--Bill

[ENC]

Miss Theodora M. Peck

To Hotel---February 12--13 ------	$7.00
Taxi, New York ----------	2.00
Limousine, N. Y. ----------	1.25
Limousine, D. C.----------	1 .00
Taxi, LaGuardia --Home----------	3.00
	$14.25

23a-9

[PROG.]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

Sect Corr

23-42-62

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON
Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN
Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON
Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER
Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

February 23, 1949.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue,
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed you will find a check to cover your expenses for the Washington junket.

Again - many thanks for coming - and many more thanks for making that truly wonderful speech.

When am I going to start to really book you???

Cordially,

Theodora M. Peck

[PROGR.]
[National Office ?]

Progressive Party

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 8, 1949

23-7-70

Miss Theodora Peck
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Miss Peck:

I nearly always get in trouble when I make engagements over the telephone, especially if I haven' my memoranda near. I find now that I cannot speak for you in Baltimore, April 12, as I have an engagement of long standing.

I am very sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Progressive Party [PROG. PARTY]

Charge to the account of $

23-7-69

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

C. B. Baldwin
Hotel Park Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois

March 22, 1949

Have just wired Mrs. Blaine asking appointment next week

Please help secure it if you can

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
Mu. 3-7894

Straight

File V

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 N Y MURRAY HILL 6-5300

March 28, 1949

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON
Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN
Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON
Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER
Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

232-7

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is a copy of a statement which was released by me at a press conference held in New York last week-end.

The conference was called by myself in conjunction with Mrs. Therese Lee Robinson, National Director of the Women's Division, Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, who talked to the press as a Negro woman leader, and a representative of the Republican Party; and Miss Wilhelmina Adams, prominent Negro woman Democratic leader of Harlem, who spoke for the Democrats. I released the statement in my capacity as a National Committeeman of the Progressive Party.

All of us spoke to the press, as Negro leaders, united on the basic platform that our people must organize and act now if we are to prevent the spectacle of our civil liberties and the civil liberties of all Americans being taken from us without a struggle.

If our country is pushed into war by the Administration and the leaders of Congress, Negro Americans will be the first to suffer. That is why I urge you to do the following:

1. Write to President Truman, telling him that you demand that he take steps immediately to have the civil rights bill called up now!

2. Write to your Senators and Congressmen demanding the same thing!

3. Send copies of such letters to the press, or better still, call a press conference jointly with other leaders in your state, making your letters public to the press.

It is my deep conviction that if Negro leaders do not act now to arouse our people to the very real dangers that confront us and all Americans, we shall be held guilty of failing in our duty to our wives and children, our people and to our country. I shall appreciate hearing from you on these important matters. Address me P. O. Box 203, Des Moines, Iowa.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. P. Howard

CHARLES P. HOWARD
National Committeeman

[ENC.]

Released at Press Conference
Hotel Theresa, New York City
March 21, 1949

STATEMENT BY CHARLES P. HOWARD, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN, PROGRESSIVE PARTY

There is no doubt in my mind that the conservative Republican Party leadership acting in concert with the most reactionary elements of the Democratic Party from the South, has perpetrated the most gigantic fraud upon the Negro people, with the full knowledge and agreement of President Truman and his administration, since the Hayes-Tilden sellout after the Civil War.

I say that President Truman has played the part of Nero in this traitorous act against the freedom of my people, for he fiddled on the sands of Jim Crow Florida while the hope and promise of a better life, which my people placed in his hands, were torn limb from limb by a cynical Congress.

Thus the words of Henry Wallace have come home to roost. For he says, as I have said, that the two old parties are rotten from the core and our only hope is to build a strong people's leadership that will wipe away the shame and horror of their acts by placing the leadership of our government and Congress in the hands of those men and women who understand the meaning of a government of and by and for the people.

The Progressive Party therefore calls upon the Negro people, labor and all the progressive elements of our population to unite on an action program, demanding that the civil rights bills be called up for passage in Congress now. Time is running out. Those who would destroy our right to live in freedom in America are even now conspiring to close our voices as they proceed calmly to indoctrinate us with the poisonous propaganda that only war with the Soviet Union can resolve our difficulties. That is why the fight for civil rights becomes an integral part of the fight for peace in our land now.

I therefore call upon all progressive white people, the trade unions, the churches, the fraternal orders, the youth and women's organizations, the veterans to unite with all elements of the Negro people in this fight to call up the civil rights bills now in order that our joint liberties may not die together at the hands of Big Business and the Military, whose idea of our freedom is death on the battlefield in a war where victory comes only to the profiteers who make guns.

We must let the President and the leaders of Congress know that our eyes are fully opened now, and that no terror or intimidation will stop us from fighting for a free, peaceful and abundant life for all Americans.

uopwa 16-33

pro party

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 30, 1949

Miss Theodora Peck
Progressive Party
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Miss Peck:

I want to write you frankly about my lecture engagements. I cannot take many engagements on account of my age and strength; but beyond that there is this very decided difficulty: Since my advocacy of the election of Henry Wallace in the last campaign and my differences of opinion with the Secretary of the NAACP at that time and later, I was dismissed from my position in the NAACP and since January 1, have been receiving no salary. That means that most of my time must be devoted to my writing in order that in that way, and perhaps in some other way, I can earn a living.

23-7-68

You can see that on that account, I cannot undertake to make lecture trips and deliver lectures for expenses or for a nominal fee. I put a good deal of time into my lectures, writing them as carefully as I would write a book and them commiting them partially to memory. This takes time.

In addition to that, the cost of travel and of board, as you know, is very high. It is, therefore, impossible for me to accept lectures except in a few cases, and in those cases I must be paid a substantial fee. I am sorry, but that is the case. I wish I were able to give my services where they would do the most good, but this is simply impossible. I know you will understand.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lee

April 15, 1949

23-42-26

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Progressive Party
56 West 45th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Baldwin:

I do not want to commit myself now for the first two weeks in May. If the life over there is not too comfortable and the cost high, I shall probably be back by the first of May. On the other hand, if I can find a quiet cheap nook where I can rest and write, I may not be back until the second week in May. But in any case, I do not want to promise now and have the matter on my mind, not only the keeping of the appointment but the preparation of the addresses.

I am pretty tired and need rest and I am making this trip because of the possible opportunity to get that rest. I am sorry not to be able to make a better answer; but if I cannot cooperate this time I certainly will be glad to in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

April 20, 1949

Mr. Charles P. Howard
Progressive Party
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Howard:

Your letter and enclosed statement of March 28, has been received. Dr. Du Bois is abroad in France in attendance at the Peace Congress. He will return early in May. I shall bring your correspondance to his attention immediately upon his return.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[PROG PTY.]

230-51

Henry A. Wallace

cordially invites you

to meet his

Three

Distinguished Guests

from Europe

on the occasion of their arrival

in the United States

MR. WALLACE, MONSIEUR COT, SIGNOR GIUA AND MR. HUTCHINSON WILL LEAVE NEW YORK ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 28, ON A NATION-WIDE TOUR TO EXPRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE DEEP ASPIRATIONS FOR PEACE OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE, AND TO SHOW THAT ONLY PEACE PACTS, NOT WAR PACTS, CAN BRING SECURITY AND ABUNDANCE TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

Pierre Cot

MEMBER OF CHAMBER
OF DEPUTIES, FRANCE

Michele Giua

MEMBER OF THE SENATE,
ITALY

H. Lester Hutchinson

MEMBER OF HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT,
GREAT BRITAIN

at a

Dinner

at the

Hotel Commodore

Wednesday Evening, April 27, 1949

at seven o'clock

R. S. V. P.
Dress Optional

Subscription
Fifty Dollars

There will be no solicitation of funds on this occasion

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary
C. B. BALDWIN

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

File Progressive Party

May 2, 1949

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The American Labor Party candidate, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, who has long been a personal friend of mine has, for many years been untiring in her fight against discrimination in jobs, housing and, especially, her own field of education.

23-7-66

We are anxious to send the voters of the area a letter of indorsement signed by a number of representative citizens and feel that your name in this connection would carry real weight.

Since time is so short (the election will be held on May 17th) I shall take the liberty of phoning for your reply.

Sincerely,

George Murphy

George Murphy
Progressive Party
56 West 45 Street
New York, N. Y.

May 6, 1949

Mr. George Murphy of the Progressive Party called re: his letter to Dr. Du Bois asking to use his name. He talked to Dr. Hunton, who thought it would be all right, then called me--I told him I could not give him permission to use Dr. Du Bois' name on anything without his conscent. He decided to use it anyway and will take full responsibility.

23-7-67

June 24, 1949

Miss Viola Scott
Progressive Party
56 West 45th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Scott:

I have thought over your proposal, and I don't see how I can possibly undertake to do it. The plan for the Conference is splendid, although I am a little sorry that my name was put on first; but if one undertakes a thing of that sort, he must take time and give careful attention I simply cannot afford to take the time to prepare the kind of statement which ought to go before such a conference. I think I ought to tell you now so that you can choose somebody else.

I am sure there are several persons more familiar with the matter than I, who could do this.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

V

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

28-7-65

November 25, 1949

Dr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This will confirm my conversation with you regarding the meeting on Monday, November 28, with Henry Wallace.

The meeting will start at 4:00 PM and will be held at the Hudson Room, Hotel Woodstook, 127 West 43rd Street.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

NEW YORK NY MURRAY HILL

Chairman
ELMER A. BENSON

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. BALDWIN

Co-Chairmen
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen
MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN

11-4-49

December 7, 1949

Dr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Alphaeus:

I am sorry to tell you that we are placed in the insupportable position of not having passed a resolution on Africa at our National Committee meeting. A combination of things made this possible, mainly the fact that we did not have the necessary materials at hand out of which to fashion a worthy resolution. However, I assure you that the discussions which developed around the question of Africa were healthy. I can therefore assure you that at our next National Committee meeting we shall see to it that such a resolution is passed.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Assistant to the
National Secretary

GBM, Jr.:rj

uopwa 16

[PROG. PTY., MAINE]

23-42-21

99 Winter St.
Portland
Maine.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The Progressive Party of Maine invites you to speak at its annual convention in Portland next month. The date is tentatively set for Sunday, June 19th or Monday, June 26th, at 7.45 P.M., the place of meeting probably a local hotel and there will be two speakers. The size of the audience, I am sorry to say, will be small; certainly not more than one hundred.

Because the time is short,

we would be glad to know
soon whether you will be
able to come on either of
these dates, and what will
be your terms. We hope to
have you with us.

Sincerely Yours.
Mary S. Davis
for
The Progressive Party of Maine

99 Winter St
Portland
Maine

June 2, 1949

Mrs. Mary L. Davis
99 Winter Street
Portland, Maine

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Dr. Du Bois has asked me to say that he will be unable to speak for you on either June 19, or the 26th, because of previous commitments.

He is in sympathy with your program and appreciates the honor you did him in inviting him to speak for you.

Perhaps some other time he might be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:m

23c - 42

[PROG. PARTY, MAINE]

September 27, 1949

Miss Mary L. Davis
99 Winter Street
Portland, Maine

23-9-30

My dear Madam:

I returned from Europe, September 16, and found your letter of the 15th here. I have not been able to answer it until now.

I wish very much that I could be of service to the Progressive Party of Maine, but I regret to say that it is impossible for me to undertake much speaking just now. My age is against such attempts and also I have an enormous amount of writing which I want to finish and the quantity and quality of which has been greatly inspired by my recent trip to Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

I must therefore beg to be excused from your kind invitation and regret very much that I cannot help you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Progressive Party of Maryland

213 Tower Building
~~328 NORTH CHARLES STREET~~
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

PLAZA 2470
PLAZA 4509

Co-Chairmen
James Stewart Martin
Dr. John E. T. Camper

Executive Secretary and State Director
Harold Buchman

Treasurer
Byron Allen

Vice-Chairmen
Michael J. Clifford
I. Duke Avnet
Dr. Orris Walker
Roy S. Bond
Mrs. Kaye Ginsberg
Walter McManamon
Mrs. Reba Lewis
Henry T. Hunt
William Boyd Coleman
Mrs. Luke Wilson
Dr. Alexander J. Walker
William W. Hill
Sarah F. Diggs
Dr. Roger A. Lewis
Robert K. Burns, Jr.
Dr. Wm. H. Watts
Truman Keesey
Donal McLaughlin
Herman Fish
Jacob Green
Harold Aquillard
Ernest Fiedler
Russell Summers
Eugene Bourckel
Philip J. Kulinski

Asst. State Director
Henry Beitcher

February 12, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On March 7th the Progressive Party of Maryland is holding its first anniversary celebration at the 104th Regiment Armory, Baltimore.

We would consider it a great honor if you would accept our invitation to speak on this occasion along with Representative Marcantonio.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Buchman

Harold Buchman
State Director

hb/tg

"The People Must Have A Choice"

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 14, 1949

28-9-53

Mr. Harold Buchman, State Director
Progressive Party of Maryland
213 Tower Building
328 North Charles Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

My dear Sir:

I regret to say that on March 7, I shall be in Cleveland, where I am to speak.

I am sorry not to be able to accept your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Progressive PARTY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1215 WALNUT STREET, PHILA. 7, PA.

Kingsley 5-3713

Chairman, Alice F. Liveright Secretary, Benjamin Butler Treasurer, Reba Lincoln
Vice Chairmen: A. D. Caesar, Allan R. Freelon, Catherine McCabe, Henry Rhine, Dorothy Wolff
State officers: Chairman, J. W. Gitt Secretary, Thomas Fitzpatrick Treasurer, Rev. J. Quinton Jackson

Bach. Corr.

February 10, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-9-54

I understand that you are scheduled to speak in Philadelphia at the Progressive Forum, Saturday evening, March 12.

A number of us here in Philadelphia are very much interested in arranging a dinner prior to the Forum as a tribute to you for your outstanding work on behalf of colonial peoples, including the Jewish people in Israel, and on behalf of organized labor.

Such a dinner on the same day would not require any extensive speech from you or interfere with your speaking that evening at the Forum.

The dinner would serve the additional purpose of raising funds for the many causes in which you are interested, including the Council on African Affairs.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience on whether you would be available for such a dinner in the early evening of March 12th?

Fraternally yours,

Goldie Watson

Goldie Watson, Vice-Chairman
Progressive Party of Pennsylvania

uopwa-2-177

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 14, 1949

28-9-55

Miss Goldie Watson
Progressive Party of Philadelphia
1215 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

My dear Madame:

I regret to say that I have to make it a rule not to accept formal dinners or do any talking for the evenings when I lecture.

I am sorry that I cannot accept your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lectures

[Queens College]

109-57 119 Street
South Ozone Park 20,
New York, N. Y.
September 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-42-17

We are writing to invite you to speak at Queens College on some aspect of the topic, The Negro In America. This would be one, and we hope the first, of a series of lectures we are planning to hold. Because we feel that the circumstances leading to our decision to hold such a series, and the significance of such an action are important, we cite them in detail as follows.

As at most colleges, all fraternities and sororities at Queens have a "Hell" day once a term, when their new members are required to perform skits and plays for the amusement of the student body. Last semester, one of the skits performed on campus had, cast as a shoe shine boy and a porter, two men in blackface. After the first portrayal of this stereotype, protests were made to our dean, Harold Lenz, and to the president of the fraternity, along with the demand that the skit not be presented the following hour as scheduled. With the view that it was only a "little" thing and just in fun, the authorities refused to take action. In protest, at the next performance, some students produced signs denouncing the stereotype. The results can scarcely be imagined! The lack of knowledge and understanding of our fellow students on the effects and causes of white chauvinism, was apparent in the near riot that followed, and during the proceedings the next day at an informational meeting on the issue of stereotypes.

In view of this woeful ignorance, and of the almost violent resistance to understanding of the evils of such stereotypes, the lecture series for this semester was projected. The purpose will be to examine the nature of the Negro question, and to show the intimate link between the status and welfare of the Negro and that of the white. When this semester began, a new sense of the urgent need for these lectures was felt because of what had happened at Peekskill.

With this as a backdrop, support for the project has been obtained from the NAACP; YPA; Hillel; Student Council; Campus Coalition and the QC Liberals, our two student poltical parties; and the Unity Council, formed to fight discrimination. Despite difficulties, we feel that the broad organizational support obtained will enable us to reach every section of the campus, even those who, through misunderstanding, presented the stereotyped skit.

23-42-218

Because these reasons underscore the importance of this series, we are asking you to be our first speaker. Your presence , we feel, will ensure a well-attended educational series that will impart to those who come a healthy understanding of one of the most crucial questions today. Realizing that you are very busy and that this request should have come at an earlier date, we will gladly adjust our lecture schedule to your convenience. We would like to begin some time around October 14.

The topics of the lectures, though not yet definite, are as follows:

1. The status of the Negro in the North and South.
2. The treatment of the Negro in the arts.
3. The study of the role of the Negro during the Reconstruction period.
4. How the position of the Negro in education affects both Negro and white.
5. How the position of the Negro in Industry affects both Negro and white.

We would welcome suggestions from you.

Should these lectures succeed, there is the probability that the two student political parties will fight for a required course on Negro History. The potentialities are great, and the chances for success are good.

Will you speak, Dr. Du Bois?

I will be happy to call or visit your office at any time to discuss your participation in the series, and any suggestions you may have.

Sincerely yours,

Herman Leon

Herman Leon, Chairman
Queens College Unity Council

My phone number is: VIrginia 3-9763

23-42-19

October 7, 1949

Mr. Herman Leon, Chairman
Queens College Unity Council
109-59 119th Street
South Ozone Park 20,
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Leon:

Your letter of September 30, is forceful and I wish I could help but literary work to which I am committed makes it necessary for me to refuse almost all lecture engagements.

I must go West on a short tour in November which makes it all the more inadvisable that I should take any further talks in November.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[QUINCEY]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

July 6, 1949

Registry of Births
Quincey
Illinois

41-BA-32

Gentlemen:

Can I secure from your office a certified record of the birth of Nina Gomer, daughter of C. S. Gomer and Jeanette Pease on or about July 4, 1871?

I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

July 8, 1949.

Dear Sir:

There were no births recorded in Adams County prior to the year 1878, so we would have no record of the birth of Nina Gomer in 1871.

Arthur F. Witte
County Clerk
By Jeanette Kroeger

RALPH REICHMAN
COUNSELOR AT LAW

MURRAY HILL 6-1518

276 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

July 9th, 1949.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street,
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I must commend you upon your article entitled "Negro America" because it is a complete statement of the true and existing conditions. However, I believe that an objective approach to cure these evils is necessary and you have failed to list them. Thus, you have afforded to me an apportunity to relate my experience and work in support of this 'objective' approach. I assure you that my work in this connection is unknown to those who possess a keen desire to better the conditions of these discriminated people.

As an attorney, I thought it was my duty to afford to these Americans an apportunity to work in law offices. To my surprise, I was unable, at first, to make any contact with those who desired such classified employment. Upon obtaining some names through different channels, I was then obliged to train them in this classified field. When I felt that they were qualified, I then tried to place them elsewhere and give another an opportunity. My results haven proven satisfactory, but my progress is so slow that I feel this must be done on a larger and broader scale at no cost to them. I am willing to confer with you in this connection.

I would be more than happy for you to contact me so that we can sit down, over a meal as my guest, and discuss this further.

I would appreciate if you would not discuss this matter with anyone because I desire my work to be kept a secret since I desire no publicity - I believe it is a privilege to do this kind of work and feel that if it is publicised there would be some quack who would like to capitalize at the expense of these girls.

Most sincerely,

RR/IDS

Ralph Reichman.

61-6-19

July 19, 1949

Mr. Ralph Reichman
276 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

My dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 9. I shall be in my office almost every week day during the next two months, and if you will call up and make an appointment with my secretary, I shall be very glad to talk to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

21-0-20

23-2-10

1569 North Halsted Street
Chicago 22, Illinois
December 7, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A number of us in Chicago would greatly appreciate it if you would write an analysis and estimate of the NAACP. We intend to vote for you at our Branch election December 12 for membership on the National Executive Committee, and would like to know what you conceive to be the possibilities of the NAACP at the present time.

For the past seven years I have been working in the Chicago Branch with the idea that if the colored people and those fewer white people who see the problems could actually unite wherever they live, work and buy, they could finish off the work of the Civil War in the United States in a short time. As a person who has studied Marx and Lenin, I am naturally interested in the equality of Negroes from a radical point of view--not of course that I think Negroes are radical but because the equality of all people is an important aspect of the struggle for socialism in the home imperialist country. The NAACP like most organizations is, however, led by petty bourgeois and bourgeois persons.

In my work, I have been primarily interested in changing the NAACP to a basis on which the average working person with very little money and time could participate effectively to secure racial equality. Second, I have striven to get working committees to follow consistently throughout the city and over the years the specific problems in specific fields, such as education, housing, etc. I believe that a solid North would soon conquer race prejudice nationally and internationally. While I perceive that race prejudice is used for economic ends I think it is not a fundamental characteristic of the economy or society such as it was in the days of chattel slavery before the progress of invention and capitalism. Therefore, I think the battle could be won under capitalism although it probably will not actually end until we get socialism. Regardless of the precise timing, I view the struggle for racial equality as one in which masses of non-Socialist and non-Communist individuals can participate actively and in which those of radical persuasion should also be very active.

What I actually find, however, is a group living in the center of the Negro community, seldom or never facing active discrimination themselves, negligible participation of white persons, Socialists not in the NAACP but in CORE, Communists not in the NAACP but in the Civil Rights Congress. The NAACP is not democratically organized. The National Conference delegates do not even vote according to the numbers they represent.

My experience of the NAACP is that it is capable of the transformation of which I speak but that this change cannot be effected without the decision to do so of the radical groups. While I have been able to function freely in the time left over after an eight-hour day, I could not accomplish my objectives without an inordinate amount of work which I could only justify as an experiment. This experience has convinced me that more serious consideration should be given to the analysis of organizations.

In Chicago, this has never been done. Whenever--and it is seldom--anything was accomplished it was done by a loose ad hoc agglomeration of civic organizations in which the radicals worked behind the scenes. By this means, we cleared up some of the schools' problems and got a new Superintendent. By this means there has just been organized the Conference to End Mob Violence with the Urban League rather than the NAACP most active. This method is better than nothing. It focusses the energies of the few civic minded persons, minimizes the organizational jealousies, and provides a medium in which everyone can work respectably, that is, without losing jobs.

23-2-11

The only thing wrong with this process is that it leaves a vacuum in which fascism might come. The various individual organizations are not strengthened and their structure is not transformed to admit mass activity. Perhaps this is what should happen. Many analyses have shown that most organizations in the United States are bourgeois or petty bourgeois. The laboring masses are mostly unorganized. The question then comes of whether it is desirable that they should enter these bourgeois-dominated, civic organizations. Perhaps we should wait for the spontaneous formation of Soviets or of a political party which would be their American equivalent.

The reason I do not think this advisable is that I believe Soviets will never be formed spontaneously in an advanced capitalist country. In the Paris Commune, the upper classes voluntarily withdrew under pressure of war. There was no communication between the proletarian masses of Paris and the peasants. In Russia, also, the Soviets were formed at a time of national breakdown in which the old boyar rulers were discredited and the new bourgeois elements went into the Duma. Here again you have a pure class formation which Lenin assumed was typical of the breakdown of capitalism. In Fascism, on the other hand, just the opposite occurs. The bourgeois owner of the factory clasps the workers to his bosom--he becomes the leader of the factory. In England, the problem is how to push off the bourgeois elements. They do not subtract themselves automatically. I believe the problem in advanced capitalist, imperialist countries is to transform the bourgeois-dominated, economic, political, and social structure consciously and in a detailed manner to a labor dominated structure. The working people need the training of these civic organizations which can then be transformed more and more into political work. Thus, I would say that much could be accomplished by millions really organized in the NAACP. As soon as racial equality is assured throughout the culture, the NAACP could dissolve and we could get on to the next point.

What has actually happened, however, is that the energies of many Negro leaders are absorbed in special segregated organizations such as the Negro Chamber of Commerce, the Postal Alliance, and

many others. The thousands of NAACP members recruited during the war did not remain in most Branches because they were given no avenue for participation. If the Negro segregated clubs and other organizations joined the NAACP and became automatically the basis for its Committees and added to the NAACP committee, but not to the segregated organization, those white people in their fields who favored Negro equality and admission to the dominant organizations, would not this speed up the work of integration while providing the defensive factor of self-segregation as long as needed?

23-2-12

It seems to me that the NAACP is a logical form of organization in which to fight discrimination and end it, but that its possibilities have not been explored. Instead it has settled down to certain conventional activities, some of which have been valuable, but which are less than what could be done. In your own books, and in contacts with Negro and Jewish groups I have sensed why it is more difficult to fight across the group lines, especially where the fight is not unified by strong common beliefs such as found in radical groups.

I have not touched upon the puzzling matter of the paid and non-paid worker in organizations, or the great number of interracial organizations with no membership base, usually consisting of an office, an Executive Secretary and an office worker, with a large number of affiliated organizations. What is or should be the relation of this development with the NAACP? Or the relations of the official city Commission on Human Relations? What should be the relation of Crisis to the various other publications in the field of race relations?

If you could spare the time to write about the NAACP, your perspective would be a valuable guide to us. Do you feel that the NAACP is needed in the same way it was at the time you founded it?

Sincerely yours,

Faith Rich

/fr

Faith Rich

Curious Letter

EUGENE RIDER · ATTORNEY AT LAW

308 GREAT LAKES LIFE BUILDING • 830 VINCENT AVENUE • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

January 10, 1949

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
C/O The Crisis
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am white but a friend of the Colored people.

All of my investments (save two) are in the Colored area. For the past seventeen years I have devoted much of my time to helping colored people finance their homes. As you know it is extremely hard to get money to finance in this area. The Banks and Savings and Loan Companies will not go in this area for two main reasons: First, they say they lost so much during the last depression, Secondly, that when the next depression comes (which is not far off) the Colored people are the first to be laid off and hence cannot keep up their payments. In spite of this I still feel that the manner in which I operate is safe for the investor, namely, take a first mortgage on their homes with the largest monthly payments possible, but not so large as to choke the Mortgagor.

I have never in seventeen years been forced to foreclose.

The purpose of this letter is to ascertain from you a source of money to further my work. You may refer to The Call-Post of Cleveland, Mrs. Perry the Religious Editor, Judge Perry Jackson, and many others who are my personal friends.

Can you help me?

Thanking you for your anticipated assistance and wishing you further success, I remain

Yours very truly,

Eugene Rider

Eugene Rider

ER:ey

P. S. I have sent a similar letter to Mr. Walter White
C/O N. A. A. C. P.

23-50-12

Req for photograph

818 Hickory Street
Abilene, Texas
December 6, 1949

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The city of Abilene, Texas has promised to open a library for Negroes by January first, 1950.

23-7-5

We would like very much to have a photograph of you for the new library. If convenient, we would be happy to have it in a frame, but if not, we shall appreciate very, very much your picture.

Be sure to have your name on the picture. Most of us of this generation would recognize your photograph but we expect to keep the picture permanently and we want the coming generations to know the photograph. I happen to be a white woman. Once I was in New York and got on the elevator with you and I recognized you from pictures I had seen in your books. I have had the pleasure of reading several of your books.

We hope to display a group of pictures of prominent Negroes and the photographs of a few white people who have done much for other races, such as Miss Mary White Ovtington and Mrs. Roosevelt, on the opening of the library.

Sincerely yours,

Elta C. Roberts

Mrs. Elta C. Roberts
818 Hickory Street
Abilene, Texas

June 2, 1949

Mrs. Paul Robeson
The Beeches
Enfield, Conneticut

Dear Mrs. Robeson:

Dr. Du Bois wonders if you have finished reading his play and if so, will you be kind enough to mail it to him.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

24-9-10

The Beeches, Enfield, Conn.

May 23, 1949.

Dear Louise:

I have read the enclosed script of Dr. DuBois, and cant make head or tail of it. I'm just hopeless with phantasy, and wholly out of my depth in it. Of course I get the general idea, which I think is very fine indeed, but the phantasy treatment floors me, and I cant see it in terms of concrete theatre. Not like it is.

The rescript which begins on page 72 is perfectly beautiful, and even I who have a very hard time with verse, found it moving, simple powerful, and right on the beam.

I'msorry I cant be more helpful about this. I went through it twice, at that.

Greetings, and I'll be seeing you.

Sincerely,

Essie

Mrs. Paul Robeson.

24-9-7

[Robeson]

The Beeches, Enfield, Conn.

June II, 1949.

Dear Alphaeous:

Will you read the enclosed letter carefully, please-and-thank-you? It seems a very fine thing, and I am wondering whether you and, or, Dr. DuBois can help with a suggestion as to how this offer can be used practically? It seems much too good to pass up, and to ignore, so please, will you concentrate, and come up with some suggestion? I dont know anything about the Negro schools, so cant do my own homework in this instance.

24-23-23

Will be in town, at the Commodore, from June I8 th thru 20 th. Make a note.

My best to Dorothy. Ditto you.

Cordially,

Paul

P.S. Leaving here Tuesday, to speak in Cleveland Wednesday to the annual convention of the Social Workers' Union; thence to Washington, D.C. to speak to the Negro Vets' group with Marcantoni on Thursday. Then back here Friday, and N.Y. Saturday, the I8 th.

file

August 18, 1949

Mr. Paul Robeson
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I am flying to Russia, Saturday. I know I shall enjoy the visit.

Have you been able to do anything about the party?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

B-6-42

Reply for Info.

JOHN L. THOMPSON, SONS & CO., INC.
WHOLESALE DRUGGISTS
TROY, NEW YORK

E. H. ROBISON
Vice-President and Treasurer

May 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
408 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Small "n"

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-7-35

Many years ago Col. Charles E. Young and I were very friendly, and many of our evenings were spent in discussing the future of the American negro concerning which Charlie was so intense and so conscious. During these conversations your name and the names of many other negro leaders were mentioned by the Colonel who knew you all so well, and I feel free to ask you a few questions regarding the present status of the negro in this country.

There are some things that puzzle me regarding the white man's attitude toward the negro, most of them along the same line as that Rotary with an International plank in its object platform has not found it possible to charter a negro Rotary Club even on a continent where the negro is indigenous. I am following this thought through further in such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce and cannot quite understand why 10% of our population which I imagine constitutes 10% of our United States consuming public and the same percentage of our professional and business life is denied the opportunity of fellowship in Rotary and the research advantages of our outstanding business and professional bodies.

I have addressed this thought to you with the hope that you may want to take time to let me know of the progress you have seen in the negro's opportunity to become the useful citizen in the United States that he should be. I would also like to have you give me any statistics on negro population in the United States or in the world that you may have currently available, and what you think the future holds for the negro under the free enterprise system and whether he may realize those objectives of freedom that are fast becoming extinct under our present governmental efforts for a planned economy which ultimately means nationalization or socialism.

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois May 21, 1949

Thank you for your consideration of the questions I have asked in this letter and any other comments that you may wish to supplement them with I will appreciate.

Sincerely,

Ellis H Robison

EHR:jer Ellis H. Robison

23-7-36

I owe a special vote of thanks to the Negro Press Research Library, Arnold Hampton Colwell - Curator for help from statistics

June 6, 1949

23-2-37

Mr. E. H. Robinson
Vice-President and Treasurer
John L. Thompson, Sons& Co., Inc.
Wholesale Druggists
Troy, New York

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I am a Socialist and see salvation for the Negro and the rest of minorities only in planned economy.

Consult E. Franklin Frazier's latest book, "The Negro in the United States."

May I remind you that the word "Negro" is usually capitalized.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Robinson]

40 W 12th St.
New York City
Nov. 29, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Department of Special Research
The National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am writing in behalf of Dr. Paul Leser, Professor of Anthropology at Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina, who has informed me that he has several times been confronted with illegal segregation practices on the buses that operate in that state, and that he would like very much to have some materials that he can distribute - handbills or the like - dealing with the nature of the laws - to residences of the state who do not seem to know that certain practices are no longer tolerated. Dr. Leser comes to us from Germany where, as a native of that country he fought valiently against the Nazis for the same reasons that are of vital concern to him in this matter. For his efforts, and for

2-B-7-14

the story of his interesting life in the battle with ignorance in the world, he is deserving of any assistance he can be given.

Sincerely yours,
William Robinson

23-7-15

December 3, 1949

23-7-16

Mr. William Robinson
40 West 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I am no longer connected with the NAACP. Dr. Lesser should write to Mr. Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Shirley Graham

(COPY)

[Runes]

173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, Long Island, New York
November 26, 1949

Mr. Dagobert D. Runes
The Philosophical Library
15 East 40th Street
New York, New York

24-23157

My dear Mr. Runes:

I am taking the liberty of writing directly to you regarding a problem of research which concerns us both.

In the Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush, edited by you, appears "A Plan for Peace" which scholars heretofore have ascribed to Benjamin Banneker. The Plan is published in Banneker's Almanac for 1793. These Almanacs, published (according to certain writings) from 1792 to 1802 follow the style of that day and bring together all kinds of literary material. It is perfectly true that sources are not always indicated. In his 1793 Almanac Banneker gives Extracts from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, speeches copied from an English journal of William Pitt and C. J. Fox. "A Plan for Peace", however, is prominant placed, it is not initialed and particularly in the final section follows Banneker's style of writing.

I see that in your publication of the Plan this last section is omitted and something else substituted which is completely unlike Benjamin Banneker. That section might very well have been written by a physician.

Would you be good enough to tell me your reasons for now ascribing the entire Plan to Dr. Benjamin Rush? And will you please differentiate between the first sections as they were published by Banneker and the new section. I can find no record of any such Plan ever having been published before except as it appeared in Banneker's Almanac. Nor do I find Dr. Rush making any reference to such a plan.

Enclosed you will find a stamped, addressed envelop for your kind reply. Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed) Shirley Graham

173-19 115th Avenue
St. Albans, Long Island, New York
November 26, 1949

Mr. Dagobert D. Runes
The Philosophical Library
15 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Runes:

In the Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush edited by you appears a

"Plan for Peace

24-23.52

A PLAN OF A PEACE-OFFICE FOR THE UNITED STATES

From

Benjamin Banneker's Almanac for 1795

Printed by

Joseph Crukshank, Printer and Bookseller

Philadelphia

MAX SABAROFF & CO.

HOGARTH 2772

Creators of
MODERN STORE FIXTURES
DISTINCTIVE STORE FRONTS

14231-47 WYOMING AVE. DETROIT 4, MICH.

Jan. 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

23-42-61

Dear Sir:

Please, do not mind the above letter head. There are some in us, human.

However, I will not speak here about us, I will just express my desire.

1 If possible, to obtain your speach of Jan. 12 here in Detroit, Michigan at the Music Hall, with the Civil Rights Congress. It will help me get people to see understand the right way.

2 I am a member of a group of The Detroit World Event Forum; we Invited and had here to speak for us Dr. Scot Neering, we, the group did a little intensive work and had very good resolts. We had a very satisfactory attendandance on all 3 lectures with him.

Can we have you here to speack for us in Detroit, Michigan? If we may, please, advise, when, and what are your conditions.

Thanking you in advance for your attention to my above request, I remain,

Most sincerely yours,

Mrs. Sabaroff

R. C. Sabaroff

[SACHER]

NATHAN WITT
ATTORNEY AT LAW
9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK

MURRAY HILL 3-6790

Com

December 7, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

23-49-18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you so much for joining with many others in sponsoring the reception in honor of Harry Sacher, outstanding labor lawyer and one of the defense attorneys who are now facing imprisonment for their courageous defense of the eleven Communist leaders.

We hope very much that you will be able to attend. The time is this Sunday, December 11th from 8:30 PM on; the place, Manhattan Towers Hotel, Broadway at 76th Street. We are enclosing two guest tickets.

Sincerely yours,

Nathan Witt

Nathan Witt
Treasurer
Reception Committee for Harry Sacher

President
~~ROBERT DAVIS~~
Andrew J. Cunningham
Secretary
BERNIZA KELLEY
Treasurer
MOSES NEWSOME

Telephone CEdar 3562

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Executive Director
JOSEPH GOMEZ

Ted Carey

January 6, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

23-9-7

My dear Sir:

You gave us a tentative date for speaking at the St. James Forum as Sunday, March 6, 1949, at 4:00 p.m. You said you would let us know later, but we are now finishing up our program for the season, and we would be very pleased to receive an answer from you and your subject for that date.

Yours very truly,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

By: Andrew J. Cunningham,
President

AJC/caw

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, President
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

23-9-8

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

I am afraid that I cannot serve you this year. The cost of travel and other accomodations have gone up so that I am unable to make a charge which would be reasonable for an organization like yours.

To come I should have to charge you $150 and I am sure you agree with me that this is too much for one lecture. I am sorry as I have always enjoyed coming to Cleveland.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lect. Mar. 6, accepted

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

PASTOR H. N. ROBINSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ANDREW J. CUNNINGHAM
PRESIDENT
CARRIEBELL J. COOK
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
EMMETT MEADE
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
ETHEL CHEATAM
SECRETARY
REV. MOSES NEWSOME
TREASURER
C. S. WELLS
ASST. TREASURER
HARRY BONAPARTE
COMMENTATOR
VERNON THOMAS
ASST. COMMENTATOR
CHARLES W. BROWN
OFFICIAL HOST
KATHLEEN FORBES
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

January 24, 1949

Lect. Comp

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N. Y.

23-9-5

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I took up the proposition of your coming to the St. James Literary Forum with the Board of Directors, and they voted that we should have you as scheduled, on Sunday, March 6, at 4:00 p.m., with the fee of $150.00.

We feel that the Forum would be missing something not to have you for one year.

May we have a favorable reply from you, with the subject on which you will speak, as quickly as possible?

Yours very truly,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

By: Andrew J. Cunningham, President

AJC/caw

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 25, 1949

23-7-6

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, President
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

I have your letter of January 24, and shall be glad to speak for you Sunday, March 6, 1949 at 4:00 p.m for the fee of $150.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lecture Comp.

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

ANDREW J. CUNNINGHAM
PRESIDENT
CARRIEBELL J. COOK
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
EMMETT MEADE
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
ETHEL CHEATAM
SECRETARY
REV. MOSES NEWSOME
TREASURER
C. S. WELLS
ASST. TREASURER
HARRY BONAPARTE
COMMENTATOR
VERNON THOMAS
ASST. COMMENTATOR
CHARLES W. BROWN
OFFICIAL HOST
KATHLEEN FORBES
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

PASTOR H. N. ROBINSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Feb 7, 1949

23-44-65

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th. Street
New York 10 New York

My Dear Dr. DuBois,

We shall expect you on Sunday March 6th. four P.m to Speak at The St James Literary Forum. Will you please send your Subject so we can began our publicity.

very Sincerely yours,

Andrew J. Cunningham

23-44-66

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

I shall speak for you Sunday, March 6, and my subject will be "Africa and the United States."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mailed Jan. 18. 1949 to
Hall Sanders. 50 Lowell St.
Wor. 24, Mass.

35-3-244

WHEN FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT DIED

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

When Franklin D. Roosevelt died, I had already been appointed by the NAACP to represent tham as consultant at the UNO at San Francisco. At the same time I was planning to attend a Pan-African Congress, in London in the Fall, to discuss Africa and the colonial problems; and of course here in the United States, I was especially interested in the development of the New Deal and in American relations with Russia. I never had met Franklin Roosevelt personally, I had seen him only once, looking down upon him as he rode along the rain swept Fifth Avenue; and I could only get the impression of his drawn and tired face; he had just returned from one of the world's conferences.

My reactions then, at his death were not personal, but on the other hand the death tremendously affected me because I asked first: What is going to be the effect of his death upon the attempt to found an international organization? Where are we to look for leadership as this man dies? And then thinking on from that, I had hoped that the Atlantic Charter was going to be made to apply to all the world, Imperial power, and colony; black, white and brown people. I felt that this was in Roosevelt's mind, but I knew it was not in Churchills', and therefore Roosevelts' death meant again the posing of the question : What is going to be the future of colonial imperialism?

35-3-215

Furthermore labor had just triumphed in England. What sort of response was that going to get from the United States with its organized wealth and fierce, predatory capitalism? And then right here on the political scene, he was a leader who had performed a miracle; he had made the reactionary Bourbon South, part of a real progressive party; and the main idea of the New Deal, no matter how many denied it--the main object was beginning the socialization of wealth and the carrying on of industry for something more than profit. Could this New Deal be carried on by the man who now accidently became President of the United States?

All these things swirled in my mind as I heard of the death of Franklin Roosevelt. I felt a great void and I knew, and it proved the truth, that we were going to have desperate and dangerous reaction in the United States; that Russia and the United States were going to fall apart, and that because of this death, there was less chance for making the nations of the world united.

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FOUNDATION

President Truman
Herbert Hoover
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Mrs. Calvin Coolidge
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt
Frances Folsom Cleveland
Edith Bolling Wilson
Frank B. Gannett
Clare Boothe Luce
Clara Clemens Samossoud
Cardinal F. J. Spellman
Dr. Robert E. Speer
Rt. Rev. Fulton J. Sheean
Dr. Walter A. Maier
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Albert Einstein
Gen'l John J. Pershing
Joseph Pulitzer
Percy MacKaye
Helen Keller
Winston Churchill
Roger W. Babson
Felix Frankfurter
Jacob Lashly
Lt. Gen. James G. Harbord
Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant, III
Henry Morgenthau
Hon. Joseph E. Davies
Cordell Hull
Adm. Richard E. Byrd
Admiral Nimitz
Jan Masaryk
Bernard Baruch
James P. Warburg
Gen. Somervell
Joseph G. Grew
Sumner Welles
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
Charles Evan Hughes
Owen Roberts
Henry Wallace
Wendell Willkie
Dr. James Moffatt
Governor Phil Donnelly
Aloys P. Kaufmann
Wm. H. Danforth
Edward M. Queeny
Thomas Mann
Gertrude Atherton
Archibald MacLeish
Thomas E. Dewey
Alfred M. Landon
Harry Emerson Fosdick
James M. Cox
Nicholas Murray Butler
John Dewey
Robert A. Millikan
James Truslow Adams
Upton Sinclair
Lowell Thomas
Edna St. Vincent Millay
Lyman Beecher Stowe
Sinclair Lewis
W. Somerset Maugham
Booth Tarkington
Hendrik Van Loon
George Jean Nathan
Joseph Wood Krutch
H. L. Mencken
Sigrid Undset
Franz Werfel
Armin L. Robinson
Robert Hillyer
Henry Seidel Canby
Lloyd C. Douglas
Rembert Gilman Smith
Edgar J. Goodspeed
Louis Bromfield

ARTISTS

Gladys Rockwell Davis
James Montgomery Flagg
Rockwell Kent
Wilford S. Conrow
Thomas Hart Benton
Waldo Peirce
Norman Rockwell
S. Simkhovitch
Margit Varga
John Koch
Paul L. Clemens

U. S. SENATORS

Alben W. Barkley
Arthur Capper
Harley M. Kilgore
Arthur H. Vandenburg
Robert A. Taft
Guy M. Gillette
James J. Davis
Warren R. Austin
Raymond Willis
Gerald P. Nye
Burton K. Wheeler
Josiah W. Bailey
Harold H. Burton
Albert W. Chandler
James E. Murray
George W. Norris
George L. Radcliffe
Robert Reynolds
Hendrik Shipstead
Elbert B. Thomas
Bennett Champ Clark

The above have contributed Books, Music, Photographs, Works of Art or other tokens

SIR PHILIP GIBBS, Honorary President for England.
LADY MARGARET SACKVILLE, Honorary Vice-President for England.

The Schroeder Foundation

DEDICATED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CULTURAL ARTS

H. L. SCHROEDER, Founder and International Director
8 E. Glendale Road, Webster Groves 19, Mo.
SAINT LOUIS P. O., U. S. A.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Percy MacKaye
Hon. Arthur Capper
Hon. Harley M. Kilgore
Elizabeth Pinney Hunt
Faith Baldwin
Mrs. Francis Biddle
Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Rev. Daniel Lord, S.J.
Dr. H. Augustine Smith
Dr. Walter M. Horton
Dr. S. Ralph Harlow
Dr. George F. Donovan
Rev. Chas. F. Kruger, S.J.
Rev. Jas. McWilliams, S.J.
Rev. Preston Bradley
Rev. Fred Winslow Adams
Herbert Heath
Sam Mittelberg
Rabbi F. M. Isserman
Albert L. Sautter
Agnes Moorehead
Cleon Marquis
Emily McCutchen
Joseph P. Hennings
Paramhansa Yogananda
Martha C. Cochran

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

Sir William Beveridge
David Lloyd George
Archbishop of Canterbury
Archbishop of Armagh
Lord Primate of all Ireland
Dean Wm. Ralph Inge
Hon. Dr. Douglas Hyde
Lord Dunsany
Lord Wavell
Lord Halifax
Rt Hon. Mackenzie King
Rt. Hon. John Curtin
Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser
Rt. Hon. J. C. Smutz
Lady Sybil Grant
Elsie Oxenham
Prince H. Zu Loewenstein
Hon. V. Sackville West
Viscountess Northcliffe
Lady Mary Hudson
H. G. Wells
Anthony Eden
Sir James Jeans
Sir James Marchant
Sir Norman Angel
John Oxenham
Gen'l Sir Ian Hamilton
Sir Philip Gibbs
Robert Gibbings
Cosmo Hamilton
Jawaharlal Nehru
Julian Huxley
Granville Bantock
Viscount Samuel
George Santayana
Sir Archibald Sinclair
Dr. Edward Thompson
Lord Vansittart
Marquess of Zetland
Arnold Zweig
Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin
Sir Thomas Beecham
Christopher Hollis
Selwyn James
Sir Arthur Keith
Stephen Leacock
Prof. A. M. Lowe
Marie Belloc Lowndes
Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton
Sir Neville Lytton
Esther Meynell
Christopher Morley
John Cournos
Gunnar Gunnarsson
Sir Chas. Wm. Oman
Maurice O'Sullivan
Adelaide Phillpotts
Eden Phillpotts
Edith Pargeter
Sir Arthur Quiller Couch
Lady Margaret Sackville
Daphne du Maurier
Rt. Hon. John Anderson
Dr. A. Asakawa
Lord Ashbourne
Eve Curie
Lord Cranborne
Sir Stafford Cripps
Dr. A. J. Cronin
Sir Arthur Eddington
Susan Ertz
Lady Arthur Hill
Aldous Huxley
George Arliss
Elsie J. Oxenham
Sir William Mulock
Alvin Coristine
Alberta T. Arai
Bhagirath Mehta
Eduardo Benet
German Pardo Garcia
Francisco Vallhonrat
A. L. Pereira Ferraz
Edgardo Ubaldo Gentro
Ana M. Berry

Copies to Dr. Thomas Mann

1-12-49

Dear Doctor Du Bois:-

You recently sent us, for our project "International Literary Memorial," a copy of your book "The World and Africa" - also your photograph.

In examining your contribution we do not find any of your holograph handwriting. I shall be happy if you will send us at least a page.

We are now reorganizing our Advisory Council. Several outstanding new names will be added - they are Dr. Thomas Mann and several Nobel Prize Winners. As we are now contacting the Negro writers of America and are inviting contributions from them. Many of them have already responded. This being so, we thought that you might be interested in having your name on our Council.

Our project is growing amazingly

General Special Memorials are in process
here. Dr. Thomas Mann is back, all delighted
with his trip to the Pacific coast - also
Dr. Charrington Dawson and Dr. Edwin
Swedish writer and explorer.

Then Special Memorials include all
the available books of these writers.
Would you be interested in such
a memorial honoring yourself?
I would be pleased to hear from
you soon.

Sincerely

H. L. Schroeder
Director

I am especially anxious to
know of your acceptance of
membership in our Council
You will not be annoyed.

File - Book Reviews - Du Bois Letter

35-3-362

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

The Editors
Science and Society
30 East 20th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Someone on your staff, whose name I forget, asked me to review Ralph Lintons', MOST OF THE WORLD.

The review is herewith enclosed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

45-3-29

[Science & Society]

Science & Society
Magazine
30 EAST 20TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 7-1021

October 31, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City 10

24-217

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of October 28th.

Your review of Linton's, Most of the World, will be published in the next issue of SCIENCE & SOCIETY, which is at press now. We will send you copies of the number when it appears.

Sincerely,

Iris R. Cohen

Iris R. Cohen,
For the Editors

NEW YORK, N.Y.
MAR 22
8 - PM
1949

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ~~ADDRESS~~

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 W. 26 St.
N.Y.C. 10

230-9

SCIENCE & SOCIETY 30 East 20th Street, New York City

March 22 1949

Dear Sir:

Thank you for sending us your review

It will be brought to the attention of the editors at their next regular meeting.

Very truly yours,

For the Editors

357

[SCOUT]

PHONE LONGACRE 4-2758-9

Cover L.

RTW SCOUT PUBLISHING CO., INC.
Serving the Buyer and Retailer
1055 SIXTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

31 May 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Institute For International Democracy
23 W. 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The accompanying suppliment was issued today.

There's a chance that you might not come upon it in the ordinary course of events.

I thought you could be interested in it -- so here it is!

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Lyle Stuart

Lyle Stuart
Managing Editor

[SCOUT]

June 10, 1949

Mr. Lyle Stuart
Managing Editor
RTW Scout Publishing Co., Inc.
1055 Sixth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Stuart:

Answering your letter of May 31, may I say that I find THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE-THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, very interesting and sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Full Court

1 Rhodes Avenue
Parktown West
Johannesburg, Transvaal
Union of South Africa
April 25, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Will You be the Judge?

The tangible results of a year and a half of intense effort have come your way in the form of duplicated letter reports. These letters show what I, as a staff member of the Institute of Current World Affairs, have seen fit to communicate to you. It has been my job to penetrate into life in Southern Africa. I have tried to understand the problems of the people here: the little problems and the big, the problems of the man in the street, and the larger problems that affect groups, races, cities, provinces and countries. From time to time I have tried to show you some of the significant aspects of Southern Africa.

The job, my part of the job, is not yet half done. In continuing the work I want to be guided by your reactions. From your point of view Africa looks much different than it does to me. What would interest you that I have failed to touch upon? What have I written about that has held no interest for you? How about the make-up of the letter reports? Would you like more or less of concrete examples? Fewer or more figures? More charts and diagrams?

There are a couple of dozen aspects of the letter reports that I wish I could talk over with you personally. That being impossible I'll look forward to whatever you can give me briefly on the enclosed airletter.

The questionnaire (on the airletter form) is indicative of some of the things I would like to know about. I hope you will check them off quickly before (or after) giving me a more personal appraisal.

Even your simplest suggestion, constructive or critical, will be of much help.

It's your Court. You be the Judge. I look forward to your verdict.

Sincerely,

Whitman J. Severinghaus

Whitman J. Severinghaus

23-8-12

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

AIR LETTER

VIA AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

Whitman J. Severinghaus
1 Rhodes Avenue
Parktown
Johannesburg, Tvl.
Union of South Africa

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER
WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

FIRST FOLD

SECOND FOLD

1) Before receiving the reports were your ideas on Africa:
   Clear & well founded -----
   Mostly prejudiced -----
   Based on hearsay -----
   Vague & incoherent -----
   Not formed at all -----

2) Do you prefer:
   Forming your own opinions from objective reporting of several points of view -----
   OR Accepting my opinion with a minimum of background detail -----

3) Has your interest in Africa:
   Dimished -----
   Grown -----
   Remained the same -----

4) Have the reports been of value:
   As news -----
   In conversation -----
   In your work -----
   As education -----
   No value -----

5) As to length, do you prefer:
   Three pages -----
   Five -----
   Seven -----
   Twelve -----

6) How many letter reports have you:
   Read completely -----
   Scanned -----
   Passed on to others -----

7) Do you prefer reports keyed to:
   Specific people -----
   OR Subject matter -----

8) Do you feel that the life and problems of the peoples in Africa present a challenge to your understanding & knowledge of the world today?
   Yes -----
   No -----

9) What in Africa would you like to read about:

Education -----
Banking & Finance -----
Agriculture -----
Wholesale & Retail Selling -----
Manufacturing -----
Native Life (Tribal) -----
Native Life (De-tribalized) -----
Social Welfare Work -----
Sports -----
Tourist Attractions -----
Politics -----
International Relations -----
Transportation Systems -----
City Developments -----
Industrial Trends -----
Strategic Considerations -----
Languages -----
Population Growth & Distribution -----
Law -----
Exports and Imports -----
Labor -----
Natural Resources -----
Mining -----
"Local Color" stories -----

Please add other comment below. ---- And thanks for your help.

Whitman J. Severinghaus

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP AND SEAL. NO OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED.

23a-8

July 6, 1949

Dr. E. A. Shanu
"Ile Ore Ofe,"
317 Park Road
Oldham,
Lancashire

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter sent to Mr. Belfrage of the National Guardian, June 14, I beg to enclose a list of books by Negro authors now in print with the names of the publishers.

I will also refer you to the Council on African Affairs--23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

64-23-50

Lenox 105.7

BOOKS BY NEGRO AUTHORS--NOW IN PRINT ALSO THEIR PUBLISHERS

BLACK METROPOLIS--By St. Clair Drake and HoraceCayton: A study of Negro life in a Northern City. New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1945

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES--By E. Franklin Frazier. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1939

THE NEGRO GHETTO--By Robert C. Weaver, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948

NEGRO EDUCATION IN ALABAMA. A Study in Cotton and Steel. Washington, D. C. The Associated Press, Inc. 1939

THE NEGRO CARAVAN--By Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee New York: The Dryden Press, 1941.

DUSK OF DAWN--By W. E. B. Du Bois, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS--The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947

BLACK WORKERS AND THE NEW UNIONS--By Horace R. Cayton, and George R. Mitchell, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

MEDICAL CARE AND THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO--By Montague W. Cobb, New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1947.

GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT.- By Charles S. Johnson, Washington, D. C. American Council on Education, 1941

PATTERS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, Rayford Logan, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945

Sent to Mr. Sloane in England

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

February 21, 1949

TO ALL MEMBERS OF ZETA BOULE:

The April issue of The Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity Journal will be given over to the Archons of Zeta.

It was agreed at the last meeting of Zeta that all archons would send in - glossy finished photos of themselves, as well as biographical sketches - typed - to Dr. Peter M. Murray
2588 Seventh Avenue, NYC
by Tuesday, March 8th.

Thiss will give "Pete" time to assemble the material and get it off to the Journal editor in time for the April issuance date.

PLEASE ACT PROMPTLY. THIS IS THE FIRST AND LAST CALL!

Yours fraternally,

HERBERT T. MILLER
Grammateus

23C-5D

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

23-50-23

March 29, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Archon DuBois:

We had a grand time at our last meeting. Archon Murray and Archon Thomas debated the question of Socialized Medicine to a "fare-you-well".

As to a decision, most of us agree that it was a "toss-up". All of us want more meetings of the kind.

If you are able to serve as host at either the April or May meetings, will you please let me know by return mail.

The April meeting date is Friday the 15th, and the May date is Friday the 20th.

Yours fraternally,

Herbert T. Miller

Grammateus

HTM:jf

[SIGMA PI PHI]

Boule

23-50-24

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Herbert T. Miller
558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Mr. Miller:

I will be glad to entertain the Boule,

Friday, May 20.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK. NEW YORK

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

Zeta Boule'

May 2, 1949

23-60-21

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please give me the place where the Boule will meet on Friday, May 20th, so that I may notify the members of Zeta.

Yours fraternally,

Herbert Miller

Enc.
HTM:jf

P.S. A postcard is enclosed for your convenience.

[SIGMA PI PHI]

23C-SD

May 4, 1949

Mr. Herbert T. Miller
558 Decatour Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Miller:

This little note is to inform you that Dr. Du Bois will be unable to entertain the Boule on May 20, as promised. He is still abroad in Paris and will not return in time to keep the date. Please accept his sincere regrets.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Boule [Sigma Pi Phi - Zeta Boule]

Dear Archon:

Glad you had a pleasant trip and safe landing.

No more meetings this season. Am putting you down for October 21st

Fraternally.
Herbert Miller

Bklyn
6/2/49

23-13-17

ALPHA BOULE

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

June 15, 1949

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER, ESQ.
DAVID H. ANDERSON, M.D.
DR. HOWARD S. ANTHONY
DR. ROBERT H. BUTTS
DR. HORACE MANN BOND
DR. GEORGE W. CROCKETT
DR. ARTHUR T. DAVIS
DR. JAMES H. DILLARD
DR. WILLIAM H. DOLEMAN
DR. CHARLES H. GARVIN
DR. EDWARD A. HOLLOWAY
DR. ALONZO G. MORON
DR. WILLIAM T. NELSON
DR. CHARLES F. PRESSEAN
REV. JOHN H. SAGAR, JR.
DR. LAWRENCE SCHOOLER
DR. RUSSELL P. MINTON
DR. HORACE C. SCOTT
DR. STEPHEN R. STANFORD
DR. WILBUR H. STRICKLAND
DR. JOHN C. TURNER
DR. WILLIAM H. VALENTINE
PROF. WALTER E. WARING
DR. RICHARD J. WARRICK

Hon. Herbert E. Millen

Dear Archon,

Alpha Boule's Annual Summer Party for the Archons, their wives and children, will be held SUNDAY, JULY 3rd. This bids fair to be a memorable occasion to commemorate the 45th year of our birth as America's oldest Greek Letter Organization among Negroes and one of America's Outstanding Honorary Fraternities. Philadelphia is proud of the birthplace of Sigma Pi Phi and cherishes its memorable history.

In keeping with the tradition of Alpha Boule for recreation and entertainment, we have planned an unusually interesting all day party to be held on the beautiful country estate of the Raymond Pace Alexanders, in the cool elevation of historic Chester County, on the outskirts of Coatesville, Pa. (38 mi. w. of Phila. on Lincoln Highway - full directions follow) beginning at 2 P.M. and lasting till nightfall.

Alpha, anticipating the year 1954, when we shall hope to entertain the Grand Boule at its semi-centennial anniversary, will give you a preview of the hospitality of historic Philadelphia and its Archons and Archousae, distinguished for companionship, courtesies and conviviality.

As an added feature of unusual note, we will have with us two distinguished representatives of great foreign governments, as our guests - the Honorable Joseph D. Charles, Ambassador of the Republic of Haiti to Washington, and the Honorable Charles B. D. King, the First Ambassador of the Republic of Liberia to Washington, and himself a former President of the great Republic of Liberia.

We welcome you to take part of the weekend of the July 4th holiday and spend Sunday, July 3rd with us. Please let the committee know at once whether you will be our guest so we may make appropriate arrangements with our caterers. Bring any games you may wish to play for the amusement of the children, yourselves and other guests. Spacious lawns are available for table tennis, badminton, volley ball, hand ball, and pools for wading of small children. Also, your musical instruments, victrola records for dancing, recording machines and movie cameras for historical purposes, will be welcome.

We live but a short time - and for all of us, whatever your age - it is later than you think, so be sure to join us and make merrie while life lasts.

Fraternally yours,

Raymond Pace Alexander

THE COMMITTEE
Russell P. Minton, M.D.
Raymond Pace Alexander, Esquire
40 S. Nineteenth Street

RPA:P

[SIGMA PI PHI]

23-50-20

September 21, 1949

Mr. Herbert Miller
558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Miller:

I regret to say that I shall be unable to entertain the Boule this season.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Boule

405 Carlton Avenue
Brooklyn 5, New York
November 11, 1949

23-60-22

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Archon:

The November meeting of Zeta Chapter of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity will be held at the home of Archon Walter G. Alexander, 48 Webster Place, Orange, New Jersey on Friday, November 18th at 9 P.M.

Archon Alexander will appreciate it if you will apprise him of your intentions as far as attendance is concerned.

Yours fraternally,

H. T. Miller

Herbert T. Miller
Grammateus

Enclosures (2)

P.S. For your information, $30.00 is due on your 1949 Dues, and $4.62 for the special Boule Journal Tax.
HTM

THIS CARD CERTIFIES THAT No. 446

W E B DuBois

IS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF

Zeta BOULE

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

1923 49

Jos. N. B. Evans K. L. Miller

GRAMMATEUS MEGISTOS GRAMMATEUS

SIGNATURE OF MEMBER

23-50

Lee. Corres

3998-16th Street,
Ecorse 29, Michigan
February 22, 1949

Dr. W. E. DuBois,
C/O N. A. A. C. P.
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am one of several young men and women, Negro and white, belonging to the comparatively new organization, Young Progressives of America. I am NOT a member of the Progressive Party, even though the Y. P. A. is associated with that party.

I was among the delegates to Washington in the recent "Assembly and Rally to End Discrimination and Segregation" held in Washington, D.C. I was enthused to note that you were to make the final speech at the assembly, and made sure to be on hand to hear it.

I must confess, however, that I was left quite confused by the tenore of your speech, and since then I have read and re-read it in an attempt to discover whether you were in accord with the assembly or whether you were trying to inform the people present that they were taking the "road of reaction rather than the road forward."

Being a fellow member of the N. A. A. C. P. and knowing of some of the great work you have done in the fight for equality for the peoples of the world, I cannot help but think that there must be unquestionable logic on your part for making such statements as noted above -- and others.

As a private citizen who honestly desires to do something good in this fight for 'freedoms', I would certainly refuse to aid any group which was using this cause as "sheep's clothing" to further their own mal-purposes.

I would, therefore, be greatly appreciative if you would answer the following questions from your point of view:

1. What inter-racial organizations have not been branded at some time or other as Communist 'fronts'.
2. How can we successfully fight discrimination by discriminating against the American whites who want to work with us in our cause.
3. What line of action can Negro take to assure the American public that they are not being used by 'subversive elements'.

Anticipating your earliest reply, I am

Respectfully yours,
Lasker Smith
LASKER SMITH

23-12-01

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 9, 1949

Mr. Lasker Smith
3998 16th Street
Ecorse 29, Michigan

My dear Mr. Smith:

23-12-02

Answering your letter of February 22, may I say that I was in accord with the meeting at Washington for uniting all of the political parties in a movement for civil rights; but I tried to go farther and say that it was not enough for us to ask simply for civil rights! that we must also be united with those people who are asking for peace and for the economic reconstruction of the world. I do not think that the Washington meeting and its promoters were "wolves in sheep's clothing." I think they were quite sincere; but I do think that most of them do not know how much is at stake for Negroes in the present condition of industry and distribution of wealth throughout the world.

1. Many inter-racial organizations and most liberal organizations have at one time or another been branded as "Communist Front" by some people; even the Civil Rights Program was branded as "Communist" by Rankin.

2. We should be quite willing in our fight against discrimination to cooperate with any person who has the same object as we have, no matter what their color or condition is.

3. I do not think that, at present, there is any line of action which will assure a person of liberal thought from being called "subversive"; and of course, always movements whether subversive or reactionary, attempt to use people who do not thoroughly understand their objects; but we cannot for that reason refuse to follow a course which we think is right, or refust to cooperate with persons and parties so long as they are doing the sort of thing that we want done. If and when find they are not sincere, we can withdraw.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File
Smythe

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2-C
New York 35, New York

23-51-1

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Mr. Graham has put in the book shelves, now the painting is to take place. He is going to do that also

About week after next, however, he is going to oversee the stuff in storage. I should be very glad, if you have the time, if you would come and help him.

Of course I should expect to pay you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Hill
Smythe

2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
January 21, 1949

20-51-29

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of the 18th, which has just arrived. You know that I shall be only too glad to come in and help to arrange the shipment when it arrives from storage. Just have Mrs. Murphy phone me a day in front of the time it is due to arrive at your office.

It is good to know Mr. Graham is taking care of the shelves and the painting; he will do just as you wish, I know. Your office should really be quite pleasant when it is completed, and really a change from the cramped, warehouse-like cubbyhole at 20 West 40th Street.

Thank you, also, for the wire about the job. I contacted Miss Graham and by now she has told you the results. I would like to work with her brother and he had hired me, but a prior commitment made him have to retract his offer. I understood his position quite well, however, for in business people will sue you for the least thing, and since I knew of the individual with whom he had to deal, I had to sympathize with his position.

As yet I have not made any definite connection, but I am hopeful. Meanwhile, if there is anything I can do to be of service to you, please let me know.

My regards to Mrs. DuBois and Yolande when you write, and I hope Mrs. DuBois is doing as well as can be expected. Please say hello to Mrs. Murphy for me.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

2225 5th Avenue,2-c
New York 35, New York
February 18, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

23-51-25

Dear Doctor:

Enclosed is the material in tabular form that you asked me to assemble for you. It refers to the premium on gold for the period 1860-1880, and I have set it down by year so that you could extract the data you want particularly, the period 1860-1870.

The books have been shelved and are in working order now. I followed Mr. Graham's suggestions in arranging them, as we worked together on that particular job, and, also, as he had supervised the moving in of the staraged materials. If there is anything you wished changed, I shall be glad to come in and do as you wish.

The files are now in working order, too. Mrs. Murphy is able to use them, they being arranged alphabetically by subject, with a set given over to your private materials, and some of the dead files being kept in the hall outside of your office.

Mr. Graham and Mrs. Murphy thought it might be best to place the box-letter files in the closet in the hallway as soon as it can be cleared. This seems like a good suggestion and should be done as soon as the closet is emptied of the material it contains now.

In regard to pay for this work, I really would not know how to charge you (and wish that I were rich enough not to be needing any money, for I would like to contribute something to you for all you have done for humanity). So whatever you feel is fair compensation will be agreeable to me and you can send me a check for it at your convenience.

If at any time you need me, please feel free to let me know and if I am able, I shall be glad to serve you.

Hoping you will take good care of yourself and not overwork, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

[ENC]

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE OF GOLD, 1860-1880

Year	Price	Year	Price
1860	100	1871	112
1861	100	1872	112
1862	113	1873	114
1863	145	1874	111
1864	203	1875	115
1865	157	1876	112
1866	141	1877	105
1867	138	1878	101
1868	140	1879	100
1869	133	1880	100
1870	115		

J

93a-11

SOURCE: (University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. I, March 27, 1908) Gold, Prices, and Wages under the Greenback Standard, by Wesley C. Mitchell. Berkeley: The University Press, March 1908. Table 74, page 279.

GOLD, P

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 24, 1949

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2-C
New York 35, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you so much for your help. I have enjoyed coming back to a difficult job finished.

Here is a small check to pay you in part. I have also written to Cornell recommending you as a field worker for that Elmira job.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure--Check- $15.00

Smythe

2225 Fifth Avenue,2-C
New York 35, New York
March 1, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-51-23

This is to thank you for your letter of February 24 and the enclosed check you sent. I am glad that you found everything in good order upon your return to the office. Mrs. Murphy was quite helpful during our arranging of the materials both in your office and hers.

I appreciate your recommending me for the job in Elmira. I shall let you know what comes of this. Meantime, please know that you are free to recommend me for any position for which you believe I have the capacity to fill. Mrs. Murphy called in regard to this question, and, although I was out at the time, Mrs. Smythe told her to inform you to the effect that you are at liberty to recommend me at any time.

The British government offered me a chance to go to England and Africa to do some studies for them, the period to last two and one-half years at the minimum. I had to turn it down and will tell you about the details the next time I see you.

Mabel and I are sorry we could not greet you on the anniversary of your eighty-first birthday, but you understand that in my present position I had to work when it was available. We were with you in spirit, if not in the flesh on that occasion and hope you received our telegram in good time.

Again thanking you and asking you not to work too hard, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-41-22

April 15, 1949

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2-C
New York 35, New York

My dear Dr. Smythe:

Will you call at the office and get some papers and then do a little research for me while I am absent in Paris.

The Ingram Committee wants me to write a petition to the United Nations Human Rights Commission concerning the Ingram family. For this, I need two things: First, the EXACT FACTS as to what happened in Georgia in the Ingram case, and what the status of it is at present. I have written this down from such data as I have, but I wish you would check it with other data, especially with articles in the DAILY WORKER and elsewhere, and see that all of the facts with dates, names etc are correct.

Secondly, I wish you would find out just what the status is now of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. What the text of the statement that they issued is, and what has been done about it and especially what decisions they have come to with regard to petitions.

There is no hurry about this. I shall probably be away two, possibly three weeks. I shall be glad to have it when I return. Keep a memorandum of your time and expense and I shall [redacted]-emburse you.

My best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
June 4, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is the record on the Ingram Case. I have compiled it from the reports of the PITTSBURGH COURIER, the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, and the DAILY WORKER.

23-5-6

The material has been arranged chronologically, beginning with the earliest newspaper account of the case that I was able to find. You will notice that I have gone over very carefully every single issue of these papers, especially the Courier and World, and consulted a file on the Daily Worker, as well as examined the records of the national office of the NAACP in reference to the Ingram case. In regard to the latter, a reference is made in the compilation from one of their news releases.

All duplication has been avoided as far as possible, but in a few instances there was some overlapping.

I asked at the NAACP about the court record on the case but was told that it was obtainable only from the Georgia courts. I knew this, but thought they may have had photostatic copies and I would have copied it from their record. But they did not have any official court records or copies of such.

I have included in the compilation, also, a memorandum which I obtained from the NAACP concerning the case. It will be quite useful as an outline of the legal events.

In regard to the Commission on Human Rights, I thought the best procedure was to get the official comment to your questions. Consequently, I am enclosing the official reply sent to me.

In view of the time I had to put on this job, I hope you will realize that I tried to get the material as accurately as possible and I am sure you will find it reliable and in order.

If it is agreeable to you, $15.00 will be all right with me for this piece of research.

Thanking you and hoping to serve you again, I am

Sincerely,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

June 8, 1949

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue
Apartment 2-C
New York 35, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you so much for the work which you did on the Ingram case. I am enclosing my check for $15.00 which is too reasonable a sum.

I have been hoping to get over to your house one of these days. But one thing I have been wanting to say to you for a long time; do not overwork! You are overworking, I am sure. You are holding down too many jobs and helping too many people. It does not pay to do that. You ought to consider and nurse your strength; eat more and get more rest.

I hope you will take this to heart. My best regards to you and your wife and little girl.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

2225 rifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
June 10, 1949

23-5-5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to thank you for your letter of June 8, with its enclosure. I hope that you found the material useful for your purposes.

The advice you gave me is greatly appreciated and I know that you are right. It is just that I am still trying to land a position that will pay me enough, so that I will not have to do so much outside work to bring my income up to a point that will enable me to meet my obligations. As you know, for one who tries to live an honest life and who is independent in thought this is not an easy thing to do in our society. But I have not given up trying and hope to be successful before too long. However, I shall try to get more rest as you suggest, for I surely could use some.

Mabel joins me in regards and thanks, and you have our continued best wishes for good health and success.

Very sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' UNION

Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O.

Helen Mangold
PRESIDENT

Oscar Hirshfield
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

Ruth Balter
2ND VICE PRESIDENT

Olive Van Horn
3RD VICE PRESIDENT

Yolanda Wilkerson
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Bernard Segal
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

30 East 29th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

PHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-8723

January 10, 1949

Dr. William E.B.DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

23-9-38

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is a pleasure to inform you that at a recent Executive Board meeting of the Social Service Employees' Union, Local 19, UOPWA, CIO, it was resolved that in recognition of your outstanding service to the field of social work, you be invited to accept an honorary, lifetime membership in our Union.

On February 12th our Union is planning to hold a conference on job opportunities for Negro workers in the social work field. We hope that this conference will set the tone and direction for additional activities to assist and give impetus to our program for breaking down discriminatory practices in this field.

We would like you to be one of the main speakers at this meeting. Following your speech we plan to present you with an honorary membership. May I call on you with regard to the above?

We are hoping to obtain the use of the Schomburg Library for the Conference.

We hope very much, that you will accept membership in our Union.

Very sincerely yours,

Milton Walker

Milton Walker, Union Representative
in charge of Anti-Discrimination Work

Helen S. Mangold

Helen S. Mangold, President
Social Service Employees' Union

uopwa
16-19

:3 West 26th Street
lew York 10, New York
anuary 14, 1949

Mr. Milton Walker
Social Service Employees' Union
30 East 29th Street
New York 16, New York

23-9-17

My dear Sir:

I have your leter of January 10, and I appreciate the honor whih you propose to do me. I could speak February 12,but only for a short time, say 15 minutes.

If that wouldsuit you, kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' UNION

Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O.

Helen Mangold
PRESIDENT

Oscar Hirshfield
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

Ruth Balter
2ND VICE PRESIDENT

Olive Van Horn
3RD VICE PRESIDENT

Yolanda Wilkerson
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Bernard Segal
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

30 *East 29th Street*
New York 16, N. Y.

PHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-8723

Ed. Comp

23-9-37

January 19, 1949

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are indeed happy that you have accepted our offer of lifetime honorary membership in our Union, and that you have agreed to speak at our February 12th Conference.

I will be in touch with you shortly to discuss the time at which you are available to speak and other details.

Cordially yours,

Milton Walker

Milton Walker
Union Representative in charge
of Anti-Discrimination Work

MW:v
uopwa 16-19

On Feb 12 @ 1:30 p.m. I must preside at a meeting of the Progressive Party in Wash. DC. I cannot leave N.Y. until 8 or 9 p.m. Would that do?

Negro people in Russia
Defn — reforms of
Need of Legislation — 81st

10:30 YMCA
2nd floor

15

Sect

SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' UNION

Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O.

Helen Mangold
PRESIDENT

Oscar Hirshfield
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

Ruth Balter
2ND VICE PRESIDENT

Olive Van Horn
3RD VICE PRESIDENT

Yolanda Wilkerson
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Bernard Segal
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

30 East 29th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

PHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-8723

February 16, 1949

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

23-44-8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Personally, and on behalf of the Union, we would like to express our sincere thanks for your contribution to our February 12th Conference.

Were it not for people like yourself who participate directly, and give clarity and direction to the fight for Negro rights, in particular in the social service field, our Union's fight would be much more difficult.

Again, many thanks.

Cordially yours,

Milton Walker

Milton Walker, Union Representative
in Charge of Anti-Discrimination Work

Helen S. Mangold

Helen S. Mangold
President

uopwa
16-19

Letters of Appreciation

THE GROUPS OF
THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

THE WORKERS FELLOWSHIP, INC.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5200

February 8, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Just a word to let you know again how much we all appreciate the splendid contribution you made to the success of our program last evening.

We are all truly indebted to you - but I think the ovation the audience gave you is a far better expression of that gratitude than anything I could possibly add.

Ever so many thanks again - and a very happy birthday to you!

Cordially,

Milton Gould

Milton Gould
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York

23-414-5

Reg for Speech

THE GROUPS OF
THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

THE WORKERS FELLOWSHIP, INC.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5200

February 11, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was just wondering if you had an extra copy of the talk you gave at our concert-forum last Monday evening. I have had so many requests for it that I thought it might be a good idea if I had some mimeographed.

If you have an extra copy, it would expedite matters if you would mail it to me at my home address, 310 Riverside Drive, New York 25.

It was certainly a splendid talk - and I shall look forward to the pleasure of going thru it once more.

Many thanks again.

Cordially,

Milton Gould
President

24-9-6

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 31, 1949

Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. John and Dr. Vada:

You have perhaps heard of the great meetings which we have had in New York for Peace under the auspices of the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. I spoke at the Madison Square Garden meeting Sunday night with 18,000 people packing the place.

Members of the Foreign Delegation are going to make a tour of the country and they are coming to Los Angeles. There is one Negro member who will probably come with them: Dr. Raphel A. G. Armattoe born in West Africa, educated in France and Germany and resident in North Irèland. His wife is a blond Swiss woman. He is a very cultivated man, aphysician and an anthropologist and speaks the best of English and has good manners.

I have told the Council that if they have any difficulty in finding him accommodations when he comes with the group to Los Angeles that they should apply to you. That I knew that you would be glad to meet him and to see that he met some of the best Negroes in the West. I hope you will do this if you can. If he does not stop with you, please have him out and give him the works.

I hope you are well, we are in good condition and I, in particular am enjoying good health and of course, keeping busy.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Since writing this have heard that the State Department cancelled the visas so that the Foreign guest cannot travel So forget the above---but note the good effort.

June 8, 1949

Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. Sommerville:

23-8-2

Thank you so much for the copy of the book which you sent me. The clear every day record of a normal human life is all too seldom written. Usually biographies of public men involve so many persons and events that they are much more theoretical than fattual.

I think a book like yours is of real and permanent value because the facts set down are so evidently true and unvarnished. I think you have done a service by writing it.

Remember, however, that you must push its sale. The printer has gotten his pay and he is not going to be a good sales agent. You must write to friends and send review copies to newspapers. Furnish them with your own reviews or some that have been written. This is the only way to give the book the circulation which it deserves.

My love to you and Dr. Vada.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

DR. J. A. SOMERVILLE
DENTIST
2038 SOUTH WESTERN AVE.
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIF.

October 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope that this letter will find you in New York. Judging from the late post cards that we have received it is uncertain where to reach you, Paris, London, or Moscow. We are still jogging along in Los Angeles. The population increasing at the rate of thirty thousand per month and employment decreasing fifty thousand per month.

Thanks for the generous comment on my book. It may be for the above stated reason that I have not written to you or perhaps just sheer laziness.

I am very much flattered by the comments and letters coming from all sections of the country about "Man of Color". Two of them coming from so conservative sources as The Christian Science Monitor, and Dr. Emery S. Bogardus, U. S. C. confirms your early statement that the book has some merit. I was tempted to believe that you said nice things through a personal friendship. I am now waiting for the sales to come in to justify the outlay, and it is improving daily, the book stores in New York, Boston, and Chicago are sending in orders.

Vada and I are holding our own, growing old together (gracefully I hope).

If the depression does not hit us hard we hope to go to

DR. J. A. SOMERVILLE
DENTIST
2038 SOUTH WESTERN AVE.
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIF.

the Grand Boule meeting next year. That is if they can find a meeting place. She begs to be remembered to Mrs. DuBois Yolonde and DuBois.

Yours sincerely

J. A. Somerville

Dr. J. Alexander Somerville

23-8-5

P.S. I am writing an article for a magazine in which I have taken the liberty to quote frequently from Africa and the World. Please do not accuse me of plagiarism. I am giving due credit for the source of my information. JS

[SOUTHERN P.]

George Myers Stephens, *Editor* *Published by* The Stephens Press

The Southern PACKET
A Monthly Review of Southern Books
50 WALNUT STREET ASHEVILLE, N. C.

March 25, 1949

W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Harcourt, Brace & Co.
383 Madison Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

23-11-1

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Your name appeared in the September Packet in its course of reporting new books and ideas for the southern region.

Because we think you will find it useful in your work as well as a pleasure, we invite you to come on board.

Cordially,

Geo. M. Stephens

George M. Stephens:j

P.S. You can back-track to some interesting spots we've recently touched by requesting the issues shown on the enclosures. Each will count as a month of your subscription.

Reg for author

[Soviet RU-SL

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

May 31, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

While you were in Paris we cabled you asking whether it would be possible for you to write an article for our magazine on the peace conference. Perhaps the cable did not reach you, or perhaps you were too overwhelmed with other commitments.

Now that you are back, I am wondering whether you could consider doing an article for us that would stress the dangers of the North Atlantic Pact, especially what it means to the colonial peoples; and the reactions to it of the people of the world as expressed in the Paris conference.

We should very much like to have such an article for our coming issue. I would suggest something around 1500 words, and we would like to have it if at all possible by Monday, June 7, or a few days thereafter.

Would you be good enough to let me know whether we could count on it?

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

JS:A
uopwa-18

Short article
Later in July

24-9-2

[Soviet Russia Today]

June 2, 1949

Miss Jessica Smith, Editor
Soviet Russia Today
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

24-9-6

Dear Miss Smith:

Answering your letter of May 31, may I say that Dr. Du Bois will be glad to do a short article for you.

He asked me to say however, that it would be impossible for him to get it to you on June 7. Perhaps later in the month or early in July would be much better for him. He is terribly pressed just now.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK 16

Telephone: MU 5-5855-6

June 24, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I do not want to press you, but we are in the midst of making plans for our August issue, and we are therefore wondering whether it is going to be possible for you to prepare the article you agreed to do for us by July 7, which would be the deadline for the August issue.

If that is not possible, we would schedule it for the following issue, but are anxious to have it for August if it is convenient for you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

JS:A
uopwa-18

24-9-10

June 27, 1949

Miss Jessica Smith, Editor
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Smith:

I am very sorry but I forgot about that article. I will have it ready for you for the September issue.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-11

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

August 11, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am deeply grateful to you for the very fine article which I found you had sent in, on my return from my vacation, and which we are very glad to have for publication in the issue now about to go to press. I am enclosing herewith the proofs, and would appreciate your returning them at once if you find any corrections to be necessary. If I do not hear from you by Monday I shall assume that it is OK as is.

With appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

24-9-9

October 7, 1949

Miss Jessica Smith, Editor
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Smith:

Please use the enclosed copy of my manuscript instead of the one I gave you. The last few pages are different.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

24-9-5

Soviet Russia?

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

October 11, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for sending the corrected version of your article, which we are very happy to have for our November anniversary issue.

The article turned out to be somewhat longer than we had expected, since we have a rather serious problem of space in this issue. Unfortunately our financial position does not permit our issuing as large an anniversary issue as we have done on previous occasions, and at the same time we have to try to cover as many phases of Soviet achievements, American-Soviet relations and the struggle for peace as possible, all in the one issue.

241-9-3

Your article proved very difficult indeed to cut, and it is so beautifully written that I did not want to do it any violence. However, I had no choice but to try to make some cuts, so I am enclosing herewith a copy of the manuscript as I have cut and edited it, for your approval.

As you will see, some of the cuts are made purely for reasons of space, in sections that I felt could be spared without detracting too much from the overall impact of the article. In other cases, I have suggested cuts and changes in certain places where you have touched upon issues which unless further explained, could only raise questions in the mind of the reader. When you write of these things in the book you are planning, I am sure you will enlarge upon them in order to create the necessary background for understanding, but that would not be possible in this article.

For example, in the paragraph on page 2 where you speak of going back to Russia in 1936, you introduce the question of Trotsky in a way that, without further elaboration could give the impression of a sympathetic attitude toward Trotsky and those convicted of treason. Since there is no room here for a discussion of the issues at stake in those very difficult days, I imagine that this is an impression you would not wish to convey, and I therefore took the liberty of compressing this paragraph somewhat.

On the question of collective farms, you telescope so much into a brief paragraph that it seemed to me the impression of compulsory collectivization comes through a little too strongly. Of course there was force and violence in that period, which was tantamount to a second revolution, but this has to be understood in the whole historical setting of the period. You remember that

after the early period of persuasion and example, there was a time when over-zealous local officials began to use compulsory methods to get the peasants into the collectives. Then Stalin made a speech called "Dizziness from Success," condemning local officials for using compulsion, and insisting that joining collectives must be a voluntary affair, following which earlier abuses were corrected.

Later, there was another phase. After collectivization was well established, the kulaks began to put up an organized fight against them, instigated by the very leaders who were later tried for treason. The kulaks in many cases joined collective farms in order to destroy them, carried on a campaign of sabotaging production, burning buildings, poisoning cattle and murdering Soviet officials. I visited many collective farms where this sort of thing had happened, and heard many stories of such events from the people who had suffered from them. So it went far beyond the mere desire of individual peasants to hold to their land. It was only when such methods began that the government undertook stern methods of driving out the kulaks from the villages.

On the question of trade unions, it has of course been written many times that the Soviet Unions are not allowed to strike. I had the privilege in 1946 of joining the CIO delegation, of which my husband, John Abt, was a member, in an exhaustive study of trade unions. We learned that not only is there no law against striking but that the right of work stoppage is specifically allowed under Soviet labor laws. It is seldom used, because the machinery for adjustment of grievances and the labor laws give the unions full opportunity for redress in case of any infringements of their rights without recourse to strikes; but there are cases of strikes. One was reported in the Soviet press in 1946. I would be glad to send you copies of a series of articles by my husband on this subject and Soviet trade unions in general if you would like me to.

24-9-4

Finally, I felt that your treatment of Soviet democracy, because of its brevity, did not completely do justice to the very great measure of actual democracy that exists and the very wide participation of the masses of the people in the processes of government through their Soviets, their unions and other organizations. So I took the liberty of making a few editorial suggestions in this section.

I hope you will approve these changes and understand my motives. Naturally, I will be glad to make any changes in the article that you may wish, and if you want to take the time to discuss any of these points, I would be very happy to have the opportunity. If the article is satisfactory to you, I shall send it off to the printers as it stands and send you the proof. I am sure you understand that since this is an anniversary issue we want to stress above all the positive aspects of Soviet achievements, in order to make the most constructive possible contribution to good will, understanding and peace.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

JS:A
uopwa-18
enc.

[Soviet Russia Today]

October 12, 1949

Miss Jessica Smith, Editor
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Smith:

The manuscript is satisfactory.

Send it to the printer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Soviet Russia]

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

October 28, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you so much for giving us permission to go ahead with your article, which we are very happy to have for the November issue

Your corrected galleys arrived as we were about to go to press, when changes were difficult. Since the correction was only a matter of spelling, and since we ordinarily use the spelling Buryat instead of Buriat, we felt you would not object to our letting it stand.

I hope you are going ahead with the plan you spoke of to write a book or pamphlet on the USSR. If you would want at any time to have a further discussion on some of the points I made in my letter, I should be very happy to have an opportunity to talk with you.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

JS:A
uopwa-18

1-6-22

[Soviet Russia Today]

November 14, 1949

Miss Jessica Smith, Editor
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd Street
New York, New York

24-9-5

Dear Miss Smith:

Will you please send six copies of SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY, (with bill) containing the recent atricle by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

POST CARD

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.,
New York 10, N.Y.

we are here
for a few days
with our son.
Thanks for your
intrepid gallantry
in the midst
of times teeming
miscreants.
Love,
Anne Spencer

The J. T. Barlow Co., Publishing Division, Dayton, Ohio
Dextone Genuine Natural Color—Made only by Dexter Press, Pearl River, N. Y.
36381

23-00-20

Floral Entrance, Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio—84-D-11

[STALIN]

23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.
December 16, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We invite you to join with several dozen Negro leaders in sending greetings to Premier Joseph Stalin on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, December 21.

The proposed message and persons invited to participate in this greeting are enclosed.

It is clear that the serious threat of another world war can be abated only on the basis of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, through settlement of their outstanding issues and calling off the "Cold War".

All friends of peace must understand this basic proposition, and use every occasion to emphasize it publicly. Whatever may be our differences on political matters generally -- whether we think the Soviet Union or the United States is causing the main threat of war -- we can and must agree on the urgent need of U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. cooperation.

Premier Stalin's birthday next week affords us an opportunity to give effective public expression to our desire for Soviet-American cooperation for peace. Moreover, as Negro Americans, we might well also call attention to the one thing which even the enemies of the Soviet Union agree is a unique achievement -- the complete abolition of discrimination because of race and nationality in the U. S. S. R.

At a time when many Americans in all stations -- from President Truman on down -- will be sending anniversary greetings to Premier Stalin, let us use the occasion to express our views on these two crucial issues, peace and the elimination of racial discrimination.

We hope you will join us in the message. Please indicate your agreement to do so by returning the enclosed reply card, or by letter or telegram. We will have to receive your reply by Tuesday morning, December 20.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

Alphaeus Hunton, Secretary
Council on African Affairs

George B. Murphy, Jr.

George B. Murphy, Jr., National Commander
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America (on leave)

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson, Director of Faculty & Curriculum
Jefferson School of Social Science

32-12

- Russia [ENC]

PROPOSED 70TH BIRTHDAY GREETING TO STALIN

The Message:

Greetings on your seventieth anniversary, and our wishes for your continued good health and effective service to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We Negro Americans are of many different political beliefs and affiliations. We unite, however, in hailing your leadership in up-rooting racial discrimination and national oppression from your land of many peoples.

We unite also in the hope that our country and yours may soon again enter upon the path of friendly cooperation for the mutual strengthening of our economies and preservation of the peace of the world.

Invited to Join in Sending Message:

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York City
Mr. Frank Marshall Davis, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. George A. Fisher, Raleigh, N. C.
Mr. Paul Robeson, N. Y. C.
Dr. Metz Lochard, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Sandy F. Ray, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. Ewart Guinier, N. Y. C.
Mr. William L. Patterson, N. Y. C.
Mr. Roscoe Dungee, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Dr. J. E. T. Camper, Baltimore, Md.
President Rufus Atwood, Frankfort, Ky.
Mrs. Estelle M. Osborne, N. Y. C.
Mr. Charles Collins, N. Y. C.
Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Norfolk, Va.
Attorney Earl Dickerson, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. J. Finely Wilson, Washington, D. C.
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Petersburg, Va.
Prof. Albert Lee Tatum, St. Louis, Mo.
Miss Shirley Graham, St. Albans, N. Y.
Mr. Langston Hughes, N. Y. C.
Mr. Theodore Ward, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit, Mich.
Dr. William A. Hunton, N. Y. C.
Mr. Richard Moore, N. Y. C.
Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. Arnold Donawa, N. Y. C.
Mr. George Murphy, N. Y. C.
Attorney Hope Stevens, N. Y. C.
Mr. Arthur Huff Fauset, Philadelphia, Pa.
Attorney Thomas R. Jones, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mr. Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga.
Mr. Ferdinand C. Smith, N. Y. C.
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. Xenia, Ohio
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Goldie Watson, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Washington, DC.
Mr. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., N. Y. C.
Dr. L. D. Palmer, Hampton, Va.
Mr. Charles Enoch Wheeler, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Rudolph Moses, New Orleans, La.
Mr. William Harrison, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Sedalia, NC.
Mr. Perty Green, Jackson, Miss.
Mrs. Theresa Robinson, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Matt Crawford, San Francisco, Calif.
Rt. Rev. B.M. Fernanders, Philadelphia, Pa
Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, Phila., Pa.
Judge William C. Hueston, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Gertrude A. Robinson, N. Y. C.
Dr. A. Gerald Edwards, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. J. A. Rogers, N. Y. C.
Dr. Ralph Price Gilbert, Sewannah, Ga.
Bishop R.R. Wright, Jr., Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Marvel Cooke, N. Y. C.
Mrs. Pearl Laws, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Attorney Malcolm Martin, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. T. S. Harten, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. E. G. Hopkins, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Joseph Pierce, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Rudolph Val Death, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. W. C. Williamson, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Henry M. Deas, Boston, Mass.
Mr. Lyndon Henry, N. Y. C.
Bishop R.R. Wright, Jr., Memphis, Tenn.
Capt. Hugh Mulzac, Jamaica, N. Y.
Dr. Charles A. Petioni, N. Y. C.
Dr. Phillips Brooks, Brooklyn, N. Y.

33a-12

Complimentary Letters

311 West 112th Street
New York, New York
July 10,1949

Dr. W.E.DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Utter joy and untold pride was mine upon seeing your article in this Sunday's Compass,for it was only last week that I had written the Editors,(enclosed find copy of the letter)voicing my resentment of the articles written by Mr. Ottley,never dreaming that so soon,my wish to see an honest portrayal of Negro life in A merica,would materialize. I am not attempting to infer that my letter was the cause of it,I am simply stating how coincidental that it was.

23-44-6

I think that you did a brilliantly beautiful job,recognizing that Ottley has had pages upon pages of words,and has done **nothing** constructive with that opportunity---and you in the brief space of one column were able to not only make the Compass readers aware of Ottley's incapabilities,but at the same time,have given a honest and clear picture of the situation.

Your last four paragraphs were an impressive chain of constructive thoughts,and an inspiration to all of us who are desirious of contributing towards a world where all people may live together thru understanding,in peace and harmony.

Unfortunately,I have never had the pleasure of seeing you or hearing you speak,although since I was quite a youngster I have had the good fortune to hear of the many fine things that you have done.

I would be most happy if in some of your spare moments I might have the opportunity of talking to you. The Negroes plight in America has always been the most important thing in my life,with the exception of my desire for peace and happiness for all oppressed peoples everywhere. The Negro problem first, no doubt,because I am an American,and because the Negro problem is the most cancerous disease in America.

Trusting that I will be afforded the pleasure of meeting you in the near future,I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Alice Stanford

Copy

311 West 112th Street
New York, New York
July 2, 1949

The Daily Compass
c/o The Readers' Forum
164 Duane Street
New York, New York

Dear Sirs;

23-2-8

I have been an avid reader of your paper since your first publication, and as yet I have not missed a issue, and I sincerely hope that you will continue to print the kind of articles that will not abate my enthusiasm. Prior to these articles written by Messrs. Ottley and Carter I have had little cause to differ with you, but here I feel that I certainly must draw the line.

Why is it, perhaps you can enlighten me, that you allow a man of Ottley's calibre, who seems to differ so much, you say, from your point of view to write such a column in your paper? Is it always necessary to pick a Negro of second-rate ability when there are those around who could have given an authentic picture of the situation in question? Again I should like to know, is it necessary to have Mr. Ottley, who is a Negro, give his distorted views on the Negro problem only to have Mr. Carter, who is Caucasian, correct and refute him. Certainly there are Negroes---intelligent, alert, and intellectually honest Negroes---who could brilliantly portray a realistic picture that would create and demand respect. This is an angle that we cannot over look. On the other hand I would be most happy to read a intelligent and honest portrayal of this situation, by a non-colored individual so long as it was his sincere desire to give to your readers the truth.

I am concerned more with the reflection on your newspaper, as a result of such articles, by both pro-Compass and anti-Compass individuals, than I am with Mr. Ottley. Because I feel that you have taken the lead via journalism in championing the cause of the people, irrespective of their race, creed, religion or political views. I should not like to see the terrific respect that you have gained by doing this be damaged. Mr. Ottley is one of many of his kind, and I feel that there must be many other newspapers of a certain calibre willing to print his articles, but there is only ONE Compass, and please don't contaminate it, as it is truly an injustice to your readers. I am not suggesting, or attempting to dictate who you should "allow" to write in your paper, but in the event, by way of rebuttal, you might say that you don't know of another Negro, I am certain that Dr. W. E. DuBois, or many other capable Negroes, could have done a more representative job.

I,too,must ask,as did Mr. Nabrit,Secretary of Howard University, "Where has this man traveled?" Quoting Mr. Ottley,"in the Sunday Compass,July 3,1949,"In theory,at least,the Negro in the North is free to live as he choses,and marry who he pleases. He has equal protection of the law,redress when victomized by public officals,and the right to run for public office. Nowhere in the North is there "Jim-Crow" travel." How could you let such an individual write such things in your paper? To read this column,without knowing the publication address of your paper would convince me that I must be in Mississippi. It isn't sufficient that you let Mr. Carter refute these things---they simply shouldn't have been written. What respect can your white readers gain by reading Ottley's articles?What pride can Negroes have in themselves,if they are made to feel that this is the best they have to offer? Are they always made to be aware only of the "Uncle Tom's?"

23-2-9

Very sincerely yours,

Alice Stanford

23-44-7

July 13, 1949

Miss Alice Stanford
311 West 112th Street
New York, New York

My dear Madam:

I appreciate your kind letter of July 10, and the letter which you sent the Daily Compass. Usually I receive visitors by appointment in my office about four in the afternoon during week-days. If you will call my secretary by telephone---Mu. 3-7894, I am sure she will be glad to make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg for Info

December 12,1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several people have suggested that you might be able to help me. I'm writing a book about Time, Inc. and Henry Luce. I don't know if you'll remember, but until 1940 Time, and sometimes Fortune, were full of derogatory language in all of their references to the Negro people. Late in 1939 this stopped abruptly and objectionable words like "pickaninny" changed to "Negro child". Since then, while their articles have not been all that might be desired, their phrasing has been impeccable.

23-7-6

It has occurred to me that some pressure must have been brought on Luce to bring about this change of attitude, and to make him later accept the chairmanship of the Urban League. Would you know anything about this, or could you refer me to anyone who would? Is there someone perhaps at the Urban League who would not be sympathetic to Luce's political program who might be willing to tell me how he acted during the year or so he was an officer there?

I would be most grateful for any suggestions you might have. I could come in to New York on any day except Mondays to see you or whoever you think might be helpful.

If you feel you would like to know a little more about me, I can refer you to Cedric Belfrage at The National Guardian. I'm sure Cedric will give me a good recommendation.

With appreciation for any assistance you can give me --

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Sterling

Dorothy Sterling
Kirby Lane North
Rye, New York

23-7-7

December 19, 1949

Miss Dorothy Sterling
Kirby Lane North
Rye, New York

23-7-8

Dear Miss Sterling:

I have your letter of December 12. I have no idea as to what pressure was brought upon the Luce publications, but in general big business in the United States has recently become desperately afraid that Negroes in the United States would turn to the left and consequently it has been taking many steps to appease them.

Perhaps this explains the present Luce attitude.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Ave
N. Y. C.

62-04-23

Kitchenwar Road
Ridgefield, Conn.

Comes to

Would love to see you for drinks &c.
New years Day at any time from
5 to 7 - Send card or letter if you can.
Warmest greetings & Merry Xmas
Martha & Alfred Stern

RSVP
Lewisboro, N.Y. 1281

115 Central P.W.

23-42-7

Lecture

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Sent by phone. 12:30 Pm. March 29, 1949

Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Reserve single room with bath
Wednesday March 30.

W. C. B. Du Bois

(Mu. 3-7894)

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

My dear Mr. Streator:

23-7-1

Enclosed are the facts concerning the Mosely shooting in Detroit. I presume it is too late for you to write anything about it, but I think you ought to know. So far as the NAACP sending roses to the Police Commissioner, Toy, is concerned, my correspondent says "this is based on rumor," but he says that Toy is the police chief who at one time suggested that Henry Wallace should be shot or jailed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

File

June 8, 1949

Mrs. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

23-7-2

My dear Olive:

I have just been down home visiting the folks and they send love. Mrs. Du Bois is quite comfortable but very helpless.

Here is an errand which I am charged with: DuBois wants a job for the Summer. You know she is 17 and will be a high school senior next year. She takes responsibility and is excellent with children. Have you any suggestions as to where she might apply?

I enjoyed the breakfast very much.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

PUBLISHED EVERY
TUESDAY and FRIDAY

MEMBER
AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

The Philadelphia Tribune

★ THE CONSTRUCTIVE NEWSPAPER ★

PHILADELPHIA 46, PENNSYLVANIA

PHONES: KI 5-2242-43-44

June 9, 1949

23-7-21

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Vice Chairman
Counsel on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You forgot my birthday card. I sent you yours. There are six of us "68-ers" still alive and active and I guess that either you or John W. Harris, Sr., our former business manager is doing the biggest job.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. Swann

tws/b

Enc 2

October 28, 1949

23-7-22

Mr. Thomas W. Swann
THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

My dear Sir:

Please forgive me for not answering sooner your letter of June 9, but since I received it I have been in Paris, and down on the Riviera, then back to the United States and then to Moscow, Poland and Czechoslovakia; so that I have not had much time for answering letters.

I am delighted to know that you are alive, active and in good health.

My best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Letters Comm'd

SWARTHMORE

February 25 [1949]

23-42-65

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The Swarthmore chapter of YPA is planning its activities this semester around the issue of civil rights.

The problem we face is this: student interest in current issues is not great because many students feel themselves personally removed. However the student body will respond if it is shown cases in which civil rights have been flagrantly violated. For example, the Ingram case last year brought forth a great number of telegrams. Thus our program will be to arouse interest first on the basis of individual cases. From there we plan to develop the whole picture of civil rights and then its relation to the general political scene.

To realize this we plan to have three large meetings each with a speaker and numerous smaller educational and letter and telegram campaigns. The first two of these willbe on the Jenkins case and the Trenton six.

We would like you to be the first speaker in the series. The tentative date we have set is Sunday, March 13. If this is not possible the next available time is Thursday, Friday or Sunday, April 7,8, 10.

The general topic, subject to whatever changes you would make will involve:1) specific violations of civil rights, particularly those which are likely to arouse student sympathies, 2) the extension of the problem, to the Negro people as a whole, and to minority groups in general.

We can expect an audience of about 250, composed mostly of students, but also some people from the community.

We can, of course, pay expenses and provide lodging. However we cannot afford much more.

Sincerely yours,

Robin Briehl

Robin Briehl,
for the Swarthmore YPA

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 28, 1949

Mr. Robin Briehl
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Briehl:

Answering your letter of February 25, may I say th t Dr. Du Bois sympathizes with your work and deeply a preciates your invitation. However, I regret to say that he cannot accept any further speaking engagements for March or April.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:L

AUTHORS' CLUB,
2. WHITEHALL COURT.
S.W.1.

TELEPHONE,
WHITEHALL 3160 (6 LINES)
TELEGRAMS "AZYRITES, LONDON."

13th September, 1949.

23-7-27

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I've read your Paris Peace Conference speech with pleasure.

To save Africa it is essential to instruct Africans how to do the job.

I have been advocating a Tropical Neutrality Zone between the Tropics of Cancer & Capricorn around the world. This should be under the authority of U.N.O. and all exploitation of the Colonies forbidden.

this plan would give all those who desire a just peace an opportunity to express their will for what they say they desire.

Yours truly,

H. Scott

Dr. Du Bois
c/o NAACP

23-7-28

October 28, 1949

Mr. A. J. Sylvis
Authors' Club
2 Whitehall Court
London, S. W. 1
England

My dear Sir:

I have been away from my desk a great deal lately, and have just seen your letter of September 13. I thank you very much for your kind words and express my interest in your plan for a Tropical Neutrality Zone.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg for Info-
1949

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

PAUL H. APPLEBY
Dean

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT
Advisory Counsel

February 25, 1949

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23-7-58

What should be the essential attributes and activities of a good American citizen?

The Citizenship Department of Syracuse University is making a serious, studied attempt to obtain an accurate answer to the above question in order to establish criteria to measure the current efficiency of citizenship training at the university level. Enclosed is a short statement of our functions and current program.

Could you give us your thought in this matter. We do not want an elaborate answer; what we desire is a clear statement of a page or less from you. Your answer will not be publicly quoted without your consent. Furthermore, we are not interested in form as much as content; you may merely outline the essentials if you wish. We would rather have an answer than a refusal because of a fear that an elaborate answer is necessary.

This may seem a startling request to you, but we have found that a clear definition is lacking, and, after all, if we Americans can't answer this question, what can we answer?

Sincerely yours,

Stuart Gerry Brown

Stuart Gerry Brown
Director, Citizenship Program

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 10, 1949

Mr. Stuart Gerry Brown, Director
Citizenship Program
Syracuse University
Syracuse 10, New York

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of February 25, may I make this statement: Citizenship in a Democracy and especially a democracy of the size and power of the United States involves two things; one, intelligent knowledge of the facts; two, freedom to express opinions.

23-2-59

In the United States today ignorance among intelligent persons concerning the facts of our economic and industrial life is appalling. We are not teaching either in high school or college, or in public lectures, or over the radio, the facts concerning our industrial organization; the way in which it is run; the objects for which it is run; the way in which wealth is distributed and among what persons and groups. We have no way of being sure of the ownership of property and the essential facts concerning industry are carefully concealed secrets. Under such circumstances our economic illiteracy is dangerous. We cannot speak intelligently of them because we do not know.

In addition to that, those who do know, are today, kept from talking by fear of economic reprisals. Persons who tell the truth about monopoly in the United States are liable to lose their jobs and to be subject to severe persecution. Teachers in universities are afraid to talk about economic facts and development, about the growth of monopoly in the United States, about the concentration of wealth, about the domination of our legislatures and the Congress by concentrated monopoly. Liberal commentators have been systematically driven off the radio and our press is monopolized and owned by great organizations whose object is personal profit.

If therefore, we are going to have a School of Citizenship in the United States, it should first teach economic facts; and secondly it should either have the freedom to express opinion or the guts to stand up against public coercion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

PAUL H. APPLEBY
Dean

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT
Advisory Counsel

October 19, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City 10

230-1

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Some months ago we wrote to you and asked your answer to the question, "What should be the essential attributes and activities of a good American citizen?". This letter is to thank you again for your contribution and to give you what is in a sense a brief interim report of our findings.

It is an "interim report" because there was such a richness and wealth of material returned to us that it is a difficult, lengthy, and rewarding task to sort out and to a degree classify the returns.

You were joined by more than a hundred others in answering our request. There was great variety in occupation, sphere of civic interest, and point of view represented by the respondents, but all of you share at least one similarity in that you have far reaching influence in forming and fostering citizenship concepts.

Overall the answers to the question of the essential attributes and activities of the good American citizen emphasized three great areas. The triumverate were: (1) To be a good citizen a man must be educated as defined in the broad view (2) The good citizen must assume social responsibility and take some part in public affairs (3) The good citizen must have a code of ethics including a moral code and a series of democratic operating principles.

Under <u>education</u> the profusion of suggestions that we have compiled ranged from the recommendation of a factual knowledge of American history as the sine qua non, to skill in the art of group dynamics. As regards <u>social responsibility and action</u> it was noteworthy that almost without exception this area was construed as being much broader than the fields of government and party politics. Particular emphasis was placed by many of our colleagues

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

PAUL H. APPLEBY
Dean

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT
Advisory Counsel

upon activity in the local community and a strong plea was voiced for the role of the non-conformist. Under ethics wherein a moral code was discussed it was uniformly, as one of the correspondents noted, "in the tradition of the Judaeo-Christian religious teachings."

Should you desire more detailed information upon any particular facet of the study, and if we have the information at hand, we would be happy to send it to you.

Thank you again for your cooperation. The materials received will be used for the most part in our continuing work of curriculum revision. Also our staff has found the reading of your letters to be a remarkably rewarding experience.

Very sincerely yours,

Stuart Gerry Brown

Stuart Gerry Brown
Director, Citizenship Program

[1949?]

INFORMATION CONCERNING MAXWELL SCHOOL

AND ITS CITIZENSHIP PROGRAM

215 Maxwell Hall
Syracuse 10, New York

Maxwell School

Originally launched with funds provided by George H. Maxwell and his wife, to be unique in inception and program, to aid in developing a citizenry sensitive in conscience and intelligent in action. The purpose was fourfold: "First, to provide students with broad training and preparation for the duties and the practice of citizenship, and to make them aware of their obligations to participate intelligently in its responsibilities; Second, to stimulate those having the capacity for leadership to prepare for this task, and to equip them with the information and insight requisite for this function; Third, to assist in training young people in modern methods and materials of instruction in government and citizenship that they may serve effectively as teachers in high schools and colleges; and Finally, to prepare selected men and women for careers in civic administration and research, and for an intelligent official relation to modern public organizations, local, state, and national."

d3a-7

Citizenship Program

While the school is today known in many circles for its training of leaders in administration and research, it has maintained a program to teach citizenship to the non-professional student who will be "just a citizen" after graduation. The objectives of the program, now compulsory for every liberal arts student--and voluntarily selected by many students from other colleges of the University--are now four in number:

(1) To focus attention upon the relation of the individual citizen to the democratic process.

(2) To apply democratic principles in critical evaluation of specific cases.

(3) To acquire the ability to utilize these principles in judging contemporary and future problems of public concern.

(4) To emphasize the necessity for individual participation in group activities directed toward the solution of social, political and economic problems confronting our society.

To these four objectives a fifth is being added, in so far as funds, staff, and resources for research in a comparatively unexplored field will allow. (5) To emphasize the importance of means in relation to ends; to discover, classify, and evaluate the ethical means and instruments to ends available to citizens, in so far as they are different from those available to the organizational executive or the public administrator.

Director of Citizenship Program: Stuart Gerry Brown

Assistant Director of Citizenship Program: Alfred H. Cope

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

23-7-55

Mr. Seymour Taffler
517 McDonald Avenue
Brooklyn 18, New York

My dear Sir:

Answering your undated letter of March, I beg to say that the point which you bring up, does not seem to me to be very important. Personally I should not use the widespread figures of speech indicating white as purity and innocence and balck as indicating evil. Nevertheless such figures have been used so long that you cannot blame a person if they follow the old-fashioned cliche. Perhaps it would be enough simply to call attention to this rather curious and outmoded pattern of thought.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

March 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
African Aid Committee
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am happy to join you and others as an iniatial sponsor of your African Aid Committee.

Very sincerely yours,

Deems Taylor

Deems Taylor

27-30-57

Reply to Gratz.

AMHERST COLLEGE

Amherst, Massachusetts

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

January 21, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

23-7-49

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At Amherst College this school year (1948-49), we are experimenting with a new course which we call PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. One of the problems which we are taking up is the race question. In this connection we are very anxious to use as part of our assigned reading pages 41-59 of your book entitled The Souls of Black Folk. I am therefore writing you in order to request the privilege of reproducing these pages so that we may use them in an assignment.

Reproduction will be used for our classroom purposes only and full acknowledgment will be made for this permission.

Sincerely yours

George R. Taylor

George R. Taylor

GRT/maf

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 26, 1949

23-7-50

Mr. George R. Taylor
Amherst College
Department of Economics
Amerst, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Taylor:

Answering your letter of January 21, may I say that I shall be very glad to have you use any part of my book, The Souls of Black Folk, for your classroom purposes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Teachers Union

LOCAL 555, UPW - CIO 206 WEST 15th STREET, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. WATKINS 4-5524

Established 1916

President: Abraham Lederman; *Legislative Representative:* Rose V. Russell; *Treasurer:* Samuel C. Greenfield; *Secretary:* Celia Lewis Zitron

Vice-Presidents

Anne Morganstern, *Elementary Schools;* Ella Ratner, *Junior High Schools;* Eugene Jackson, *High Schools;* Irving Glucksman, *Vocational High Schools;* Joseph Bressler, *Colleges;* Adele Lithauer, *Private Schools;* Samuel Wallach, *Organization*

April 25, 1949

Dear Friend:

We are writing you in the belief that the dismissal of Dr. Lee Lorch from City College is of concern to all who fight bigotry and discrimination.

Dr. Lorch, an able mathematician, beloved by his students and respected by his colleagues, has been dropped without stated reason, shortly after being recommended for promotion. The college authorities acknowledge his competence as a scholar and teacher, but do not hesitate to dismiss him without a word of explanation.

Dr. Lorch's record in the service of his country and the community are no less impressive than his service to the college. He resigned from a draft-exempt job as a government scientist to volunteer as an army private. He served nearly three years, including nineteen months in India and Okinawa. He has taught at City College continuously since his discharge from the army in January, 1946.

He became a founder and vice-chairman of the Tenants Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, where he lives. This Committee has made one of the most important contributions to the fight against Jim Crow in housing.

The record of the City College authorities in protecting Professor Knickerbocker, charged with anti-Semitism, and in rewarding Mr. Davis, who practiced discrimination in the college dormitory, with a salary increase of $1392, stands in shocking contrast. While cynically disregarding the findings of the City Council and widespread protests from civic organizations, students and educators, they retain men who practice racial bias and drop a man who fights it. Clearly, the City College administration has shown its own bias in favor of bigotry and against scholarship and the principles of democracy.

We are certain that you will want to lend your support to the fight against bigotry and for democratic education and for decent treatment of war veterans. We therefore enclose a brief on the facts and we ask you to urge the Board of Higher Education, 695 Park Avenue, New York City, to reappoint Dr. Lorch, and to promote him to the rank of assistant professor as recommended by his department.

It would help us greatly if you would inform us of any actions you take, including copies of letters and resolutions.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Bressler

Vice-President for the Colleges

JB: jb
uopwa/16

Affiliated with: New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO; New York Women's Trade Union League; National Education Association

[ENC]

TEACHERS UNION
United Public Workers, Local 555-- CIO
206 West 15th Street
New York City

April 16, 1949

X

Dismissal of Dr. Lee Lorch
Instructor in Mathematics
The City College

INTRODUCTION

In December 1948 the professorial group of the mathematics department of the City College, sixteen in number, recommended Dr. Lee Lorch for promotion to the rank of assistant professor. On February 14, 1949, the Committee on Appointments voted four to two to dismiss him. This latter action has not been reversed by the college administration, despite: (1) a minority report submitted by the two dissenting members of the Appointments Committee (which the Board should study), (2) the appeals of members of the department and (3) the letters of influential mathematicians to President Wright.

The Chairman of the department and the President of the College have both refused to give Dr. Lorch any statement of explicit reasons for his dismissal.

Dr. Lorch is well-known as a competent scholar, superior teacher and cooperative colleague. He is a war veteran with overseas service. His community activities reflect great credit on him. He is vice-chairman of the Town and Village Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, where he lives, a committee which seeks to put an end to the color bars to tenancy there. His activities against racial discrimination stand in marked contrast with the attitudes and actions of some others whose connection with the college are defended by the same administration which is dismissing him.

We regard his dismissal as nothing short of scandalous. We ask the Board to exercise its authority to reappoint Dr. Lorch, and to promote him in accordance with the recommendation of his department.

Accordingly we submit this brief.

DR. LORCH'S RECORD PRIOR TO HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE CITY COLLEGE

Dr. Lorch came to City College with an impressive professional background and a record of military service.

DEGREES

B.A.	Cornell University	1935
A.M.	University of Cincinnati	1936
Ph.D.	University of Cincinnati	1941

SCHOLARSHIPS AND HONORS

State Tuition Scholarship in Cornell University, 1931-1935.
University Scholarship, University of Cincinnati, 1935-1936.
University Scholarship, Johns Hopkins University, 1936-1937.
Laws Scholarship, University of Cincinnati, 1938-1939.
Laws Fellowship, University of Cincinnati, 1939-1941.
Elected to membership in Sigma Xi, honorary scientific fraternity, 1936.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research assistant to Professor Otto Szasz, University of Cincinnati, 1938-1941.
Instructor in Mathematics, Hampton Institute, Fall, 1942.
Assistant Mathematician, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, Langley Field, Virginia, February 1942 to March 1943.

PUBLICATIONS

The Lebesgue Constants for Borel Summability, Duke Mathematical Journal v. 11 (1944)
On Fejer's Calculation of the Lebesgue Constants, Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, v. 37 (1945)

[ENC]

MILITARY SERVICE

Dr. Lorch resigned his (draft-exempt) position at Langley Field in order to volunteer for active military service.

He served in the army from April, 1943 through January 1946, including nineteen months overseas in India and on Okinawa. He was awarded the Good Conduct Medal and the Asiatic-Pacific Theater Campaign Ribbon. His company was awarded the Meritorious Service Plaque.

While stationed in India, Dr. Lorch gave invited addresses on mathematical topics before the Calcutta Mathematical Society and at Dacca and Calcutta Universities.

DR. LORCH'S RECORD AT THE CITY COLLEGE

His record at City College is one of marked achievement.

Dr. Lorch accepted a position as instructor in mathematics at the City College, beginning February, 1946, on annual salary. The offer was made by Professor Maximilian Philip, then chairman of the department. At that time qualified mathematicians were in great demand, and Dr. Lorch received several attractive offers from other institutions, of which he informed Professor Philip and Dr. George Garrison, who was then subchairman at the 23rd Street Building. Professor Philip assured Dr. Lorch that, in the ordinary course of events, he could expect to attain tenure, and Dr. Lorch accordingly declined the offers from other institutions. He was reappointed three successive years.

During the first semester of Dr. Lorch's service, Dr. Garrison reported to Professor Philip that he was pleased with Dr. Lorch's record. During subsequent semesters, four members of the Committee on Appointments visited Dr. Lorch's classes at different times to observe his teaching and they rendered favorable reports. Professor Warren G. Hubert, who succeeded Professor Philip as chairman of the department, offered no criticism of Dr. Lorch's work.

Dr. Lorch has taught two elective courses. He has supervised honors work which, according to the college catalogue, is supervised only by "selected instructors".

Dr. Lorch has served on departmental and interdepartmental committees.

Dr. Lorch is active in scholarly work. He pursues his own researches and assists his colleagues in their studies. He is, for example, the only member of the department mentioned in the preface of the recent book by Morris R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, "Source Book in Greek Science". He attends regularly the meetings of the American Mathematical Society.

In June, 1948, Dr. Lorch was elected a member of the Governing Council of the India Division of the Asia Institute, one of the foremost American centers of Asiatic studies. In this capacity he made arrangements for art students at the City College to have guided access to collections at the Asia Institute.

Dr. Lorch was the only teacher in the city colleges to serve on a panel organized by the Board of Education and sponsored by the New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education, on "Living, Learning and Teaching in 'One World'," under the chairmanship of Dr. Wm. Jansen, Superintendent of Schools of New York City.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Dr. Lorch is a public-spirited citizen deeply concerned with the rights and well-being of his fellow men.

He has distinguished himself as an opponent of racial discrimination. He is vice-chairman of the Town and Village Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, where he lives. The committee has rendered praiseworthy service in the fight for the democratic right of the Negro people to rent apartments in Stuyvesant Town. This committee has demonstrated, by survey and by tenant petition, that the white tenants to which Stuyvesant Town is restricted are opposed to this discrimination. As a result this committee has attracted city-wide and even national attention.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF DEPARTMENT COMMITTEES

In December, 1948, Dr. Lorch was recommended for promotion to the rank of assistant professor by an affirmative vote of a majority of the sixteen members of the mathematics department of professorial rank. Such a recommendation for a man not yet on tenure is a mark of unusual recognition.

[ENC]

On February 14, 1949, the department Committee on Appointments, consisting of six members, voted not to grant tenure to Dr. Lorch. The vote was four to two against Dr. Lorch.

Thus the administration is confronted with two contradictory recommendations from the same department concerning the same man. The favorable recommendation comes from a committee nearly three times the size of the other.

Professors E. L. Post and S. F. Barber, members of the Committee on Appointments, vigorously disapproving the dismissal, sent a minority report to the Review Committee and to President Wright. Professor Post is universally regarded as one of the greatest living mathematical logicians. Professor Barber enjoys the respect of the mathematical world and has been the recipient of high academic honors, such as a (post-doctoral) National Research Fellowship. We hope that the Board will call for and study this document.

Professor Hubert informed Dr. Lorch orally of the adverse decision of the committee as well as of his own adverse vote. He flatly refused to give any reasons whatsoever either for the committee action or his own personal vote. He stated merely that he regards that action as being in the best interests of the college, but refused to indicate how.

The composition of the Committee on Appointments would have been different had Professor Hubert complied with the request Dean Gottschall made of all department chairmen that recommendations on tenure be made prior to January 15th. Professor Hubert requested a delay, calling a meeting on February 14th and then at the Dean's insistence. This had the effect of displacing Professor Linehan, who retired February 1st, and who has since stated to several people that he would have voted to grant tenure to Dr. Lorch. Professor Gill succeeded Professor Linehan automatically as the only available full professor in the department. Professor Gill has stated that he has no objection to Dr. Lorch, and that he voted against granting tenure to Dr. Lorch only because of his conviction that a department chairman should have full and exclusive authority to direct the affairs of the department.

230-1

DECISION OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

The Review Committee, after receiving the minority report, invited Professor Hubert to present his point of view, but did not call before it either the authors of the minority report or Dr. Lorch.

Dean Gottschall, a member of the Review Committee, subsequently informed Professor Henry Malin of the mathematics department that the Review Committee had accepted the recommendation of the Committee on Appointments on the ground that Dr. Lorch allegedly does not get along with his colleagues. Professor Malin protested vigorously that, on the contrary, Dr. Lorch gets along very well with his colleagues, and exhorted Dean Gottschall to verify this assertion by interviewing each member of the department. He pointed out that this was the first specific reason offered for Dr. Lorch's dismissal, and that it was contrary to the facts. Dean Gottschall thereafter interviewed several members of the Department of Mathematics. We have good reasons to believe that these men expressed very high opinions of Dr. Lorch, both as a colleague and as a person.

DECISION OF THE PRESIDENT

Several professors of the department called upon President Wright to intervene on Dr. Lorch's behalf. They assured President Wright that Dr. Lorch is not only a valuable member of their department but that he is congenial with his colleagues. President Wright in turn assured these professors that the question of granting tenure to Dr. Lorch would be discussed again by the Review Committee.

The Review Committee met the next day and referred the matter to the President.

Dr. Lorch later had a personal interview with President Wright during which the President stated that he would sustain the dismissal. He refused to state any reasons for this action, and admitted that Dr. Lorch's teaching ability, professional competence, attention to duty and general helpfulness were not in question.

President Wright subsequently notified Dr. Lorch of his dismissal in a one-sentence letter the full text of which we quote: "This is to notify you that according to action of the appropriate committees of the college your existing appointment in the City College will not be renewed." No reasons are given, nor is there any statement of the President's own responsibility in sustaining the dismissal.

[ENC]

Dr. Lorch thereupon wrote President Wright requesting a statement of the reasons for the dismissal, but has not received a reply.

ANALYSIS OF THE CASE

It is clear from the preceding statements that Dr. Lorch is conceded to be a well-qualified, highly competent and efficient mathematician and a valuable member of the Department of Mathematics. The recommendation made by the professors of the department that he be promoted to the rank of assistant professor, and the intervention on Dr. Lorch's behalf of so many of his colleagues, indicate the esteem in which he is held and the dismay with which his proposed dismissal is viewed.

Professor Hubert, as chairman of the Department, initiated the following procedures, which require investigation and review:

1. He postponed action on tenure until after the retirement of Professor Linehan.

2. He offered his Committee on Appointments no valid reason for desiring the dismissal of Dr. Lorch.

3. He misrepresented the views of his department when he alleged to the Review Committee that Dr. Lorch does not get along with his colleagues.

In providing procedures for appeals from decisions of departmental committees, the Board of Higher Education expected the higher authorities to make independent investigations and to render independent judgments rather than merely to rubber-stamp the recommendations of the lower authorities. The evidence indicates that the Review Committee and the President did not discharge their duties properly. The decision of the Review Committee to sustain the recommendation of the Appointments Committee was reached after a consultation with the Department Chairman only. When the Review Committee reopened the question at a subsequent meeting it evaded its responsibility by referring the matter to the President. The president, on the other hand, placed the responsibility on what he called "the appropriate committees of the college," in his letter to Dr. Lorch. The Board of Higher Education should therefore discount the recommendations of the Review Committee and of the President and make its own investigation of the facts of the case.

Up to the very moment that the Department Committee acted against Dr. Lorch, he was led to believe that his work was entirely satisfactory. His colleagues praised him highly. Even the Chairman of the Department, by assigning elective courses and honors students to him, made it appear that he had a great deal of confidence in Dr. Lorch and thus gave the impression that he favored his retention. Under these circumstances the failure to grant Dr. Lorch tenure would be a gross act of injustice. Whatever the merit of the by-laws concerning probationers, surely they were never intended to act as a cover for bad faith!

The arguments for the retention of Dr. Lorch are admittedly strong. It was only natural, therefore, for Dr. Lorch and his colleagues to ask for the reasons for his unexpected dismissal. However, both Chairman Hubert and President Wright rebuffed all inquiries from Dr. Lorch and his colleagues, and, more recently, the Student Council, with a terse refusal to state any explicit reasons. The consistent silence of the administration and the compelling evidences of Dr. Lorch's value force us to conclude that the dismissal is for reasons irrelevant to his work at the College. What can these reasons be?

Is Dr. Lorch being dismissed because he is Jewish? It may be recalled that in 1941 Professor Hubert, in his capacity as supervisor of mathematics for the Evening Session, required the teachers under his supervision to state their religious affiliations to him in writing.

While it is true that the department appointments committee voted to confer tenure on two Jews it must be observed that both these men held tenure in Townsend Harris High School, the former preparatory school of the college. The services of one of them began in 1923, of the other, in 1927. Their high equity in the pension system, the obligations recognized by the Board for the placement of such men, and their own outstanding qualifications, would have made their dismissal well-nigh impossible in the light of the current situation.

[ENC]

Is Dr. Lorch being dismissed because of his public activities as vice-chairman of the Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, where he is helping to fight against Jim-Crowism?

Or is there some other reason which is also so irrelevant that it cannot bear the light of day? The College administration must bear the responsibility for raising these questions unless it reappoints Dr. Lorch and investigates the procedures by which he was dismissed.

The treatment accorded Dr. Lorch by the College administration stands in sharp contrast with that accorded to Mr. Davis and Professor Knickerbocker. The latter are being strongly supported. They have recently received salary increments beyond those mandated in the law. Mr. Davis was removed from his post in Army Hall because he was shown to have segregated Negro students resident there. He was then placed in the Economics Department as an instructor, although he lacks the academic qualifications set forth in the Board's by-laws. His salary in that position was increased $1,392 to the maximum now permitted by law. Dr. Lorch, on the contrary, possesses all the academic requirements for a position even higher than instructor, is a war veteran, and is an active and public opponent of segregation and discrimination. The college administration has placed itself in the position of supporting and favoring those who practice bigotry, while dismissing and penalizing a man who fights bigotry.

Dr. Lorch's dismissal would be a serious blow to the Department of Mathematics. His services have been far greater than those required of most members of the department. He has taught elective courses and has supervised honors work. He has served on departmental and interdepartmental committees. He has made stimulating and constructive suggestions for improving the work of the department, as testified by several of his colleagues. The poor reward proposed for such signal services will have a detrimental effect on the morale of other members of the department.

Dr. Lorch's connections with the Asia Institute have proved valuable to the art students at the City College.

The City College will find it difficult to secure the services of able mathematicians when the news of Dr. Lorch's unjust treatment spreads in mathematical circles. This point among others, has been made by influential mathematicians, not connected with the City College, who have written letters to President right on Dr. Lorch's behalf.

It is the intent of the people of this city, state and nation that every consideration be given to veterans in the matter of employment and promotion in public service. Whatever the legalities involved -- and we believe that these rest with Dr. Lorch -- it is obvious that, in dismissing Dr. Lorch, the college is subverting the desire of the public to express its gratitude to those who served capably and honorably in World War II.

CONCLUSION

To secure justice for Dr. Lorch, to establish harmony in the mathematics department, to enhance the professional reputation of the Department of Mathematics of the City College, to improve the relations of the City College with the community, the Teachers Union urges the Board of Higher Education to grant tenure to Dr. Lorch and to promote him as recommended by his department.

uopwa-16

[Teachers Union]

Teachers Union

LOCAL 555, UPW - CIO 206 WEST 15th STREET, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. WATKINS 4-5524

Established 1916

President: Abraham Lederman; *Legislative Representative:* Rose V. Russell; *Treasurer:* Samuel C. Greenfield; *Secretary:* Celia Lewis Zitron

Vice-Presidents

Anne Morganstern, *Elementary Schools;* Ella Ratner, *Junior High Schools;* Eugene Jackson, *High Schools;* Irving Glucksman, *Vocational High Schools;* Joseph Bressler, *Colleges;* Adele Lithauer, *Private Schools;* Samuel Wallach, *Organization*

April 28, 1949

Dear Friend:

You remember the shocking events last winter when a New York City teacher — Mrs. Minnie Gutride — committed suicide after a political grilling by school officials on the eve of the Christmas holidays. Perhaps you were one of the hundreds of citizens who wrote to the Superintendent of Schools, the Board of Education and the Mayor, expressing your condemnation of this un-American invasion of a teacher's civil rights as well as the brutal tactics employed.

It was at about the same time that Mr. Abraham Lederman, President of the Teachers Union, was similarly questioned. We feel sure that the many expressions of outrage, and insistence that teachers be judged by their professional performance and conduct, had a sobering effect upon the educational authorities and the City administration.

Unfortunately, in apparent response to the constant goading of the Journal-American, and spurred by the passage of the Feinberg Law in New York State, Superintendent of Schools William Jansen has resumed his hunt for political heresy. The Feinberg Law, as you know, was rushed through the Legislature in a burst of hysteria during the closing hours and signed by Governor Dewey with unseemly haste less than two days later, in order to forestall the mounting tide of protest, of which the following excerpts are characteristic:

> "It is enacting into law the untenable and illiberal theory of guilt by association... The Board of Regents could easily be diverted...into a constant state-wide pursuit of local heresy..."
>
> (N. Y. TIMES, March 28 '49)

> It "...could effectively stifle academic freedom...May well discourage those who value independence from entering the teaching profession..."
>
> (N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, April 11 '49)

Affiliated with: New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO; New York Women's Trade Union League; National Education Association

Again selecting the eve of religious holy days and school holidays — this time the eve of Easter and Passover — Dr. Jansen summoned a number of teachers to his office, among them Teachers Union Secretary Celia Lewis Zitron, to be questioned about their political beliefs and associations.

The enclosed statement which Mrs. Zitron submitted to Dr. Jansen, and her 26-year record of service in and out of the classroom which we have appended to it, will give you some idea of her devotion to the welfare of the children and her superlative contributions to the teaching profession, the improvement of school conditions and the development of democratic principles in education. The Superintendent's admitted indifference to Mrs. Zitron's scholarship, competence and record of service was the most shocking aspect of the interview in which he declared his only interest to be in her political beliefs and associations.

24-225

While the newspapers daily bring reports of a growing teacher shortage and our schools show the effects of inadequate budgets and shameful neglect, Superintendent Jansen is busy trying to dismiss from the schools some of our best and most experienced teachers, teachers who have been most active in fighting for increased city and state appropriations. His actions are contributing to the widespread attempts to destroy constitutional liberties and subvert our democracy.

May we ask once again that you write to Superintendent Jansen, protesting his questioning of Mrs. Zitron and other teachers. Urge that he respect the freedom of teachers — both academic and constitutional. Ask that the fitness of teachers be judged by their professional conduct and performance in the classroom, in accordance with the laws governing the tenure of teachers, not by any political test.

If convenient, we suggest that copies of your communication be sent to Mr. Andrew G. Clauson, Jr., President of the Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., to Mayor William O'Dwyer, City Hall, N. Y., and to us.

We shall be happy to furnish you with additional material, and look forward to your continued support on these crucial issues.

Yours very sincerely,

Rose V. Russell

Rose V. Russell
Legislative Representative

RVR:ry
uopwa/16

Teachers Union, Local 555, UPW-CIO 206 W. 15th St., N. Y. C.

April 22, 1949

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY CELIA LEWIS ZITRON, TEACHER, TO DR. WILLIAM JANSEN SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, AT HIS OFFICE ON APRIL 14, 1949 IN REPLY TO HIS QUESTIONS ABOUT HER POLITICAL BELIEFS AND ASSOCIATIONS

"I have been a teacher of Latin for almost 26 years. For some 8 years, I also taught Hebrew. In all that time, I have received high praise from my supervisors. I have been especially commended for my fine influence on the children. Students have been glad to be in my classes. During Open School Week, parents have come to thank me for my kindness to their children and my interest in them.

"Aside from my teaching, I have rendered other services to the schools. In 1929, at the request of Associate Superintendent Jacob Greenberg, I introduced the study of Hebrew into the high schools. For a number of years, I spent many hours after school, as well as on Sundays and even during summer vacations, working on a curriculum and on a textbook for this subject. My name appears in the introduction to the first Hebrew textbook used in the high schools. I have been a grade adviser. I have acted as faculty adviser to student clubs. I have been in charge of a magazine for Latin students.

"In addition, my main interest almost from the day of my appointment has been the improvement of conditions for teachers and students. I have given much of my spare time to working for these objectives. Because I have considered it the most effective organization for achieving these ends, I have worked through the Teachers Union.

"Yet, you have called me to ask questions entirely irrelevant to my conduct as a teacher. You summoned me at a few hours' notice on the eve of a religious holy day.

"You have not given me the right to have counsel present.

"I believe that you do not have the right to inquire into my personal beliefs and associations. What you are doing violates the rights granted all citizens under our Constitution. It helps break down civil liberties. It harms the teachers and the schools. It creates an atmosphere of suspicion and fear.

"I should be acting contrary to all my principles, to my belief in freedom of thought and freedom of conscience, to my devotion to the rights of teachers as free citizens if I were to take any part in helping the heresy-hunt in which you are engaged."

# # #

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SCHOLASTIC AND PROFESSIONAL RECORD OF CELIA LEWIS ZITRON

Phi Beta Kappa - Prizes in Latin and Greek at Hunter.

Master's degree in English literature at Columbia.

Leader in fight for salaries, for academic freedom and democracy in schools.

Chairman of Academic Freedom Committee 1935-1942. Led fight which resulted in setting up of elected teachers' interest committees in many schools.

Secretary of editorial committee of the "American Teacher" -- national magazine of American Federation of Teachers - 1935-1939.

Editor of "New York Teacher News," 1943-1947.

Co-author of "Academic Freedom in Time of Crisis," "Safeguard Their Future" (on juvenile delinquency), "Schools for Victory" (on mobilizing schools behind the war effort).

Chairman - Rubin Defense Committee.

Secretary of Teachers Union, member of Academic Freedom Committee.

# # #

uopwa/16

[Teachers Union]

May 10, 1949

Miss Rose V. Russell
Teachers Union
206 West 15th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Russell:

Answering your letter of April 28, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad and is not expected to return until about the end of this month.

I will bring your letter to his attention as soon as he returns to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Telephone: LOcust 7-6763

Teachers Union of Philadelphia

LOCAL 556, UPW — CIO

54 NORTH THIRTEENTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Sent Copies

January 17, 1949.

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
409 Edgcomb Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23-9-39

Each year the Teachers Union holds a city wide conference to which many hundreds of teachers and parents come. The conference this year will be held at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia on Saturday March 5th. The theme is "Academic Freedom" and morning panels and luncheon deal with the crucial issues surrounding this problem. The general emphasis will be on Academic Freedom as it affects the classroom teacher, the avenues of communication and civil liberties and the general economic picture of inflation from an over all point of view.

It is especially urgent this year to give teachers the unique opportunity to hear speakers whose contribution to the thinking and action along this line has been of basic impart. Therefore, we are very anxious to secure your participation. We know how busy you are, but urgently appeal to you. Teachers are in great need of inspiration, guidance and courage to help them over this period of retrenchment of their civil liberties.

Please consent to be with us. A prompt reply will be greatly appreciated. Further information will be forwarded on receipt of your affirmative answer.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith Hurley

Edith Hurley
Chairman, Education Policies Comm.

EH:dls
uopwa-2 cio

Francis P. Jennings, *President*; Aaron Kerman, *Vice-President*; Olga Thompson, *Vice-President*; Miriam Stiefel, *Vice-President*; Adeline L. Mahoney, *Legislative Representative*; Sylvia Karr, *Corresponding Secretary*; Dorothy Munson, *Recording Sec.*; Bernard August, *Financial Sec.*; David Perloff, *Treasurer*

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 26, 1949

Miss Edith Hurley
Teachers Union of Philadelphia
CIO #556--UPW
54 North 13th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

23-9-40

My dear Miss Hurley:

I thank you very much for your invitation of January 17, but regret to say that I have already accepted an ~~engagement~~ to speak in Philadelphia in March and do not feel free to take another engagement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

October 17, 1949

23-40-41

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell
1615 S Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Terrell:

I have looked into the records of the NAACP and find in the first annual report of the Association, January 1911, your name printed as a member of the General Committee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL

1615 S Street N. W., Washington 9, D. C.

Oct. 22, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-7-19

Thank you very, very much for looking to the records of the NAACP to get me the information for which I asked. Busy as you are, I appreciate the favor you have done me more than I can tell you. But, as usual, when you do a human being a favor, the wretch is apt to ask you to do her another. Please tell me whether the fact that my name is printed in the first annual report of the Association proves my contention that I was one of the founders. You say my name is printed in the first annual report , January 1911, as a member of the General Committee. Am I correct in saying I was one of the founders?

As I told you, I was asked to come to New York when I was filling engagements in New Orleans and other cities in Louisiana to attend the meeting at which the NAACP was formed. I canceled engagements, paid my fare, and attended that meeting. It seems to me that entitles me to call myself one of the founders. Am I right?

If you will be saintly enough to answer this weighty question, I solemnly promise not to pester you any more.

Gratefully and sincerely yours

Mary Church Terrell

October 28, 1949

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell
1615 S Street N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

3-7-20

My dear Mrs. Terrell:

The original Conference which led to the founding of the NAACP, was held in New York in 1909, and so far as I know there is no printed report of the persons then present.

Usually we count the founding of the NAACP with the incorporation in 1910 and the first general committee appointed after the formal incorporation of the organization had your name among its members. I should think, therefore, it would be fair to say that you were one of the persons in the original governing committee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mark address card

T. O. THACKREY
P. O. BOX 210
MURRAY HILL STATION
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

April 11, 1949

Dear Friend:

Bishop Baker, Clarence Pickett and I are very pleased that you have signed the Open Letter to the President and the Congress concerning the Atlantic Pact.

It now appears that we may be able to run the letter, together with the names of all signers, as a full-page advertisement in several of the nation's leading daily newspapers.

Will you be good enough to indicate on the enclosed card, your willingness to have your name used in this connection? We are anxious to have the ad appear as soon as possible and would therefore appreciate hearing from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

T. O. Thackrey

T. O. Thackrey

232-2

Carrez. T

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mrs. Dorothy Thompson
~~342 Blum Street~~ — Sent c/o Yolande Du Bois Wallace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-51-9

My dear Dorothy:

I have been to Baltimore again without seeing you. I have kept meaning to write to tell you how much I appreciate your kindness to the family during our troubles and the time you take to call on Mrs. Du Bois. It is very, very thoughtful of you and I hope I may sometime repay it in some way.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Tomorrow
THE MAGAZINE OF THE FUTURE
EILEEN J. GARRETT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Magazine Article

ELEVEN EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-0078

May 19, 1949

23-2-4

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y..

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Klaus Mann knows what is going on in the minds of thinking men and women all over Europe. He has talked recently with Andre Gide, Martin Andersen-Nexoe and Anna Seghers, with intellectual advocates of Stalinism, disciples of Existentialism, and converts to the new religious mysticism.

In his article, Europe's Search for a New Credo, which appears in the June issue of TOMORROW, Klaus Mann sums up these conversations. His conclusions are necessarily unhappy ones; yet he sounds a strong note of optimism.

A brilliant definition of the intellectual, a concise and searching appraisal of Sartre's new philosophy, a frank estimate of Gary Davis' influence--these are but a few of the highlights.

We hope you will enjoy the article and will want to call it to the attention of others. We should be glad to hear your comments about it.

Sincerely,

Lenore Davison

Lenore Davison
Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief

25th ANNIVERSARY 1925-50

DR. J. S. CHAIKOFF
PRESIDENT
MAX E. BURSTYN
MANAGER

TORONTO JEWISH FOLK CHOIR

EMIL GARTNER, CONDUCTOR

83 CHRISTIE STREET • TORONTO, CANADA

23-42-43

August 16, 1949.

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Massis & Mainstream,
832 Broadway Ave.,
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are taking the liberty of writing you with reference to the Silver Jubilee season of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir.

For our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Year, we are establishing a Committee of Sponsors of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir consisting of distinguished citizens, artists and musicians of the international and national arena.

We would be greatly indebted to you if you would extend to us the honor and privilege of including your name on this list of sponsors.

We are certain your sponsorship would add profoundly to the prestige of our organization and would be of great assistance and value to us in the work we are doing.

We trust you will give our letter your careful consideration and we look forward to an early reply from you.

Respectfully yours,

TORONTO JEWISH FOLK CHOIR

J S Chaikoff M.D.

JSC/lk

DR. J. S. CHAIKOFF
President

EMIL GARTNER
Musical Director

Toronto Jewish Folk Choir

JEWISH FOLK CHOIR WITH TORONTO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

The season 1949-50 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir—a quarter century devoted to bringing the song of the Jewish people to the widest audience. We feel proud that we have succeeded, to a high degree, in what we consider to be our main purpose.

From its modest beginning up to the present day of greater achievement, the Jewish Folk Choir has always strived to communicate to its listeners the true song of our people in a worthy and dignified manner; to traverse with its songs the whole of our people's very being, its heart and spirit, its history and its aspirations. Too, as we believe in the profound kinship of all of mankind's peoples and nations, we reflect this conviction by singing in many different tongues. Thus it is only natural that we have brought to our audience a host of new and unfamiliar works. And to round out the picture of its endeavours it should be said that the Choir was not amiss with the present day and the spirit of our times by constantly giving voice and encouragement to the contemporary composer and poet.

Because of the devoted and constant pursuit of these aims the Jewish Folk Choir has achieved a place of note in the musical life of Canada. Outside of its own performances, radio broadcasts and recordings, the Jewish Folk Choir has actively participated in the communal life of Toronto. It has sung at many important public functions before a cross-section of the community —at the synagogue, the church and the secular assembly hall.

The artistic advance of the Jewish Folk Choir, particularly during the last several years, is largely the result of Mr. Emil Gartner's advent as its musical director. His warm personality and truly inspired musicianship arouses the ever-renewed enthusiasm and esteem from his singers and audience. His sensitivity to and profound grasp of the vast range of musical literature is reflected in the Choir's exceptionally wide repertory.

The two-score and four years of our Choir's work has borne fruit. It has contributed to the understanding amongst peoples. It has foraged into new musical fields. The Choir's name has endeared itself to the heart of thousands. The song of our people has been nurtured and upheld.

On the occasion if its Silver Jubilee, the Jewish Folk Choir of Toronto re-dedicates itself to continue in its work of love and strive towards still nobler achievements.

Criticism and Comments

Handel's work sung in Yiddish was never grander . . . capacity audience when Handel's "Judas Maccabaeus", rendered by Jewish Folk Choir under the direction of Emil Gartner . . . It was an experience for one music-lover at least to hear Handel's challenging and beautiful oratorio sung in a strange tongue . . . Mr. Gartner inspired his singers; his interpretation of the oratorio had high intuition and discipline . . . The loveliest number of all was "Ah, Wretched Israel," first in soprano solo and then for chorus. Nothing could be imagined more beautiful than this. It was singing that belonged to a House of Prayer rather than in a concert hall.

Edward W. Wodson, Toronto Telegram, Mon. Nov. 30, 1942.

* * *

Jewish Folk Choir capped its climaxes on Saturday in singing, first time in America, Shaporin's dramatized oratorio, "On The Fields of Kulikovo." . . . A hazardous epic, not so much in harmonies as in changes of key, declamatory drama and precarious transitions of rhythm . . . they watched the baton and sang with intense interest—a story of heroic delineation . . . The epilogue, with quartet, choir and orchestra, brilliantly carried the composer's final message of patriotic exhortation.

Augustus Bridle, Toronto Daily Star, Mon. Feb. 14, 1944.

* * *

The Jewish Folk Choir, which, under the direction of Emil Gartner, has become one of the most active of local musical organizations, gave another novel program at Eaton Auditorium last night . . . Its chief feature was a one-act operetta, "Goldfaden Spectacle," produced with scenery in the style of Chauve Souris, and a long cast of principals . . . As many readers are now aware, it is an organization of brilliant tonal quality which sings with vital and vivacious expression under Mr. Gartner's vigilant and imaginative direction.

Hector Charlesworth, Toronto Globe and Mail, Sat. May 27, 1944.

BROADCASTING OVER THE C.B.C. NETWORK

JAN PEERCE WITH THE JEWISH FOLK CHOIR

REHEARSING WITH ACCOMPANIST FAGEL GARTNER AT THE PIANO

BENJAMIN ZEMACH AT CURTAIN CALL FOR "BENYOMIN HASHLISHI"

PAUL ROBESON SINGING WITH THE CHOIR

Criticism and Comments

The choir's main number was the oratorio Biro-Bidjan by the Yiddish lyricist Peretz Markish and composer Jacob Schaefer . . . This was good music, interesting music, and music which is seldom heard by non-Jewish members of the community . . . The choir sings with energy, precision and great emotional intensity. The overall quality of its performance, and of the orchestra's, was high indeed.

Allan Sangster, Toronto Globe and Mail, Sat. May 11, 1946.

* * *

Featuring five important musical numbers heard in Canada for the first time, the Jewish Folk Choir and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra under the leadership of Emil Gartner, presented a remarkably fine program to a large audience at Massey Hall last night . . . Leading all other items on a varied program, both in interest and excellence, was the Hebrew Requiem, based on Psalm 92, by Eric Zeisl. This is one of the most gripping pieces of elegaic composition in the history of music . . . An immediately following choral passage, with full orchestra, breaks that spell, but only to weave another one, different, but no less potent in reducing all one's reactions to a single emotion about as deep as the heart can bear.

Colin Sabiston, Toronto Globe and Mail, Wed. March 26, 1947.

* * *

An attempt at evaluation of Wednesday night's concert by the Jewish Folk Choir and Paul Robeson on a strictly musical level would be both unfair and futile. It is not that the performance could not stand close inspection from this point of view. The choir, now mercilessly driven, now tenderly coaxed by its uncanny conductor, Mr. Gartner, climbed to impressive heights of discipline, suppleness and sonority. The point is that the sometimes almost stunning striking power of the whole is derived not primarily from the music itself but directly from—predominantly tragic—contemporary experience, be it the gas-oven (Ani Mamin), ghetto rebellion (Nein! Nein!), the losing fight of the Spanish Loyalists (Rumbala), the imperilled achievements of Palestinian settlers (Smol Ymin) or the pressure chamber south ot the Dixie line (group of spirituals).

E. M. Oppenheimer, The Varsity, Fri. Nov. 21, 1946.

* * *

First performance of a beautiful and profoundly moving musical work, a cantata by the American composer Bernard Rogers, "A Letter From Pete," was given in Toronto last night at Massey Hall and in the presence of the composer. The work was a commission of the Jewish Folk Choir of Toronto, which choir sang it last night under the direction of Emil Gartner—with orchestral collaboration from the Toronto Symphony Orchestra . . . Mr. Gartner must indeed have expended a great deal of most devoted care to the preparation of this work and the choristers a great deal of conscientious and intelligent study; for the acuteness of perception in approach to the spirit as well as the letter of the work, were extraordinarily fine . . . All the sections were good, the sopranos of whom much was expected in sustained pure tone, especially satisfying.

Rose MacDonald, Toronto Telegram, Thurs. April 7, 1948.

* * *

Once more adding breadth and freshness to the Toronto music field, the Jewish Folk Choir gave an important concert last night in Massey Hall . . . The choir continued its policy of presenting a new and worthy composition . . . While it progresses steadily to more difficult art song, this choir keeps its folk character in that its members sing as if all the music really expressed their own feelings and as if they were singing it for that reason. Thus they sound like a chorus of the people when they sing a Handel chorus, and not as if they were merely play-acting a community expression by music.

Pearl McCarthy, Toronto Globe and Mail, Wed. April 7, 1948.

* * *

An unusual work was the first performance in Canada of Benjamin Britten's Ballad of Heroes, a dramatic story for chorus and orchestra. The composition revealed variety seldom found in composers of this century. Elements of modernism are part and parcel of Britten's vocabulary, excursions into new possibilities of chord structure, tonality, rhythm. The fine diction of soprano soloist Shirley Newman and the choir gave the text meaning to the audience.

Court Stone, Toronto Globe and Mail, Wed. March 23, 1948.

Critics and Comments

The Jewish Folk Choir's concert in Massey Hall last week was a triumph. And it is no negation of the musicianship of the group and its director Emil Gartner, to say that the triumph is even more spiritual than musical. Every word, every phrase and verse is sung not only with satisfying musical effect, but with point and meaning. The visual effect is often as thrilling as the music itself—to see the emotional expressions on the faces of the singers . . . In Schubert's Miriam's Song of Triumph (presented here for the first time) one could feel without understanding a single word of the Yiddish text, the triumph, the sorrow, the reverence, the jubiliation of the Hebrew people liberated from Pharaoh's yoke.

John Stuart, Canadian Tribune, Sat. April 17, 1948.

* * *

The applause that greeted the performance of Max Helfman's "Di Naye Hagode" at Massey Hall a week ago Tuesday spoke volumes. In effect, it was a tribute by an audience overwhelmed by brilliance, an audience mainly composed of Jews who had seen their culture expressed with visual artistry and had heard it sung and played with matchless excellence. It was an unforgettable evening, and the Jewish Folk Choir may rightly claim credit for it . . . No little thanks for this is due to Emil Gartner himself. His leadership of the Choir during this hour-long performance was superb, and under his guidance, Choir and Orchestra worked with sensitivity and fine co-ordination.

Nathan Cohen, Canadian Jewish Weekly, Thurs. March 31, 1949.

* * *

A big crowd assembled at Massey Hall last night for the concert staged by Mr. Emil Gartner and his Jewish Folk Choir, with very able assistance from his visiting soloist, Jan Peerce . . . To end part one of the program he (Peerce) joined the choir in two quite unusual songs . . . in which Choir and soloist mingled voices extremely well . . . Mr. Emil Gartner deserves nothing but praise, not only for his work in assembling and coaching this fine group of singers, but also for the work he has evidently put in the selection of songs for his programs. Last night's program, for example, was in the best sense expressive of what we think of as Jewish music, and it also had an appeal which was not in the least sectarian. It was a program to which anyone might listen for the fullest musical enjoyment.

Ronald Hambleton, Toronto Globe and Mail, Fri. May 27, 1949.

* * *

In the printed program of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir last week in Massey Hall was tucked a separate notice. "The Jewish Folk Choir," the message began, "will be celebrating its Silver Jubilee next season . . . We are planning a series of three concerts which should supersede any of the accomplishments already achieved."

But conductor Emil Gartner, his singers and accompanist Fagel Gartner will find it no easy task to beat their previous excellent record. The Jewish Folk Singers now comprise one of the foremost groups on this continent in interpretation of the rich literature of Jewish music. Besides, they have the technical capacities, the artistic sense and exploratory urge to tackle modern experimental things which many choirs would give up after a first rehearsal.

John Yocom, Saturday Night, Sat. June 12, 1949.

Partial Listing of Major Works Performed by Jewish Folk Choir

Judas Maccabaeus	Handel
Miriam's Song of Triumph	Schubert (C)
Joshua Ben Nun	Moussorgsky (C)
Farewell to a Hero	Kleinsinger (C)
Ballad for Heroes	Britten (N)
A Letter from Pete	Rogers (W)
Tzvei Brider	Schaefer (C)
Requiem Ebraico	Zeisl (W)
On the Fields of Kulikovo	Shaporin (N)
The New Hagada	Helfman (W)
To the Lands over Yonder	Weinzweig (C)
Lidice	Bush (N)
Yellow River	Hsu Hsing-Hai (C)
Elijah	Mendelssohn
Goldfaden Choral Pantomine	arr. Gartner (C)
New Year of the Trees	Low (C)
Hymn of Freedom	Rosowsky (C)
Benyomin Hashlishi	Helfman (C)
Biro-Bidjan	Schaefer (C)
Boris Godounov (Excerpts)	Moussorgsky
Shir Haemek	Lavri (C)
To the Jews of Poland	Wainer (C)

(C) Canadian Premiere
(N) North American Premiere
(W) World Premiere

9 Chambers Street
Boston
Massachusetts

March 24th, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director,
Council on African Affairs,
23 West 26 St.,
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Du Bois,

Many thanks indeed for your friendly tip about Miss Ruth Anna Fisher's unhappiness at my seeming lack of appreciation of her most generous letter to me. The fact is that I was delighted to receive it. She had read the John Hope book and liked it and most kindly told me so in words that revealed a sensitive and subtle understanding of what I had tried to do. It warmed my heart, and still I have let the weeks slide by without thanking her for her sweetness. I deserve to be kicked for my sloth and she shall now have an answer as soon as I return to New York and have her address at hand. I am here in Boston for a short time.

Meantime be sure I am grateful to you for taking the trouble to wake me up.

I still have pleasure in remembering our afternoon of your birthday. Please at least stay on the planet as long as I do.

Most warmly yours,

Ridgely Torrence

Ridgely Torrence

24-9-25

FROM: TOWN & VILLAGE TENANTS COMMITTEE TO END DISCRIMINATION IN STUYVESANT TOWN
(Oregon 3-9592 B. Livingston)

CHAIRMAN: Paul L. Ross

VICE-CHAIRMEN: Bill Mauldin; Rabbi Daniel I. Davis; Professor Robert M. Perry; Dr. Lee Lorch; Seymour Roman; Fred Zeserson.

SECRETARY: Mrs. Clara Faggen

23-42-55

February 18, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You have probably heard of the work of our Town & Village Tenants Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town. Our campaign to break down the Jim-Crow policy of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in this tremendous development has met with considerable success up until this time.

A survey we took of the tenants' desires concerning this issue revealed that over 62% favored admitting Negro families into Stuyvesant Town. We have over 3000 names affixed to a petition to Mayor O'Dwyer stating that we, the residents of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village, welcome Negroes as neighbors and urge him to use his influence to compel the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to stop their un-democratic practice of discrimination. The Mayor, so far, has refused to see a tenants' delegation which was chosen to present him with the petitions.

We now have a two-fold job before us. One is to create sufficient pressure upon the Mayor to persuade him to change his mind and second is to do an educational job for the people of the development. To carry out these tasks we are planning two major projects - one is a public forum on the question of discrimination and the other is a city-wide conference of organizations called for the purpose of organizing support throughout the city for this campaign.

What we are asking of you specifically is that you be kind enough to be one of our two major speakers at this forum which will be held on Thursday, March 3rd at 8:30 P.M. The other speaker will be Dr. Gene Welffish and our chairman, Paul L. Ross will be the chairman for the evening. Your name and reputation would be of inestimable value to us in the furtherance of our campaign and in assuring a full attendance at the forum.

Won't you be good enough to consider this request favorably?

Cordially,

Bernice F. Livingston

Bernice F. Livingston
Publicity Committee
4 Peter Cooper Road
New York 10 New York

[TOWN & VILLAGE]

23-42-54

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Miss Bernice F. Livingston
Publicity Committee
4 Peter Cooper Road
New York 10, New York

My dear Miss Livingston:

I sympathize very much with the work which y ur committee is doing but I regret to say that I cannot accept any further engagements for March. I have been overworked during February and must not add to the commitments which I already have.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

594 UNIVERSITY PLACE. N. W.

ATLANTA. GEORGIA

June 24, 1949.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am sending enclosed a page from last Sunday's "Journal" which may answer some of your questions. I expected to get this morning some information from a former resident, but it has not yet come. If it should come soon I will send it at once.

We were glad to get the news about Mrs. Du Bois and the others of your family. We think and speak of all of you often and we join in sending to "you all" our affectionate regards.

Yours sincerely,

George A. Towns

23-5-3

President
Mrs. Fannie Lonon

Vice President
Mrs. Cora MacKerrow

Clerk
Mrs. Alice Scott

Member of Greater Boston Community Fund

Corresponding Secretary
Mrs. Nora V. Sewall

Treasurer
Rev. Alexander A. Perry
142 Walnut Avenue
Roxbury, Massachusetts
Telephone HI 5-5756

Assistant Treasurer
Miss Irene C. West

HARRIET TUBMAN HOUSE, INC.

25 - 27 HOLYOKE STREET
BOSTON 16, MASSACHUSETTS
Telephone: CI 7-9227

Mrs. Olivia J. Steele, Director Social Activities—CO 6-2265

January 11, 1949

23-52-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

Many thanks for the check, but thanks above all for telling me just how you folk responded to the portrait of the baby.

Do I note that something went awry at Christmas? Was it illness, or what? I can't think of any trouble now days that doesn't involve one from a monetary standpoint. If this be the case, and some unexpected expense has arisen, do you not know me well enough to be utterly honest and frank about it? If you need this now, then please, please don't be stuffy and do what you think or judge to be 'the correct thing'. I shall not cash the check until I hear from you.

Be happy and have a splendid New Year.

Love,

Celestine Doch.

28-52-19

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Mrs. Celestine Dorch
Harriet Tubman House, Inc.
25-27 Holyoke Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Celestine:

Don't be silly, cash the check!

If it hadn't been good I would not have sent it.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-27

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

APRIL 12, 1949

DAVID TYSON
878 KELLY STREET
BRONX, NEW YORK

TEACHERS AND OFFICIALS WHOSE RACIAL PREJUDICES INFLUENCE THEIR WORK HAVE NO PLACE IN COLLEGES. I SYMPATHIZE WITH ALL LAWFUL EFFORT TO GET RID OF THEM.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

(SENT OVER PHONE** APRIL 12, 1949,)

[1949] [USSR]

NO ACCT

DUPLICATE CABLE

TIME TELEPHONED

LR

WWW COUNCIL WW ON AFRICIAN AFFAIRS 23 WEST 26TH ST NY TM 27 15

MU 3 6209 PM 12 55

LC ACADEMICIAN GREKOV TEN KROPOTKINSTREET MOSCOW (USSR) MRT

ACCEPT WITH PLEASURE INVITATION TO PEACE CONGRESS

MOSCOW AUGUST 25 WILL ATTEND IF POSSIBLE AND CABLE

TIME OF ARRIVAL

WEB DUBOISW

23-40-52

All America Cables · Commercial Cables · Mackay Radio

Telephone Confirmation THIS MESSAGE RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE AND FORWARDED SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON BACK OF OUR REGULAR MESSAGE FORMS.

Moscow Peace Conference

September 20, 1949

Mr. V. Makarov
Third Secretary of the
Embassy of the USSR
1125 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

23-40-57

My dear Mr. Makarov:

I arrived in the United States, Friday, September 16, at noon. I want to tell you what a very interesting and valuable trip I have had and to thank you and the Counselor of the Embassy for the opportunity.

I arrived in Moscow, August 23, and stayed until September 3. I attended the Peace Congress and saw a good deal of the city. Mr. Zuev, of Voks was kind enough to act as my interpretator during that time and I stayed at the Hotel National. On my way back I stopped in Poland and Czechoslovakia and finally spent a few days in France.

My best regards to you and your fellow officials.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S.S.R.]

EMBASSY OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

October "18", 1949.

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York IO, N.Y.

23-8-10

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are sending you herewith four booklets which we have recently received from VOKS and been requested to transfer them to you.

Sincerely yours,
V. Makarov
V.Makarov,
Third Secretary.

[U.S.S.R.]

October 28, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois accepts with pleasure
the invitation of the Ambassador of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics and Mrs. Panyushkin
for the reception on the Thirty-Second Anniversary
of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

23-8-9

Russia

The Ambassador
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
and Mrs. Panyushkin
request the honor of your company
at a reception
on the occasion of the Thirty-second Anniversary
of the Great October Socialist Revolution
on Monday the seventh of November
from five until seven o'clock
at the Embassy

1125 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

R.s.v.p.

[U.S.S.R.]

С С С Р

ВСЕСОЮЗНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУЛЬТУРНОЙ СВЯЗИ С ЗАГРАНИЦЕЙ

Москва 56, Б. Грузинская, 17 Тел.: Д 2-03-24, Д 2-07-26 — Адрес для телеграмм: Москва Культсвязь

THE U.S.S.R. SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES	SOCIÉTÉ POUR LES RELATIONS CULTURELLES ENTRE L'U.R.S.S. ET LES PAYS ÉTRANGERS	GESELLSCHAFT FÜR KULTURELLE VERBINDUNG DER SOWJETUNION MIT DEM AUSLAND
Moscow 56, Bolshaya Gruzinskaya, 17	Moscou 56, Bolchaïa Grouzinskaïa, 17	Moskau 56, Bolschaja Grusinskaja, 17
Cables: Moscow Cultsvias	Adresse télégraphique: Cultsvias Moscou	Telegrammadresse: Kultswjas Moskau

№..... Moscow 27 Dec. 1949 г.

23-41-23

Mr.William E.B.Du Bois
c/o Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York

Dear Mr.Du Bois,

This is to inform you that we have subsribed you, c/o Council on African Affairs, for 1950 to two Soviet periodicals published here in English: USSR in Construction and New Times. We hope you will get facts and figures from them which may prove useful to you.

Under separate cover we are sending you now the following materials which we think might be of interest to you :

1. M.I.Kalinin - On Communist Education. Selected Speeches and Articles.
2. Democratic Basis of Organization and Activity of Soviet People's Court, - a lecture in Russian
3. USSR in Construction, Nos.6,8 for 1949 (English)

Articles:

The Flourishing of Soviet Culture in the Post-War Period (Facts and Figures)

I.Novikov - School Education.

Soviet Men and Women on Peace (Chronicle)

We have read with great interest your articles in Soviet Russia Today and National Guardian describing your impressions of the Soviet Union.

We are returning you by mail your play "Black Man" which you kindly left here for consideration. We are thankful to you for having given us the opportunity to see your play.

p.t.o.

We passed it on to the VOKS Dramatic Section where they have also read it with great interest. They find, however, that the play is not suitable for publication or production here because of its pessimistic outlook.

Please accept our most sincere New Year greetings and wishes of good health and further success in your fruitful work.

Sincerely yours,

V. Bogatyrev

Vasily S. Bogatyrev
Chief, American Department
VOKS

UNITED DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AGAINST "LOYALTY" CHECKS

919½ WEST SIXTH STREET ● LOS ANGELES 14, CALIF. ● MU. 4239 ● CE. 2-9123

October 7, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th
New York 18, N. Y.

20-61-70

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Knowing the stand you have taken in public life, we are addressing you in connection with the United States Supreme Court hearing on the Los Angeles County employees "loyalty" check case. The case, scheduled for hearing in November of this year, will test the constitutionality of "loyalty oaths". It is the first case of its kind to reach the U.S. Supreme Court.

For the past two years, members of the United Defense Committee, composed of City, County and Federal workers, have been fighting attacks on workers in the name of "loyalty" checks. With the U.S. Supreme Court hearing of our case, we are faced with a gigantic task of acquainting the public of the facts in this case. The history and importance of this case is outlined in the enclosed pamphlet "IF WE REMAIN SILENT".

Mindful of Thomas Jefferson's admonition that:

> "It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own"

we earnestly ask your assistance in the following ways:

1. Discuss the pamphlet "IF WE REMAIN SILENT" with your friends and colleagues.
2. Arrange for appropriate publicity by means of a public statement regarding the civil rights issues involved.
3. Help us to attain the $7500.00 goal needed immediately for legal and printing costs.

We know that you understand the decisive importance of a victory in this case. Please give us your support.

Fraternally,

UNITED DEFENSE COMMITTEE
AGAINST "LOYALTY" CHECKS

Charlotte D. Franchi

CHARLOTTE D. FRANCHI, Chairman

88 CDF:vm
Enc.

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

EDITH HAMMER
PRESIDENT

JEFFREY VAN CLIEF
VICE-PRESIDENT

JOSEPH J. SIPOVIC
FIN'L. SECRETARY-TREASURER

BELLE BAILYNSON
ORGANIZER OF ACTIVITIES

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS of AMERICA
RADIO LOCAL 430

AL STEARN
BUSINESS MANAGER

BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES
MURRAY PORTNOY
FRANK WEINHEIMER

MATTHEW LIFF
RECORDING SECRETARY

139 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
ALGONQUIN 4-4519
426

December 1, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council of African Affairs Inc.
23 West 26 Street
New York, 10 N. Y.

23-1-19

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are having a trade Union forum at our Local headquarters, 139 Fifth Avenue, NewYork, N. Y., on Wednesday, January 11, 1950 at 7:00 P.M.,

We would like very much to have you as a speaker at this forum. We feel it is important that people who work in shops and belong to unions should have the opportunity to hear you, so that the fight for peace and against discrimination can be broadened.

Fraternally yours,

Belle Bailynson

Belle Bailynson
Organizer of Activities

Very sorry but I shall be in Chicago at that time

uopwa/16

December 3, 1949

Miss Belle Bailynson
United Electrical, Radio
and Machine Workers of America
139 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

23-1-20

Dear Miss Bailynson:

Answering your letter of December 3, may I say that I am very sorry but I shall be in Chicago on January 11, 1950 and therefore will be unable to speak for you.

I thank you for the invitation.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

United Nations | Nations Unies

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL | CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL

UNRESTRICTED

E/CN.4/161
18 April 1949

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Fifth session

Provisional Agenda

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Election of officers.
3. Invitation to the officers of the Commission on the Status of Women.
4. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities:
   (a) Terms of reference of the Sub-Commission.
   (b) Election of new members of the Sub-Commission.
5. Draft International Covenant on Human Rights and Measures of Implementation.
   (i) Draft prepared by the Drafting Committee (Annex B of E/800)
   (ii) Examination of documentation referred to the Commission by the General Assembly and by the Economic and Social Council in connexion with the drafting of the Covenant and Measures of Implementations:
      (a) The Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948, and the Resolution on International Machinery for Safeguarding Freedom of Association adopted by the thirty-first International Labour Conference (Council resolution E/1300);
      (b) Infringement of Trade Union Rights (Council resolution E/1236);
      (c) Survey of forced labour and measures for its abolition (Council resolution E/1237);
   (iii) Suggestions for Implementation (Annex C of E/800).
6. Right of Petition (General Assembly resolution 217 (III) B and Council resolution E/1162).
7. Report by the Secretary-General on the present situation with regard to communications concerning human rights.
8. The Fate of Minorities (General Assembly resolution 217 (III) C and Council resolution E/1162).
9. Report by the Secretary-General on the question of the continuing validity of the Minorities Treaties and Declarations (Council resolution 116 (VI) C).

/10. Examination

10. Examination of texts submitted by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities (paragraph 40 of E/600).
11. Local Human Rights Committee (paragraph 49 of E/600 and paragraph 22 of E/800).
12. Year-Book on Human Rights:
    (a) Year-Book on Human Rights for 1946 and 1947.
    (b) Examination of pilot papers (Council resolution E/1163/Rev.1).
13. Trusteeship Questionnaire (paragraph 43 of E/600).
14. Right of Asylum (paragraph 48 of E/600).
15. Old Age Rights (General Assembly resolution 213 (III) and Council resolution E/1219).
16. Confidential list of communications concerning human rights.
17. Adoption of the report to the Economic and Social Council.

UNITED NATIONS **NATIONS UNIES**

Lake Success, New York

TELEPHONE: FIELDSTONE 7-1100 CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEW-YORK

REFERENCE: SOA 53/2/01/LC

26 April 1949

For Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
From H. H. S.

Dear Sir,

I wish to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of 18 April in which you ask certain questions concerning the Commission on Human Rights.

(1) With regard to your first question on the present status of the Commission, I draw your attention to Article 68 of the Charter which reads as follows:

> "The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions."

The Commission on Human Rights is a functional commission of the Economic and Social Council. I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the Consolidated Terms of Reference of the Commission on Human Rights (document E/248).

(2) In connection with your second question, asking for the text of the latest statement on human rights issued by the Commission, I am sending you a copy of the Report of the Third Session of the Commission (document E/800), a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948, and a copy of the Provisional Agenda of the forthcoming fifth session of the Commission (document E/CN.4/161).

(3) As your third question appears to relate to measures of implementation, I would like to draw your attention to General Assembly Resolution No. 217(III) Part F adopted on 10 December 1948 which reads as follows:

> "THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
>
> "CONSIDERING that the plan of work of the Commission on Human Rights provides for an International Bill of Human Rights, to include a Declaration, a Covenant on Human Rights and measures of implementation,

"REQUESTS the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights to continue to give priority in its work to the preparation of a draft Covenant on Human Rights and draft measures of implementation."

As you will see from the Provisional genda (E/CN.4/161) the problem of implementation is contained there under item 5.

(4) The matter of petitions and communications which you raise in your fourth question is at the present time governed by Economic and Social Council Resolution 75(V) as amended by resolution 116A(VI) a copy of which is enclosed herewith. In this connection, I draw your attention to the following resolution No. 217(III) Part B, adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948.

"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

"CONSIDERING that the right of petition is an essential human right, as is recognized in the Constitutions of a great number of countries,

"HAVING CONSIDERED the draft article on petitions in document A/C.3/306 and the amendments offered thereto by Cuba and France,

"DECIDES not to take any action on this matter at the present session;

"REQUESTS the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights to give further examination to the problem of petitions when studying the draft covenant on human rights and measures of implementation, in order to enable the General Assembly to consider what further action, if any, should be taken at its next regular session regarding the problem of petitions."

This question, too, is on the Provisional Agenda of the forthcoming session (Items 6 and 7).

Yours sincerely,

John P. Humphrey

Director
Division of Human Rights

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Director of Research,
W.B. Graham & Associates, Inc.,
Fifty-Five West - 42nd. Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
September 19, 1949

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary-General
The United Nations Organization
Lake Success
New York

Sir:

Enclosed herewith we respectfully submit a memorandum regarding the future status of the former Italian Somaliland with the request that this memorandum be submitted to the Chairman of the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Enclosed herewith please find also forty-two declarations (with over 2,000 signatures) duly signed by the Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Religious Sheiks, Akils and other prominent and influential personalities of all Somali tribes inhabiting in the former Italian Somaliland. These leaders voluntarily signed the declarations as evidence of their unanimous support of the joint program of the Somali Youth League and Hamar Youth Club.

In connection with this memorandum, we urge that the members of the First Committee give us, as they kindly did previously, the opportunity to make oral statements in support of the memorandum. Further we beg them to grant us the status of observers to that Committee during the debate on the future of our country, Somaliland, and our people.

We thank the honourable members of the First Committee for having given us the opportunity to make oral statements during the last session of the Assembly. At the same time we wish to express, for the record, our disappointment that, while we were limited to a few short statements, Italy was permitted to be an observer to that Committee. It is true, Italy is a government, but it is also true that the matter under consideration is not the future of Italy and the Italians. The Committee is considering the fate of the Somali people as well as that of their country and their descendants. We believe, therefore, that, as duly authorized representatives of the people, we have more right to the status of observer than anyone else.

In view of the fact that the question regarding the future of the former Italian colonies gives to the General Assembly of the United Nations the difficult task of making territorial allocations, we are sure that the First Committee will want to be informed regarding the desires of the inhabitants most vitally concerned before making a final decision. We stand ready, therefore, as authorized representatives of the Somali Youth League and Hamar Youth Club, representing almost all the Somalis, to place ourselves at the disposal of the Committee, and we urge most strongly that this request be granted.

Respectfully,

Ismail Hassan

Abdullahi Issa

AI:RWR

Enc.

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS FROM THE SOMALI DELEGATION ON THE FUTURE OF EX-ITALIAN SOMALILAND

We, the lawful and duly authorized represntatives of the Somali Youth League and Hamar Youth Club, representing the overwhelming majority of the Somalis, respectfully submit this memorandum, supplementing previously-submitted documents, to the General Assembly and its appropriate sub-division, setting forth our position on the future of the former Italian Somaliland.

The above-mentioned political associations are the only organizations representing the *true interests* of Somaliland and of the Somalis. At the time that the Four Power Commission of Investigation visited Somaliland (January-February, 1948) the said organizations had a joint program. The main objectives of that program were:

A. complete independence of Somaliland after a period of ten years guidance of an International Trusteeship with the big powers as the administering authority;

B. no restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations; and

C. immediate unification of all Somalilands.

That the overwhelming majority of the population of Somaliland supported this program may be ascertained from the report of the said FPC.

The honorable members of the Assembly may recall our views as expressed in the various memoranda, speeches, etc. we submitted during the last session of the Assembly.

As soon as the Assembly rejected the imperialist plan known as the Bevin-Sforza agreement, the SYL and the HYC called meetings of the Sultans, Elders, Tribal Chiefs, Religious Sheiks, Akils and all prominent and influential personalities of all Somali tribes. The purpose of these conferences was to re-examine the problem concerning the future of our country and our people. Such meetings have been held in Mogadishu (the Capital) and in almost all the centres of Somaliland. During these meetings, the two organizations have sponsored a joint program and placed the same for consideration and necessary approval of the Sultans, Elders, Tribal Chiefs, Sheiks and Akils of all Somali tribes, who, after examining the program, consulting and obtaining the general consent of their respective tribes, have unanimously approved the program.

The local committees of the SYL branches throughout the country sent representatives to Mogadishu to participate in discussions of the proposals. These representatives unanimously approved the program. The local committees then called meetings of local Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Sheiks and Akils of the various Somali tribes inhabiting their respective zones. Throughout the country the Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Sheiks and Akils of the tribes unanimously approved the program.

The program reads as follows:

1. We ask the General Assembly of the United Nations to proclaim the immediate independence of Somaliland.

2. (A) If in the wisdom of the Honourable members of the Assembly it is

considered best to place Somaliland under the International Trusteeship System, we do not raise objection on such decision *PROVIDED THAT* the restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise and even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations be completely excluded.

(B) In such an event, our preference in regard of the future administration of our country, Somaliland, is for a DIRECT United Nations administration for a 'short period' leading the Somalis to full and complete independence; and for such purpose, the term 'short period' shall *not*, in any way and for any reasons whatsoever, exceed the maximum period of TEN years.

3. At the same time, we leave the door open for a 'short period' of collective administration or alternatively a single administration under the supervision of the United Nations *PROVIDED THAT* in either case Italy be completely excluded and the term 'short period' shall not, in any way and for any reason whatsoever, exceed the maximum period of TEN years, after which period Somaliland shall be granted full and complete independence.

4. That, in the event of any trusteeship administration of Somaliland, as provided for in Articles 2 and 3 above, the PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE of Somaliland, be forthwith proclaimed whereby Somalis shall assume internal administration of Somaliland while the administering authority chosen shall provide technical assistance and conduct the external affairs of Somaliland.

5. We do hereby reject categorically any suggestion, plan, proposal and scheme that advances or tends to reinstate Italian administration in our country, Somaliland, in any form or guise.

6. We stress that we prefer *complete extermination* rather than return under Italian domination.

7. We desire the union of our country known as the former Italian Somaliland with the other Somali territories—British Somaliland, Northern Frontier District of Kenya, French Somaliland and Ethiopian Somaliland—so as to form ONE political, administrative, social and economic unit.

8. We are convinced that our desire for unification of the Somalilands, as envisaged in Article 7 above, is absolutely essential for the true welfare and progress of Somalis; and for that purpose, we are willing and prepared to sacrifice any other demand that stands in the way of achievement of this unification of all the Somalilands.

Each of the Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Sheiks and Akils of the tribes voluntarily signed a declaration as evidence of his unqualified approval of the program. The declaration reads as follows:

> WE, the Sultans, Chiefs, Holy Sheiks, Elders, Akils and Notables of the Tribe (*name of tribe*) residing (*place*) district (*district*) province (*province*).
> After having received copies—in arabic—of the program of the Somali Youth League concerning the future settlement of Somaliland; After having examined and carefully considered the contents of the said program;
> After having explained—in somali—the contents of the same to our people, consulted with them and obtained their general consent;
> WE, on behalf of our Tribe, do hereby approve unanimously and voluntarily the program of the Somali Youth League concerning the future settlement of Somaliland. Furthermore, we do hereby declare and pledge ourselves to support

morally and materially, subject to the limit of our possibilities, any request advanced by the Somali Youth League necessary for the implementation of the said program.

You will notice from the above declaration that besides approving unanimously the program, the Sultans, Chiefs, Elders, Sheiks and Akils of the tribes have pledged themselves to support morally and materially any request advanced by the sponsoring organizations necessary for the implementation of the program itself.

Some 42 declarations (with over 2,000 signatures), duly signed by the Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Sheiks and Akils representing all Somali tribes inhabiting the former Italian Somaliland have been submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations together with this memorandum.

We summarize some of the main reasons leading the two organizations to sponsor the above program:

ARTICLE ONE of the program deals with the request for immediate independence of Somaliland. This is because we know very well that our people will never be prepared for independence by a colonial power, especially if that colonial power has vested interests in our country. Rather than prepare us for independence, a foreign colonial government will hinder and retard every effort we make to advance toward self-government.

It is only quite natural that foreign imperialistic governments, in order to safeguard their economic and political interests, should seek to impede our development and progress toward independence. It is a pity, indeed, that these governments do not admit this patent fact but instead try to throw dust into our eyes by saying that they are with us for our good and benefit! How generous of them, indeed! but this is 1949 and we can no longer be deceived by this talk of fatherly interest and care. That is exactly why we ask for immediate independence.

We have had enough experience with colonial powers to see through their pretenses. We now say to them bluntly: "Leave us alone and let us boil in our own stew." We prefer that to indefinite rule by a foreign colonial power with no hope of freedom because each year will mean the sowing of new seeds by the foreign controlling power, making it increasingly difficult for her to say goodbye to our people and our country.

It seems to us that it is the birthright of all peoples to be free and enjoy all those benefits, spiritual and material, which are inherent in the exercise of such freedom. It is our conviction that all peoples, notwithstanding how backward and ignorant they may be, should be aided towards a speedy process of emancipation.

History shows that even the most advanced peoples in the world of today were once backward and ignorant. A great number of people in some of the free and sovereign nations are not well advanced and need, as much as our people do, assistance for better advancement. These nations enjoy their sovereignty and have great opportunity to speed the economic, political, social and cultural advancement of all their peoples. Instead of this chance, our people actually live under the complete control of colonial powers who have one and only one aim: to exploit the country and the people; to use them as sources of raw materials, cheap forced labour, markets for their products, military and strategic bases, etc.; to keep down the people socially, economically, culturally and politically; to delay as long as they can (eternally if possible) the political, economic, cultural and social advancement of the people.

Though backward, our people are able to manage their own affairs and settle the internal problems of their country. Of course, we fully realize that our people and our country need technical and other assistance from more advanced peoples of the world. We believe this does not mean that we have to accept foreign control and domination. Should this be the only way towards technical advancement and progress, we rather prefer to remain a free nation, no matter how backward our people may be.

Consider the case of the free and sovereign nations who need, as much as we do, technical advancement for their countries and their peoples. These nations have the chance to obtain—either directly or through the various Specialized Agencies of the United Nations—technical and other assistance from more advanced and generous nations. Consider the case of the nations who obtained recently their independence. Some of them have suffered centuries of foreign exploitation. If you compare the wonderful progress these nations achieved in so short a time (about two years now) with the centuries of foreign domination and exploitation, you may be surprised. Today these new nations look ahead towards a prosperous future without fear and without foreign interference.

In Paragraph (A) of ARTICLE TWO of the program you will notice that the sponsoring organizations were reasonable enough to include a provision such as this. We realize that we are bound by the wise judgment of the honourable members of the Assembly. If in the wisdom of these honourable members it is considered best to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System, we do not raise objection PROVIDED THAT the restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations, be completely excluded. We summarize briefly the main reasons of our strong opposition to the restoration of the hated Italian rule in our country, Somaliland:

A. The Somalis, under Italian rule, were deprived of education and enlightenment; they were not entitled to any form of education—not even the basic elementary—during her fifty-year regime;

B. The Somalis were kept out of the economic field because Italian nationals monopolized all commerce and industry, leaving our people to become peons, gate-keepers, orderlies, interpreters, cooks, coolies, porters, boys, waiters, askaris, banda (irregular troops), etc.;

C. The Somalis were not allowed to form any association or political body. There was no freedom of speech and no freedom of action;

D. The Somalis were treated like chattels in the social sphere; the Somalis were crowded into dirty huts with very unhealthy and inhuman sanitation. If the Italians boast about the beautiful houses and good roads they built in our country, they should be reminded that these houses and roads were made for the *Italian residents only*, and a visit today can still show that the Italians never intended to do anything good for the people of the country. Our people still live in straggling, dirty, inhuman surroundings. Indeed, the Somali quarters stand as a fitting tribute to Italian interests in a people they had ruled for more than fifty years!

E. Italy is poor and she cannot finance her own country soundly much less our country of Somalia; and

F. The Somalis earnestly desire the unification of their country with the other Somalis-inhabited territories, and by allowing Italy to return, they can never

hope to achieve this greatest aim.

The points, A, B, C and D, above-mentioned have, during the past fifty years of Italian rule, left their odious mark upon us so that it is impossible for Somalis to believe that they can ever be treated in a better manner by the Italians.

In addition to this, the Administration has deprived the Somalis of fertile land in favor of Italian farmers and imposed forced labour, making the Somalis work for the Italians. This forced labour problem, better known in Somalia as "colonia," is horrible and beyond description. To give you a rough idea of the barbarous and inhuman methods employed by the Administration, we quote hereafter extracts from an official British publication of 1944:

> This labour shortage, which at one time threatened to stop production altogether, was caused by the wholesale refusal of the Somalis to continue to work for the Italians. This was hardly surprising. For when the circumstances under which labour had been recruited were investigated, a situation was disclosed even less tolerable than the state of Mogadishu jail. Under the 'colonia' system, men, women and children had been taken by force from remote places and condemned to an indefinite period of servitude on Italian farms. To quote from an official report: 'Rations were grossly inadequate both in quality and quantity, and pay varied from one to three lire a day. Bachelors were forced to marry women who had been born and bred on the estate. Punishment, inflicted by the resident on the ex-parte representations of the employer, was brutal and excessive. For a first offence of disobedience or indiscipline, fifty lashes with a hippopotamus-hide whip was a common award, and for a second offence, the victim was strung up for several hours on a gallows, with his toes just clear of the ground, suspended by chains attached to wooden billets under his armpits, and with his hands handcuffed behind his back. It is not unnatural that the native labouring population regarded our coming as a deliverance from their Italian oppressors and that they resolutely and determinedly refused to return to work for them, in spite of our efforts to persuade them to do so.' They had had enough of slavery. *(The First to be Freed*, p. 60.)

The Somalis suffered enough of slavery, suppression and oppression under the Italian administration during and long before the Fascist regime. They will never forget the TYRANNY practiced by the administration. To Somalis, Italy is Italy, and Italians are Italians whether Demo-Christians, Fascist, Communist, Nazi, Socialist, Republican, Liberal. To them there is no difference whatsoever between Mussolini and Signor De Gasperi; between Count Ciano and Count Sforza.

In paragraph (B) of ARTICLE TWO of the program shows our preference for a direct United Nations administration for a maximum period of ten years in case the honourable members of the Assembly decide to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System. It is our firm conviction that this is the best administration should Somaliland become a trust territory. We believe that under a direct United Nations trusteeship our aspirations will be recognized and our welfare placed first. We are convinced that only under such direct United Nations trusteeship can the letter and spirit of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter be successfully implemented. We should like to emphasize that only such a collective administration can protect and enlarge the true welfare of Somaliland and the Somalis should our country become a trust territory.

During the last session of the Assembly the concept of direct United Nations trusteeship received considerable support. It is interesting to note that among the

strong supporters of this form of administration were such nations as India, Pakistan, Burma and others. These nations have experienced centuries of oppressive foreign rule and are well acquainted with colonial problems.

In order to strengthen both the organization and the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations, the Secretary-General has suggested placing of the former Italian colonies under a direct United Nations trusteeship during the relatively brief period which may precede their independence. We quote the suggestion of the Secretary-General from the annual report for the year ending June 30, 1949.

"ITALIAN COLONIES

"The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The question will come before the fourth regular session of the General Assembly this autumn.

"The debate on this question at the second part of the third session was significant in several ways. It reflected the growing influence of the nations of Asia and Africa. Those nations played a decisive part in preventing the adoption of a compromise proposal which they felt was unsatisfactory to a majority of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. The debate also brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

"I recognize the political and practical difficulties involved in a direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories during the relatively brief period that may precede their independence. Nevertheless, I believe that statesmanship on the part of the governments could lead to such a solution of the problem, and that the political difficulties could be dealt with if the practical difficulties could be overcome. The best solution, in my opinion, would be a direct United Nations trusteeship with an administrator responsible solely to the trusteeship Council. It is, of course, for the member governments to decide, but I feel sure that such a bold forward step would help the peoples of the territories concerned to follow the peaceful path toward self-government or independence, and that it would strengthen the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations and in the member governments who would have made such a solution possible."

That some of the great powers consider this plan the best solution of the problem is evident. The plan itself was first advanced by the United States. Both the USSR and China favoured the placing of the former Italian colonies under a direct United Nations trusteeshsip when the matter was discussed in the last session of the Assembly.

In ARTICLE THREE of the program, you see that we leave a door open for a collective or single administration under the supervision of the United Nations PROVIDED THAT in either case Italy be completely excluded. Even here the time limit must not exceed the maximum of ten years.

Though not our desire, we have been compelled to include this article in our program. We say compelled because we fully realize that should the administering authority be chosen among the colonial powers, there will be no great difference from an Italian administration. We emphasize, however, that we are adamant against either a single Italian administration or a collective one with the participation of

Italy. This is because of the long experience we had while under fascist as well as pre-fascist democratic Italy.

The reluctant inclusion of this undesired provision shows clearly the sincerity of our efforts to contribute to and to facilitate the finding of a solution of the problem.

ARTICLE FOUR of the program deals with our request for partial independence should Somaliland become a Trust Territory.

In ARTICLE FIVE of the program you will notice that we reject categorically any suggestion, plan, proposal and scheme that advances or tends to re-instate Italian administration in any form or guise in our country, Somaliland. In ARTICLE SIX of the same, we stressed that the Somalis prefer *complete extermination* rather than return under the hated Italian domination.

During the debate on the former Italian colonies in the last session of the Assembly, some delegates stated that a change of regime has taken place in Italy and that the present Italian Government is a new democratic state. Perhaps the honourable members of the Assembly remember our views on this particular point. We repeatedly stated that for Somalis there is no difference whatsoever between fascist Italy and the so-called new democratic Italy; between an Italian Government of Mussolini and that of Signor De Gasperi. We briefly summarize the main reasons leading us to this conclusion:

Italy occupied Somaliland long before fascism came into existence. This was towards the end of last century while a democratic regime was in power of the then Italian Government. It was this democratic regime—not fascist Italy—which established an Italian colony in Eritrea some years before, subjugating Somaliland. It was the same democratic regime—not Italy of Mussolini—which occupied Libya after defeating the Turks. Its sole purpose was to colonize and exploit these territories and their peoples. She used Somaliland and other African colonies as military and strategic bases in order to realize her dreams for establishing an Italian Empire in that part of Africa. We do not exclude the possibility that she had the intention to exterminate the inhabitants of these vast African territories and provide living space for what she frequently calls the 'Italian surplus.'

Although Mussolini came into power in the latter part of 1922, fascist influence in Africa started just a few months prior to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia of October, 1935. The invasion itself was the execution of plans previously prepared by the pre-fascist democratic Italy. In fact, Italy, while under that regime, attempted to occupy Ethiopia as early as the end of last century. But after the fatal defeat of Adwowa in 1896 she postponed the plan until a better chance came.

It was pre-fascist Italy which drafted most of the inhuman and discriminatory laws of Somaliland and other African colonies. It was this same regime which seized the fertile land of our people, forcing the displaced Somalis to work under the 'colonia' system (forced labour) for Italian farmers who became the new owners of the fertile land stolen from the Somalis.

Now let us say a few words in regard to the present Italian Government of Signor De Gasperi. Most of the leaders of the so-called new democratic Italy are the same who ruled during the regime of pre-fascist democratic Italy. In fact, Count Carlo Sforza, the present Foreign Minister, and many others were the heads of that regime. Besides this, a good number of well-known fascists have gained high position in

the government of present-day Italy. Among these well-known fascists you will find persons listed as war criminals such as Signor Enrico Cerulli, one-time Deputy Governor General of the former Italian Empire of East Africa.

Italy lost her East African colonies early in 1941. She signed the peace treaty in which she renounced all titles and rights. Today, after almost nine years, the Ministry of Italian African colonies remains in existence. Indeed, the 'Ministero dell'Africa Italiana' is functioning in good order, fully staffed with some 16,000 well-trained and expert in the technique of subjugating colonial peoples. This fact alone is more than sufficient proof that imperialist Italy of Signor De Gasperi plans to rule again, sooner or later, the pre-fascist colonies and Ethiopia as well. It is not improbable that, in order to satisfy her hunger for empire, the new democratic Italy may one day desire to establish colonies in Asia since almost all the African continent is under complete domination of European colonial powers.

These are but a few of the facts on which we base our conviction that Italy—either fascist or democratic—will never cease to yearn for colonial possessions. A careful study of these facts is quite enough to reveal whether we are right or wrong in our conviction.

Our people are fully aware that if Italy succeeds in her imperialistic claims to rule again our country, we will never obtain our freedom and independence. For this very reason, the entire population of Somaliland is united in strong opposition to the re-imposition of the hated Italian rule. The Somalis prefer *complete extermination* rather than to live again under the oppressive Italian domination.

ARTICLES SEVEN and EIGHT of the program deal with the question of the unification of the Somalilands. We are convinced that the unification of the Somalilands is absolutely essential for the true welfare and progress of the Somalis. The inhabitants of the Somalilands are ONE by race, by language, by religion, by culture and by way of living. We have been separated by artificial boundaries which conform to neither geographic nor groupal conditions. This division into five different countries has retarded our progress. We believe unification precedes nationalism and freedom.

That all Somalis desire this unification of all the Somalilands is beyond doubt. When the Four Power Commission of Investigations visited Somaliland in 1948, delegations from all over the Somalilands found their way to Mogadishu to join their voices to that of ours, asking for immediate amalgamation of the Somalilands. We desire the unification of our country, the former Italian Somaliland, with the other Somalilands because the Somali peninsula is a recognizable whole. *First*, there is the economic interdependence of one area on the other; *secondly*, the Somalis are one by race; *thirdly*, the Somalis speak the same Somali language; *fourthly*, the Somalis profess the same Islamic faith. We have, therefore, thus far the economic, racial, linguistic, religious, cultural and habit characteristics which are necessary for the formation of a nation.

But we feel, and quite rightly so, that we cannot pool these similar qualities to our national advantages unless we are also one for administrative, economic, cultural and political purposes. The present artificial barriers between the Somali people create problems of very great magnitude. We are kept separated economically from our brothers and the different systems of administration, taxation, customs, currency and other administrative difficulties, make it practically impossible for us to ever advance together. The existence of different official languages in the various Somalilands also creates another special problem of cultural advancement.

The separation of the Somalis into different water-tight compartments under British, French, Ethiopian and temporary British Military Administration, has ruined the Somalis, and unless this problem is viewed in the light of reason and justice, the future of Somali nation is in very grave peril indeed. These divisions of the Somali peninsula were arbitrarily made by the European Powers in their scramble for African territories towards the close of the nineteenth century. These divisions have been imposed upon the Somalis without the slightest consideration for their welfare and well being. On behalf of our people we beg the august Assembly to give due weight and consideration to this important problem because the Somali country is a geographic and ethnic unit, and the continued divisions and barriers cause hardships to the Somalis living all over the 'horn of Africa,' and if this problem is not tackled boldly now, the Somalis shall soon be extinct as an ethnic group.

In this connection, we appeal to Great Britain, to France and to Ethiopia to arrive at some settlement of this urgent and all-important problem and remove those economic, social, political and cultural barriers which separate the Somalis in their respective Somalilands from us and from each other. It is a pity and peculiar irony, indeed, that a people who are ONE in race, religion, language, culture and habit, should be kept separated and divided by hard and fast barriers. We sincerely hope and trust, therefore, that the states concerned will tackle this problem of the unification of the Somalilands in the light of humanity, justice, conscience, truth and reason.

We trust that the august Assembly will bear this problem in mind when discussing the future status of that part of Somaliland known as the former Italian Somaliland. We have always stated clearly, and we repeat it now, that in order to achieve the unification of the former Italian Somaliland with the other Somali-inhabited territories, we are prepared to forego any one or more of our demands which stand in the way of the achievement of a UNITED SOMALILAND. We desire the one and only opportunity now given to us to join our brothers in other Somali territories, and together with them we wish to march forward in unity and strength toward nationhood and true democracy.

In this memorandum we set forth the wishes and welfare of the Somali people. We trust that the honourable members of the Assembly, when considering the future of Somaliland and the Somalis, will give more weight to the wishes and welfare of those most vitally concerned. We trust that these honourable members will settle the matter in accordance with the wishes and welfare of the Somalis. Needless to say, one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations is "that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount."

Once again we stress that the Somalis do not desire and will not accept the re-imposition, in their country, of the Italian administration in any form or guise and even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations. We repeatedly informed you that the Somalis prefer *complete extermination* rather than return under the hated Italian domination.

If, against our wishes, the General Assembly should decide to restore Italian administration in our country, how can you, honourable members, expect us to trust and have faith in the United Nations' supervision since we have seen from the very beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored?

We appeal to you, gentlemen, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not

merely laid down in the peace treaty but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter—that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount.

We faithfully hope that the honourable members of the Assembly will carefully consider our just and legitimate demands expressed in this and previously-submitted memoranda. We trust that these honourable members shall disregard any and all personal interests, bargaining and bickering and decide this all-important and vital issue of the fate of the whole Somali nation as well as that of their country and the future Somali generations on the grounds of equity, justice and good conscience.

We beg to remains, Sirs,

Yours respectfully,

ABDULLAHI ISSA ISMAIL HASSAN

[Sept 29, 1949]

UNITED NATIONS FOR EUROPE

OR

UNITED NATIONS FOR THE WORLD?

32.27 13

□

An Open Letter to the Member States

of the United Nations

THE SOMALI DELEGATION

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City, N. Y.

September 29, 1949

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary-General
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find an open letter addressed to the members of the Assembly. Kindly deliver the same to the Chairman of the First Committee.

We beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

ISMAIL HASSAN

ABDULLAHI ISSA

32.2714

UNITED NATIONS FOR EUROPE
OR
UNITED NATIONS FOR THE WORLD?

An Open Letter to the Member States of the United Nations

September 29, 1949

With deep regret we are compelled to choose the rather unpleasant title for this letter of ours. But we have our own reasons to do so.

At the outset we wish to mak it quite clear that the purpose of this letter is not to engage in polemics and unnecessary criticism. We realize quite well that we have nothing to gain by such means. The contents of this letter are the facts—the facts as we see them and the facts as we judge them.

Unfortunately some Member States of the United Nations, and among them some of the great powers, have made clear their intention to use the world organization primarily for the recognition of European interests. During the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies in the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, these nations made clear that they were here to serve European interests and nothing else. In fact, they ignored the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of the former Italian colonies and tried to partition these territories among a few colonial powers.

It was a great and disillusioning shock to colonial peoples generally and particularly to those inhabiting the territories of the former Italian colonies to see the strong support that the unjust imperialist claims of Italy received. May we ask the reason for this? Are we to believe that the unjust imperialist claims of Italy to rule again all or part of her former colonies received this strong support only because she is a European nation?

As we are directly concerned with the case of Somaliland, we should like to say something on that particular case. In the last session, the Assembly considered, without taking final decision, the fate of the Somali people as well as that of their country and their descendants. The wishes of the Somali people are recorded in the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation which visited Somaliland early in 1948 and other documents subsequently submitted. From these records it is as clear as the light of the day that the Somalis do not wish and will not accept Italian rule in any form or guise even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations. The Somalis repeatedly declared that they prefer *complete extermination* rather than live again under the hated Italian domination.

A great number of the Member States ignored these wishes of the Somali people and tried to re-impose the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland for *an indefinitive period*. During the debate on this particular question, we noticed. with great disappointment, that some of the Member States were rather worried about the interests of the small Italian community in Somaliland—some 2,000

—while ignoring completely the wishes and welfare of the Somalis. May we be permitted to ask why? Is this because the Italians are Europeans?

Our people joined the allies in the war against the Italians and their Nazi-Fascist allies, and we gave our blood freely for the cause of freedom which was promised us. We were then quite naturally shocked, stunned and bewildered to hear and read that some nations were willing to hand over our people, and not only the people, but also our land as well as our sons and grandsons to the Italian Government in violation of all principles of decency, justice and humanity. It appeared to our people that we were being liberated only to be subjugated again!

As soon as the war against the Nazi-Fascists was over we hoped that the victorious allies would fulfill their war-time pledges for our freedom and liberty. Our hopes increased when the United Nations was established. The Charter of this noble world organization symbolized to us freedom and justice for all peace-loving nations in the world.

But what we have seen during the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies in the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was in complete contrast with what we expected. Instead of the freedom promised, we have seen that some nations, and among them some of the great powers, intended to condemn us to perpetual slavery.

Here are some of the main reasons which led us to choose the unpleasant title of this letter:

On April 11th, 1949, Count Carlo Sforza, the Foreign Minister of Italy, addressed an important speech to the First Committee of the General Assembly (Part II of the third regular session). In this speech, he fearfully warned the Europeans in the Committee that Europe has lost considerable prestige in Africa since the beginning of the World War I. To quote from this speech:

> "Be aware of Europe, I tell you. It will be remembered that Europeans were, in Africa, before 1914 believed to be almost demi-gods.

It is evident that the Foreign Minister of the new democratic Italy is displeased because the African peoples no longer look upon the Europeans as "demi-gods." Count Sforza went on to say:

> "The Africans saw the horrors and shame of the first world war which they judged—and they were not far from being right—as a civil war."

It is also clear that the Foreign Minister of the new democratic Italy considers as "horrors and shame" the war among European nations, even against the aggression of Nazi-Fascism. He rather prefers to subjugate eternally the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere.

Count Sforza warned the European nations that if they lose Africa, Europe will become "the small hamlet of Eastern Asia." To quote further from his speech:

> "The Europeans in this Committee will remember that six thousand years ago Europe was a small hamlet of Eastern Asia. Asia is coming again to the greatness to which she is entitled, but if we are going

to fail in Africa, I am not sure that Europe will not again become the miserable peninsula which it was six thousand years ago."

What we see here is more than enough proof that the intention of the leaders of the new democratic Italy is to keep the whole continent of Africa under the eternal domination of European powers otherwise "Europe will become the miserable peninsula which it was six thousand years ago."

In this speech the Count clearly reveals his worry and deep-seated fear of a great and powerful Asia. Count Sforza, like many leaders in the colonial countries, is alarmed because Europe has lost almost all of Asia. The Count and his friends have clearly demonstrated their open hostility to the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya and other parts of Asia for the freedom and liberation of their respective countries from foreign subjugation. Most of these nations have suffered centuries of European exploitation, suppression and oppression.

Apparently, Count Sforza believed that the decision on the question of the former Italian colonies was a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the European nations. We quote one of the repeated sentences in this respect from his own speech:

"Do we want to create again in Africa the impression that Europe is unable to reach agreement, or rather the impression that Europe is able to reach agreement . . ."

The reaction from non-European members of the Committee came sooner than expected. In fact a delegate from Asia politely pointed out that "perhaps Count Sforza thought he was addressing a European Assembly instead of the august Assembly of the United Nations."

During this speech Count Sforza talked at length about European cooperation and the great instrument of the then proposed European Union. During the course of his speech, he frequently mentioned the Franco-Italian custom and economic union and others.

The Foreign Minister of the new democratic Italy has made clear, in advance, his intention to use President Truman's Point Four as a means to exploit "every part of Africa *at the hands of a United Europe*." We understand that Point Four of President Truman's Inaugural Address proposed that the United States provide technical and other assistance for under-developed countries in the world. According to Count Sforza's statement, Italy intends to use the plan for purposes other than those proposed by the sponsoring government.

The Foreign Minister of Italy stated that the Italians residing in the former African colonies are "Afrikanders" like those of South Africa. To quote him further:

"These men are no more simply Italians, they are also Afrikanders, like their fellow-farmers and industrialists of South Africa."

This statement of Count Sforza caused great shock and alarm in Somali-

land. The reason why our people feel so alarmed is not difficult to understand. The Somalis know something about the horrible situation existing today in the Union of South Africa.

There is no need for detailed explanation on this particular question since the whole world knows about the deplorable situation there. Here is what an American correspondent said about South Africa in an article published in the New York Times Magazine of September 18th, 1949:

> "In neighboring South Africa, Prime Minister Malan and his Nationalists—frankly pro-Nazi in the last war—are relentlessly coupling their expansion policy with '*apartheid*,' the doctrine which in America would be called white supremacy or Jim-Crowism. '*Apartheid*' there already has stripped natives of what little say they had in government, and it even goes so far as to set up separate counters in post offices for natives and whites. It applies, too, to 'coloreds'—half-castes and East Indians —and is anti-Semitic . . ."

Today the peoples of Africa are experiencing the same fear that Europe endured under the Nazi-Fascism regime. At that time the peoples of Europe live in peril and uncertainty. Their very existence was daily in great danger. World War II was the inevitable consequence of this danger and fear. At last the war ended with a satisfactory result: destruction of the evil Nazi-Fascist forces and victory for the allies. But today the peoples of Africa face the same, if not greater, danger that existed in Europe prior to V.E. day. The Nazi ideology and the Nazi doctrine of the Government of South Africa is of great concern to all the peoples of Africa.

Should Italy succeed in her unjust imperialist claims to subjugate once again our country and our people, her ultimate goal will be to establish in Somaliland a semi-autonomous state of the type and model of the Union of South Africa, namely an administration in the exclusive hands of the local Italians or "Afrikanders" as Count Sforza calls them.

The Somalis, fully aware of this great danger and its consequences, do not wish and will not accept Italian rule in any form or type in their country. The Somalis will resist—even at the price of complete extermination—any attempt to re-impose the oppressive and hated Italian rule in Somaliland.

We wish to make it quite clear that we are not against Europeans or any other group. Please do not consider that we have hatred or ill-feeling towards Europeans. On the contrary, we do realize that a considerable number of European States joined with those disinterested nations who defeated the imperialist plan known as the Bevin-Sforza agreement. Some of these nations have even gone so far as to condemn the inhuman and discriminatory policy of the colonial powers generally and the principle of "the white man's supremacy over the non-European populations" particularly. We are, indeed, grateful to these noble European nations and those others who saved our people from being condemned to perpetual slavery.

It is our firm intention to have and preserve friendly relations with all peoples, regardless of their colour, religion, language, culture, etc., are treated elsewhere. Such cooperation is possible only on a basis of equality. On the

---

It is our firm intention to have and preserve friendly relations with all peoples. We hope to cooperate with the peoples of Europe, America and elsewhere. Such cooperation is possible only on the basis of equality. On the

other hand, we strongly oppose colonialism in any form. We do not spare time and strength at our disposal to fight against anyone—European or otherwise—who intends to subjugate our people and exploit our country.

We consider the United Nations as a world-wide organization where all peoples, regardless of their color, religion, language, culture, etc., are treated the same and where all matters are solved in accordance with the wishes and welfare of those most vitally concerned and in conformity with justice and equity. But it is evident that some Member States intend to use this noble organization only for the selfish interests of their own governments and that of their own group. Therefore, we urge the honorable members of the Assembly to restrain anyone who seeks to use the noble aims of the world organization for purposes other than those set forth in the United Nations Charter.

It seems to us that even now some nations are planning to reintroduce a revised Bevin-Sforza agreement recommending the restoration of the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland (perhaps for an indefinitive period). Should these nations succeed in getting the required majority for their evil and imperialistic projects, then peoples of the world, and particularly those of dependent areas, will see that here is a place of bargaining and political expediency instead of justice and equity as they had expected.

If, against the wishes and welfare of our people, the General Assembly should decide to re-impose the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland, how can you, honorable members, expect us to trust and have faith in the United Nations since we have seen from the very beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored?

Once again we appeal to you, gentlemen, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not merely laid down in the peace treaty with Italy but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter "that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount."

We faithfully hope that the honorable members of the Assembly will carefully consider the just and legitimate aspirations of the Somali people. We trust that these honorable members shall disregard any and all personal interests, bargaining and bickering and decide this all-important and vital issue of the fate of the whole Somali nation as well as that of their country and the future Somali generations on the grounds of equity, justice and good conscience.

We beg to remain, honorable members,

Yours respectfully,

ISMAIL HASSAN

ABDULLAHI ISSA

[United Nations]

UN/A/10, Rev.8
21 June 1949

Chairman - L. PEARSON
SECY. - Dr. PROTITCH

UNITED NATIONS
NATIONS UNIES

ATTENDANCE RECORD
LISTE DE PRESENCE

MEETING *SEANCE* 279 M | COMMITTEE *COMMISSION* FIRST | DATE *DATE* 18 Oct 49 | TIME *TEMPS* 11 AM

24-28-32

COUNTRY *PAYS*	NAME *NOM*	COUNTRY *PAYS*	NAME *NOM*
AFGHANISTAN	AZIZ	ISRAEL	EBAN
ARGENTINA	ARCE	LEBANON	MALIK, C.
AUSTRALIA	HOOD	LIBERIA	COOPER
BELGIUM	VAN LANGENHOVE	LUXEMBOURG	BECH
BOLIVIA	GUTRERIREZ	MEXICO	NERVO
BRAZIL	MUNIZ	NETHERLANDS	VAN PALLANDT
BURMA	NYUN	NEW ZEALAND	F. H. CORNER
BYELORUSSIAN SSR	KISELEV	NICARAGUA	MARENCO
CANADA	RIDDELL	NORWAY	SUNDE. A
CHILE	GONZALES	PAKISTAN	ZAFRULLAH KHAN
CHINA	TSUNE-CHI YU	PANAMA	M. DE DIEGO
COLOMBIA	LONDONO	PARAGUAY	BOETTNER
COSTA RICA	SOLORZANO	PERU	LAVALLE
CUBA	RIBAS, J.M.	PHILIPPINES	CHANCO-LOPEZ
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	HOUDEK, V.	POLAND	WEIRBLOWSKI
DENMARK	KAUFFMANN	SAUDI ARABIA	DEJANY
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	HENRIQUEZ-URENA	SWEDEN	BOHEMAN
ECUADOR	VITERI-LAFRONTE	SYRIA	FAYEZ EL KHOURI
EGYPT	M. FAWZI BEY	THAILAND	JAYANAMA
EL SALVADOR	MARTINEZ	TURKEY	KURAL
ETHIOPIA	AKLILOU	UKRAINIAN S.S.R.	MANUILSKY
FRANCE	COUVE DE MURVILLE	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	JOOSTE
GREECE	PIPENELIS	UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS	ZARUBIN
GUATEMALA	BAUER	UNITED KINGDOM	CLUTTON
HAITI	Dr. PRICEMARS	UNITED STATES	ROSS, J
HONDURAS		URUGUAY	
ICELAND	THORS, T.	VENEZUELA	STOLK
INDIA	RAU, B.N.	YEMEN	EL AMRI
IRAN	GHASSEMZADE	YUGOSLAVIA	BEBLER
IRAQ	JAMALI, F	ITALY	SFORZA

[U.N.]

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT BY THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CARLO SFORZA BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 1, 1949, ON THE QUESTION OF THE DISPOSITION OF THE FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES

24-22-19

Mr. President, Honorable Delegates,

For the second time in a year I present myself here as your guest. To be sure, your perfect courtesy does not make me personally feel the peculiarity of my position and for this I am grateful to you. But since the cause of peace, our supreme interest, is served by truth and frankness rather than by comfortable oblivions, I feel that it would be a lack of loyalty towards you, were I not to state that the Italian people have learned with increasing bitterness that only a few days ago another veto has once more prevented our coming here as member of the United Nations. Not only in Italy (where the sense of justice is as strong as in all countries which have intensely suffered), but everywhere in the world this is recognized: the full and absolute right on our part to enter the United Nations, and the juridical and moral obligation on the part of the Four Big Powers to abide by the pledge taken in a solemn treaty to support our membership. Far better than I could, this thought was nobly expressed here the other day first by the French Foreign Minister and yesterday

by the

by the United States Delegate. Their words will go straight to the heart of the Italian people who care so deeply about the friendship of their country with France and the United States, as with all other peoples who feel what strength Italy may represent in the cause of international solidarity and peace.

24-23-20

The Soviet Government has repeated to me in a note I received a few days ago, that - I quote - "they never opposed the admission of Italy to the United Nations together with the other States which have also applied to be admitted therein". Such a phrase would be just, had not the Soviet Government made with us the solemn pledge referred to above; we know only this pledge which allows for no mental reservations. This pledge was the essential counterpart of the great sacrifice we made when we signed a treaty of peace that contained unjust clauses mainly imposed by errors perhaps inevitable in a period too near to a terrible war. The Soviet Union ha s no right whatsoever to make our admission to the United Nations dependent upon conditions which do not concern us. In respect to us, the Soviet Union has one duty alone: that of carrying out the solemn commitment made in a treaty and of remembering that that treaty has enabled her to demand to the very last pound of flesh the fulfillment of the heavy conditions which the United States, the United Kingdom and France -

who have

who have always favored Italy's admission to the United Nations - have, for their parts, generously waived.

In stating all this I am at the heart of the question of the Italian colonies, because it is a vital necessity for the United Nations to show the world even in this field that they keep themselves above the cheap schemings and cruel bargainings of the old autocracies.

Democratic Italy has always regarded her colonies not merely as an Italian interest, but as Italian aspects of world interests. It is for this reason that Italy succeeded in contributing to the historical, economic, cultural and moral patrimony of the local populations, non of which entertains unfriendly feelings towards the Italian communities which, through generations, have found a second motherland among them. That is why we feel that by supporting the interests of all these peoples we are supporting the rights of the Italian minorities as well.

When, last April, Italy asked for trusteeships on those territories, it was because at that time trusteeships appeared as the most appropriate solution; and I could not admit that Italy should be unjustly refused the performance of this international task, although by then she was already determined to pave the way

for the

for the earliest possible independence of the peoples whose trusteeship would have been assigned to her.

The proof of the sincerity of this intention of ours is to be found in the prompt decision we adopted two months later, to declare ourselves fully in favor of the immediate independence of the two most progressed territories, Eritrea and Libya, as soon as the debate of the Third General Assembly evidenced that such had become the trend of public opinion.

Italy has spontaneously withdrawn her request for trusteeship of Tripolitania and Eritrea because she has recognized that what is of paramount interest for the economic and civil life of the two countries is that their present provisional regimes should come to an end.

I am fully aware of the difficult conditions that the occupying administrations have had to face, but everyone, including the responsible British statesmen, will agree with me in recognizing that military administrations, while indispensable and maybe beneficial in wartime, soon become detrimental when hostilities are over and the people long for the return of normal life. Five, six, seven years of military administration - with all the restrictions therein implied - unavoidably result in hampering the life of occupied countries, curbing

curbing initiatives, paralizing trade, spreading suspicion through the old tactics of the hateful "divide and impera" practised by the old monarchies. What civil administration, for instance, would ever have thought of forbidding, year after year, the reopening of the old good Italian banks which had been so generously and constructively helpful to the private interests of Arabs and of the Italian settlers alike?

It is not possible to go on like this. You must realize that, if we keep on this way, the interested populations would become convinced that their welfare and their development are to you of no real concern but only a pseudo-democratic show.

I am sure, however that this will not happen. In this Assembly the principle of self-determination of peoples is not merely an ideal: it is a positive affirmation contained in your Charter.

Convinced that the best way to guarantee even our legitimate national interests is to conceive them in function of the interests of the populations whose fate you are about to decide, we want to submit to you our proposals, essentially based on that concept. I will be brief because this is the best way to be clear.

LIBYA - We wish for Libya a unitary structure which can preserve

preserve the common historical heritage of its parts, including the benefits of what Italy has achieved in the field of trade and communications. Naturally, the different characteristics of these parts and the varying level of their political maturity should be taken into consideration.

24-22-24

Italy recognizes the necessity of the formation of corresponding independent States bound to one another by special federating ties attesting the historical and spiritual unity of the Country and ensuring, by means of an apposite Federal Council, the protection of their common interests.

The events of war have bound two of the three sections of the Libyan territory to the United Kingdom and France; Italy is well aware of the consequences of this fact and of the necessity that those two powers be entrusted with the task of guiding to independence those peoples. Italy fully appreciates the intentions expressed by said powers and is ready to examine and accept their proposals, but we intend that the institutions which are being prepared for said regions come within the structure of a

future federal

unity of Libya, and that Tripolitania be granted full freedom to dispose of its future.

So Italy asks for the immediate independence of Tripolitania, in the framework of that future unity which the United Nations should recommend from this moment, and which should then be brought to completion by the free determination of the various regions, as soon as they shall have attained independence.

To bring about the actual independence of Tripolitania, Italy proposes that free, genuine elections for a Constituent Assembly be held within six months. This Assembly should immediately proceed to the appointment of the first government of the country. It is at such time that British administration should cease.

Italy agrees on the advisability that, during the transitional period - that is, between the decisions of the United Nations and the formation of the Tripolitanian Government - the present British Administration continue in its normal function; however, in order that no doubt can be raised as to the way the elections are being conducted it is absolutely necessary that this most delicate electoral experiment, the first in the history of Libya, be organized and supervised by a Control Commission, with an Italian member. Otherwise we would not be making history; we would stage a comedy.

Italy's specific experience, which goes back half a century, allows us to assure you that such is the level of civilization reached by the Arabs of Tripolitania and such the loyal and efficient technical cooperation of the Italian communities, that no possible doubt can be raised regarding the speedy elaboration of a Constitution and the building of the new State on solid foundations.

It is Italy's intention, once the Government of Tripolitania is established, to negotiate with it, on equal footing, appropriate agreements regulating the relations between the two countries and adequately safeguarding Italian citizens and interests in Tripolitania.

If in all sincerity we all agree in seeking the independence of Tripolitania - which is loyally desired by the 45,000 Italians who work there since so many years - no time should be lost in inquiries, in subtle compromises and even less in bureaucratic redtape. In Tripolitania there is a leading class ready to assume its responsibilities. The only result of delays and of provisional measures would be the disappointment of the Tripolitanian populations; doubts and disillusions would ensue; all things which would not increase the prestige of the United Nations.

However, should other considerations, shared neither by the Arabs nor by Italy, lead to an extension of the period preparatory to the formation of the Tripolitanian government, Italy

would request

would request that the powers of the International Commission be not limited to supervising the elections - where in any case it should be supreme - but should assume the character of an overall collaboration; failing which, the occupying authority would be accused of indirectly seeking a mandatory function for which she certainly does not desire artificial delays.

As you see, gentlemen, we are proposing a quick, simple, effective solution, prompted by our intention of meeting the needs and fulfilling the hopes of the Tripolitanian population, both Arab and Italian.

I have no doubt that you will live up to these hopes.

ERITREA - We propose her independence, convinced as we are that she deserves it. An independent Eritrea will be an element of progress in the whole of East Africa, including Ethiopia.

The compromise to which Mr. Bevin and I had to come last May was, as all decent compromises are, a formula not entirely satisfactory to him or to me. The painful hesitancy I felt in accepting Mr. Bevin's point of view about Eritrea in some of its parts, surely proved him my keen desire to reestablish the old cordial, mutual confidence between our two countries, shattered against the will of the Italian people. But in the course of history certain moral duties sometimes impose themselves on us, and have to prevail upon any political consideration. And when the London compromise did not materialize, what was natural for us to do was to assert the necessity of granting Eritrea

an independence

an independence which -- during the discussions on the compromise-- had become popular even among the Italians who live there since three generations; all the more so that this country has recently revealed a national sentiment which cannot be ignored. The Eritreans have proved conscious of their maturity and determined to assert it. That the economic self-sufficiency of the country is possible is well proved by the existence of a flourishing industry and of well developed trade.

I have no doubt that the small countries here represented - small in size but often great in their contribution to civilization - do realize how dangerous may be the objection that Eritrea is too small to be independent. Eritrea has vital forces within herself that can hardly be measured in square miles. Amongst the many titles which Italy has acquired in Eritrea, the establishment and maintenance of freedom, tolerance and religious peace is certainly not the last one. Far from being an argument in favor of partition as has been suggested, the fact of peaceful coexistence in Eritrea of various religions provides one more argument for the unity and independence of the country. An independent Eritrea may be of great service also to Ethiopia and I hope their relations will be most cordial and fruitful, both in the economic and cultural field. In fact, it is also in the interest of Ethiopia that we desire the independence of Eritrea. We are convinced that Ethiopia will one day be able to give a precious contribution to the development of civilization in Africa. But

thaumaturgic gains

thaumaturgic gains of diplomatic origin have never proved useful throughout history; far from it.

SOMALIA - A considerable number of countries agree with Italy that the task which we have performed in Somalia is not yet exhausted. The development of Somalia has required a strenuous effort on the part of Italy because of the economic and social conditions of the country. That effort could not be interrupted without serious damages and setbacks to the proper development of Somalia; a process, this, still going on and mainly due to our tenacious faith in the potentialities of the country and to our constant will to associate the Somalis in our labour and hopes.

Many Delegates recognize the ability of the Italians as pioneers. I trust, therefore, that you will realize how useful it would be for the Somalis to go on benefiting by Italian collaboration until such time as the independence of that country is declared. We will do our best to hasten the coming of that day; but at the same time we have all of us to keep in mind that the development of Somalia requires the employment of considerable capital, Italian as well as foreign. Hardly any capital could be found unless a reasonable period of stability could be relied upon.

Here I could end. I have told you of all our intents. However, so many are the suspicions and the doubts circulating - some of them in good

in good faith - in this unstable world that I deem it opportune to take a few more minutes of your time in order to explain how it is that in Italy, where our old colonies were dearly loved and cherished, we have come to the unanimous decision that it is good and sound to promote for them an independence respected by all.

24-22-30

The Italian people, following the statesmanlike and generous example set by Great Britain in other parts of the world, have come to the conviction that they must actively seek the friendship of the new states coming to life in the territories where we brought civilization. Of that friendship Italy is certain from this very moment because of the contribution that thousands and thousands of Italians are now giving and will keep on giving to those countries. Those Italians always lived and worked hand in hand with the local populations, even in the most difficult moments. Neither time nor events and, still less, extraneous influences, will succeed in obliterating this friendship, based as it is on memories, decades old, of fruitful work carried out together.

By so doing we will at the same time come closer to many noble peoples in Asia who have recently become independent. We wish to gain their friendship, beginning with those nearer to our ancient colonies, or bound to them by ties of blood and religion as well as by a common way of thinking and feeling.

Now that I have laid before you the whole of our thoughts,

you know

you know that nothing can be more sincere than the policy I have outlined. It is the oldest policy of free Italy. Let me here recall that when, seventy years ago, a proposal was made to us to participate in a military expedition into Egypt, we declined it, because we believed that it was against our interest to perturb, through military intervention, the development of our peaceful activities in fertile and friendly Egypt.

Yes, it is true that fortysix million Italians are far too many in a country where, for all its beauty, sometimes peasants toil with mules in carrying loads of soil up the Apennines heights in order to make new fields for their meagre wheat to grow. But we trust that President Truman's generous plan will soon open the way to solutions and transformations which will never threaten the principle of self-determination in all parts of the world.

If we Italians believe only in the works of peace, this is because people as full of industry and vitality as ours have everything to lose in a world polluted by hatred and iniquity, while we have everything to gain from peace and solidarity among free united Nations.

[U.N.]

Statement by Abdullahi Issa,
Representative of the Somali
Youth League and Hamar Youth Club,
Before the First Committee, General
Assembly, United Nations, October 7, 1949.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Members:

It gives me great pleasure, indeed, to have the privilege and opportunity of addressing once again this august Assembly. I venture to say that no delegate here present, no government or people here represented, awaits more anxiously than we Somalis your judgment on the future of our country and our people. We hope, therefore, that such a final decision be a just and fair one based on the fundamental principle of self-determination of peoples.

24-22-9

That is the reason why we are again here, thousands of miles from our people and home, pleading for justice and for the cause of freedom--causes which are very dear not only to our hearts but also dear to many hearts here that have experienced in the past the pangs and sorrows of exploitation and subjugation and all its attendant evils.

At the outset we wish to extend our deepest thanks to all those nations who made possible, in May of this year, the rejection of the plan known as the Bevin-Sforza agreement.

From the experience gained during the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies in the last session, we now know that colonial powers have every opportunity, even in this General Assembly of the United Nations, to gain strong support of their evil schemes to exploit and subjugate weak and oppressed countries like Somaliland. The Bevin-Sforza agreement, and especially that part regarding the future of Somaliland, supported the survival of colonialism of the worse type. The greatest surprise to our people was to note the strong

support that this imperialist plan received from the majority of the member states during the last session.

At the opening of the last session (Part II), we came here with great confidence and faith in the United Nations. But what we then heard and witnessed during the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies, was in complete and alarming contrast with what we expected.

The great confidence and faith of the Somali people in the United Nations has been considerably reduced. We regret this, but we must tell you the truth. The Somalis did not arrive at this conclusion without well-founded reasons.

24-23-10

Our people would have lost complete confidence and faith in the United Nations had not some disinterested and non-colonial powers made possible the rejection of the Bevin-Sforza agreement. Again we express our deepest thanks to those nations, whose names are today very dear to the heart of every Somali at home and overseas.

Next we wish to deal with the question of the representation of the peoples of Somaliland. This is very simple if you turn to the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation, which visited Somaliland early in 1948. This report alone is quite enough to demonstrate our indisputable right to speak for and on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland. You may ascertain from this report that the overwhelming majority of the Somalis supported our program.

Also you may ascertain from the same report that the members of the Commission recognized our party as the only real and active political organization in Somaliland. I would refer particularly to the general conclusions of the Four Power Commission at the end of its

report on Somaliland. To quote from this general conclusions, page 121 of the English text:

> "In spite of this lack of maturity, in the last five years a nationalist movement led by the Somali Youth League has rapidly spread through the country, embracing most of the urban classes wherever located, and through the influence of the Chiefs and Elders, almost all the tribes except those in the Sab Confederacy and a few others. This movement is well organised, possesses relatively competent leadership, and may well be the major force in Somali politics for some time to come."

Last session some Quislings appeared before the Committee claiming to represent ineffective or non-existing parties. They also made false statements by saying that they represent some tribes of Somaliland. These traitors are far more interested in receiving eight years back pay due to them as ex-servicemen than in the welfare of the people of Somaliland. Italy has issued formal promise to pay eight years back pay to all ex-servicemen in case she becomes again the ruler of Somaliland.

24-32-11

In the last session, the Quislings from Somaliland stated that they were in favor of the Bevin-Sforza agreement, namely a solution condemning the Somalis to perpetual slavery and servitude. We say perpetual slavery and servitude since that imperialist plan contained recommendations to restore Italian administration in Somaliland for <u>an indefinitive period</u>.

At that time the traitors admitted that they had not read or even seen any of the various draft resolutions submitted by some delegates in regard to the future of Somaliland and its people. Further they made ridiculous statements such as that the Italian Government had opened Universities and other higher educational institutes for the Somalis and that more than 500 Somalis had obtained different degrees.

These facts alone are quite sufficient to prove that the said traitors come here only to sell Somaliland and the Somalis. We have already informed the honourable members of the Committee that had the administration of Somaliland been in the hands of the people, our Quislings would have received equal justice as their colleagues in other parts of the world.

Italy may arrange to bring here again the same or other traitors. We have nothing to worry about their arrival since everyone may clearly see that they come here in order to sell their country and their people.

The standing of our organization in relation to that of other political parties in Somaliland is quite clearly indicated in the following passages, quoting again from the same page of the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation:

> "The other political parties have developed in opposition to the Somali Youth League and, with one exception, are of recent growth. Their influence is slight."

Besides receiving the support of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland, our organization is representing the true interests and welfare of Somaliland and the Somalis. The activity of our organization, in addition to our firm intention to stand and sacrifice ourselves for the cause of the legitimate aspirations of the Somali people, is good proof that we stand for the true interests and welfare of the inhabitants of Somaliland.

The honourable members of the Committee will observe that our right to speak on behalf of the whole or at least the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland is well-founded. With this right and privilege, we should like to express briefly the wishes and needs of the Somalis in order that their true welfare may be safeguarded.

Some days ago we submitted to the Chairman of the First Committee a memorandum containing our program in regard to the future of Somaliland. The program had received the unanimous approval of the Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Religious Sheiks and Akils of all Somali tribes inhabiting the former Italian Somaliland. From this program you will observe that the greatest desire of our people is the immediate independence of Somaliland.

We are grateful for the opportunity to endorse the said program with this oral statement of ours. Therefore, we ask the honourable members of the Assembly to proclaim the immediate independence of Somaliland. This is the greatest desire of the people.

From this program you will observe also that we have been reasonable enough to state that if, in the wisdom of the honourable members of the Assembly, it considered best to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System, we do not raise objections PROVIDED THAT the restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise and even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations be completely excluded. The reasons of our strong opposition to living again under the hated and oppressive Italian domination are substantial, irrevocable and permanent. We set them forth in several memoranda submitted to the Committee.

In case the honourable members of the Assembly decide to place Somaliland under the International Trusteeship System, we stated that our preference is a direct United Nations administration for a very short period of interim. We are convinced that only under such direct United Nations trusteeship can the letter and spirit of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter be successfully implemented.

Mr. Chairman and honourable delegates, we should like to comment briefly on what some members frequently call "the spirit of com-

promise." Needless to point out that by saying so, these members have in mind the compromise between a group known as strong supporters of the unjust imperialist claims of Italy on one hand and a bloc of colonial powers on the other. We consider this kind of compromise totally unjust and illegal.

A just and legal compromise would be a compromise between the inhabitants of the territory concerned on one hand and the General Assembly of the United Nations on the other. We, as the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland, have clearly demonstrated, as you may see in the above-mentioned program of ours, the willingness to compromise to a certain reasonable extent.

We are very glad to note that this time almost all the members here present recognize that Libya is ready for immediate independence. Some of the members are considering the same even for Eritrea. Just three months ago the prevailing view was that none of the three territories known as the former Italian colonies were ready for self-government or immediate independence.

The reason for this radical change is not because something extraordinary has happened in Libya and Eritrea. The reason is, in our opinion, that a considerable number of member states have reconsidered the matter and accordingly changed their mind. We express our deepest disappointment that the said members did not see fit to reconsider their position in regard to the question of our country Somaliland and our people.

Instead of considering the question of Somaliland, we observed from the very start of this session that the authors of the Bevin-Sforza agreement have the intention to re-introduce that part of the plan in regard to Somaliland and its people.

Our greatest surprise this time is not that these colonial powers are preparing to re-introduce the Bevin-Sforza agreement, but that most of the members who previously supported the plan are prepared to support it even now. They already made statements to this effect in the First Committee even without waiting to hear the views of the representatives of the inhabitants.

Mr. Chairman, honourable delegates, it is needless to remind you of heavy responsibility on your shoulders and the importance of your deliberations. The destiny of millions of human beings depends on your vote. Today you are in a position to cast your vote in favour of the legitimate aspirations of oppressed and exploited peoples like ourselves or to deny them these rights. Today you are in a position to cast your vote against the survival of colonialism or to condemn weak and small nations to perpetual slavery and servitude. You are in a position to cast your vote in favour of International peace and security or for war and disaster.

We beg you, honourable members, to bear in mind all these relevant facts before casting your final vote. Consider the damage that your vote may cause weak and oppressed peoples like ourselves. Remember that their very existence depends on your vote. Respect the fundamental principle of self-determination. Respect the principle that "the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount" and all other fundamental principles of the noble Charter of the United Nations. Save the lives of millions of human beings who have declared that they prefer complete extermination rather than life under the subjugation of their former masters. Save the very prestige, if not the existence of your own organization and its noble Charter. Honour the wartime pledges for freedom, liberty and justice promised

to all peace-loving nations of the world. Strengthen the confidence and faith that millions of peoples in dependent territories repose in you and in the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, honourable delegates, we have been driven to this desperate appeal by the apparent tendency of some members in this Committee to solve important matters on the basis of political bargaining and expediency. We have witnessed that a good number of members in this Committee intend to bargain with the destiny of our people and our country. We have observed that many members apparently intend to disregard completely the wishes and welfare of our people. These members intend to re-impose Italian rule in Somaliland. This is entirely against the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants. Therefore, we consider this act as an open violation of both the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter.

We stated that we represent the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland. We stated also that the Somalis prefer complete extermination rather than live again under Italian domination. If the honourable members of the Committee have the slightest doubt of the truthfulness of these statements of ours, we believe that the best and just solution would be to send a new Commission of Investigation to Somaliland to ascertain the true wishes of the people. This would mean postponement of the matter at least another year. We stated at the outset that no one here present awaits more anxiously than we the day of your final decision. Better to delay than to condemn the whole population of a weak and oppressed nation to total extermination

We advance this proposal because we are positive that should the Assembly decide to restore the hated Italian rule in Somaliland, our people will resist to the last man. Such an unfortunate decision

would bring immediate reaction notwithstanding the fact that British bayonets, tommy guns, thousands of heavy tanks and aeroplanes stationed in Mogadishu and other centres throughout Somaliland are ready to subdue our people forcibly. The Military Administration there would do its best to crush the resistance of ill-armed, weak and poor Somalis by using the typical British methods already practiced in other dependent countries such as Indonesia.

Some delegates have already advanced proposals to send a new Commission of Investigation to Eritrea and find out the wishes of the people. Since proposals such as these are under the consideration of the members, why then exclude the very serious case of Somaliland? If some members desire to send a new Commission of Investigation to Eritrea, why then deny equal rights and privileges to Somaliland? We earnestly hope that the honourable members of the Committee will consider this important fact.

In the event of any new Commission of Investigation being sent to Somaliland, we ask the Assembly to select the members of the same among the strictly neutral member states of the United Nations.

Once again we beg the honourable members of the Committee to consider carefully before casting their final vote. Remember that the very existence of millions of human beings depends on your vote. Remember that the destiny of our people and that of our country and our children depend on your deliberations.

Before concluding our speech, we would remind the honourable members that this session of the General Assembly has been called a "Peace Assembly" by its President, General Romulo. May we not hope that this means peace for all and not peace for some and war for others? May we beg of you that in your deliberations you make no decisions which will inevitably bring disaster and chaos to our country. It would, we

assure you, be disgraceful to arrive at such decisions in a "Peace Assembly."

Once again we wish to stress that the Somalis do not desire and will not accept the restoration, in their country, of the Italian administration in any form or guise and even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations. If, against the wishes of our people, the General Assembly should decide to restore Italian rule in our country, how can you, honourable members, expect us to trust and have faith in the United Nations since we have seen from the very beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored?

We appeal to you, honourable members, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not merely laid down in the peace treaty with Italy but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter--that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount.

We wish to reserve the right to comment, at a later stage, on every draft resolution advanced in regard to the future of our country and our people.

We faithfully hope that the honourable members of the Committee will carefully consider the just and legitimate aspirations of the Somali people. We trust that these honourable members shall disregard any and all irrelevant interests and bargaining and decide this all-important and vital issue of the fate of the whole Somali nations on the ground of equity, justice and good conscience.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, honourable members.

24.22.18

1.

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City
October 14, 1949

Chairman, First Committee
United Nations
General Assembly
Lake Success, New York

Dear Sir:

Since the opening of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the inhabitants of Somaliland have addressed from Mogadishu and other centres of the country hundreds of telegrams to the Secretary General of the United Nations, declaring that they prefer total extermination rather than life again under the hated Italian domination. Further, they have reaffirmed their full support of the program of the Somali Youth League.

24-22-41

We received copies of some of the telegrams addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations. The text of the telegrams follows:

Appendix A--October 1, 1949, Mogadishu:

> "Following sent to Secretary General UNO date quote: As result of conference held in Mogadishu we the lawful Sultans, Sheiks, Chiefs, Elders and notables of Somalia decided to address you following telegram stop We express strong resentment to Italian return to our country stop We desire immediate independence or if this impossible direct UNO trusteeship stop In event of decision by UNO of collective or single administration Italy must be completely excluded stop Inform you that local Italians have sent four their stoogeys to UNO with false signatures of Somali chiefs and Sheiks stop These are not representatives of Somalia people as they not Chiefs of Elders but just Italian servants or unemployed men picked up from Mogadishu streets stop Please inform this our expression to all delegations at UNO Assembly stop Haji Musa Bogor; Haji Dirie; Haji Mahamud Abdulle; Sherif Mahamud Abdurrahman; Yusuf Egal; Salah Jama; Haji Hassan Elmi; Haji Ali Abdi; Hilowle Moallim; Farah Ali; Jumale Barreh; Mussa Mahar and all Somali Chiefs, Sheiks, Elders, Notables who previously sent to UNO memorandums and telegrams opposing categorically Italian return to Somaliland."

Appendix B--October 1, 1949, Mogadishu:

> "Following sent to Secretary General UNO date quote We

the Hamar tribes who are inhabitants of Mogadishu beg to express our views on future of Somaliland stop We object Italian return to our country even as Trustee power or partnership stop Our wishes are expressed in Hamar Youth Club programme which is immediate independence or this being impossible direct UNO trusteeship stop We will not object trusteeship of collective or single administration provided Italy be excluded in both cases stop We also and above all desire unification of all Somalilands stop We inform you that local Italians sent four Somali stoogeys to Rome to take instructions and proceed to Lake Success with false representation stop These Italians are sending you continually false information stop We curse any nation supporting Italian return to our country as we bless any nation supporting our lawful cause stop Please distribute this our appeal to all UNO delegations. Chiefs and tribes of Hamar."

Appendix C--October 2, 1949, Baidoa:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO stop Quote Please respect ninety five per cent wishes who prefer death rather than Italian administration stop Our wishes are stressed in SYL programme.Unquote
Branch SYL Baidoa."

Appendix D--October 2, 1949, Galkayu:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO quote Remind you UNO Charter which states that former Italian colonies should be dealt with by you according to wishes welfare of inhabitants and world peace stop Where then does Italy come in the picture stop SYL delegate c/o Lake Success will explain you our wishes unquote. Sultans, Chiefs, Sheiks and people of Galkayu and Obbia."

Appendix E--October 2, 1949, Mogadishu:

"Following sent Secretary General UNO quote Please inform all delegations Yassin Ali Shermarke is neither Darod nor Mijertein tribes representatives stop He is unemployed sent by Italians probably with false signatures of Somali Chiefs, Sheiks stop We affirm we prefer death than Italian rule even if supervised by UNO stop For Mijertin tribes Haji Mussa Sultan Vice President Mogadishu Town Council Chief Osman Yusuf Chief Mussa Mohamed Chief Issa Galan Chief Ahmed said for Darod tribes Chief Hilole Maalim Chief Sheik Mohamed Abdulle Chief Farah Mohamed Chief Mohamud Farah Kalipha Sheik Elmi Abdulle Khalifa Sheik Ahmed Omar Chief Farah Ali."

Appendix F--October 3, 1949, Mogadishu:

"Following sent to Secretary General UNO date quote

Islao Mahadalla and others left for Lake Success pretending to represent Abgal tribes stop They are local Italian servants and do not represent Abgal tribes stop We state that Abgal tribes prefer instant death rather than acquiesce Italian rule again stop Letter follows stop Imam Omar Ali Sultan of Abgals; Abdi Haji; Jumale Barre; Musse Moallim; Abrahim Moallim; Abdi Beri; Mahamud Mohamed; Ali Ghedi Chiefs of Abgals tribes."

Appendix G--October 3, 1949, Baidao:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO stop quote We Sultans, Chiefs and Sheiks of Upper Juba Province beseech you to respect wishes of ninety five per cent Somalis who prefer death rather than Italian administration stop Our wishes are stressed in SYL programme unquote Sultans and Sheiks of Baidoa and Burhacaba Amin Balle Elay tribe,Hassan Ali Yentar tribe,Abdio Issakh Gheledle tribe, Abdullahi Amin Ilemo tribe, Sheik Abdio Yero, Sheik Mohamed Ibbis Imam, Sherif Mohamed Head religion."

Appendix H--October 5, 1949, Baidao:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO stop quote We Sultans, Chiefs and Sheiks of Upper Juba Province beseech you to respect wishes of ninety five per cent Somalis who prefer death rather than Italian administration stop Our wishes are stressed in SYL programme unquote. Sultan Sheik Hussein Dabare tribe, Haji Ibrahim head religion."

Appendix I--October 7, 1949, Mogadishu:

"Anti Italian demonstrations broke out throughout Somalia stop British troops opened fire in Mogadishu stop Seven Somalis killed some thirty wounded stop Hundreds including Chiefs, Sheiks imprisoned stop Chiefs and SYL leaders deported stop League closed and its correspondence etc. seized stop Situation very bad stop UNO informed. Kil."

Appendix J--October 7, 1949, Mogadishu:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO stop quote We Sultans, Chiefs and Sheiks of Upper Juba Province bessech you to respect wishes of ninety-five per cent Somalis who prefer death rather than Italian administration stop Our wishes are stressed in SYL programme stop unquote. Sultan Sheik Hussein Dabare tribe, Haji Ibrahim head religion."

Appendix K--October 7, 1949, Belet Wen:

"Have sent two telegrams to Secretary General UNO protesting unjustness provision trying return Italy stop Please contact. Belet Wen Dussamareb inhabitants."

Appendix L--October 9, 1949, Villaggio:

"Following sent date to UNO quote Remind you that Italy has with the peace treaty renounced all rights and claims on her former colonies stop We hereby submit our protest for the fact that she has been allowed to do so in the recent session which privilege is considered breach of above treaty stop Somalis will resist Italian return to the last man stop Our wishes are expressed in the SYL programme stop unquote. Ghedi Santur Haji Abrohim Ahmed Abdirahman.

Appendix M--October 10, 1949, Bendercassim:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO stop quote Our fate lies in your hands but remember that because you are strong and we weak you must not decide our future against our wishes stop Extinction is better for us than Italian rule again stop Mijertein people approve unanimously SYL programme unquote. Mijertein Chiefs and Sheiks."

Appendix N--October 3, 1949, Berbera:

"Following signal sent to the General Secretary UNO stop All members of Somali Youth League and Somalis strongly pray decision on future of Somalia in accordance with justice and human rights and principles of the Charter stop Italian return in any shape or under any name or guise absolutely and categorically unacceptable by Somaliland stop Most grateful for circulation of this telegram to the press of the world and to all representatives of member states in the General Assembly being held now stop All Somalis in the adjacent countries absolutely against any proposal for Italian return to any part of whole Somalilands. Secretary and Elders of Somalis."

Appendix O--September 28, 1949, Berbera:

"Following signal addressed to Secretary General UNO stop We chiefs of Somaliland protectorate beseech you to decide our fate in the light of justice stop Unification of our lands is essential for our future stop The Somali nation will oppose any proposal returning Italy stop We support SYL. Chiefs and Elders Berbera."

Appendix P--October 1, 1949, Berbera:

"Following signal sent to the General Assembly UNO stop All Somalis looking towards you for justice stop Eagerly expecting Amalgamation stop Entirely against Italy's return stop Somalis prefer death then live with Italians stop No representative except Abdullahi Issa sent by Somalis stop Earnestly solicit save Somalis lives by stopping Italians to return. Secretary and Elders of Somalis."

Appendix Q--October 13, 1949, Lugh:

"Following sent date to Secretary General of UNO quote Please respect ninety five per cent wishes prefer death rather than Italian administration stop Our wishes are stressed in SYL programme unquote. Mallim Omar Chief Gabawen Sheik Abdullahi Elders Marehan."

Appendix R--October 13, 1949, Gardo:

"Following sent UNO date begins have strong protest against HM Govt supporting Italian return and her present demon policy Somalia end. Gardo populations."

Appendix S--October 14, 1949, Garoe:

"Following sent date to Secretary General UNO quote Our fate lies in your hands but remember that because you are strong and we weak you must not decide our future against our wishes stop Extinction is better for us than Italian rule again stop Mejertin people approve unanimously SYL programme unquote. Garoe people."

We beg to remain, Sirs,

Respectfully yours,

Ismail Hassan

Abduhalli Issa

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City
October 15, 1949

24-22-50

The strong and unexpected support of almost all the Latin American states to the unjust imperialist claims of Italy to colonize once again our country, Somaliland, and some of the other territories known as the former Italian colonies, surprised and shocked all peoples in dependent areas and particularly those inhabiting the territories concerned. This, because the Latin American nations have always been known as champions of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

The recent debate on this question during the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations revealed that most of the Latin American countries were about to abandon their traditional policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

Today, peoples of dependent territories are closely following events of the world. The colonial peoples have noticed, with great disappointment and sorrow, that, while the Latin American states constantly and ardently desire to end European possessions in the Western Hemisphere, they strongly support European colonization in Africa. How is that to be explained? Here lies the mysterious question yet to be answered.

The colonial peoples remember very well the serious trouble a

few months ago between Great Britain on one hand and Guatemala on the other over the question of British Honduras.

Our people joined the allies in the war against the Italians and their nazi-fascist allies, and they gave their blood freely for the cause of freedom which was promised them. They were then quite naturally shocked, stunned and bewildered to hear and read that some nations, including your government, were willing to hand over our people, and not only the people, but also their native land as well as their sons and grandsons to the hated Italian Government in violation of all principles of decency, justice and humanity. Chief among these nations were Great Britain and the USA. It appeared to our people that we were being liberated only to be subjugated again! Here was, indeed, an attempt to reintroduce the slave trade on a vast scale; i.e. to "sell a territory completely along with its inhabitants!" We now know the nations who pay lip-service to democracy and the principles of the United Nations.

Had it not been for the strong and unstinted support we received from disinterested and non-imperialist nations among the member states of the United Nations, our people would have already been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. Happily, the Bevin-Sforza agreement to distribute the former Italian colonies among a few friends failed, and its rejection is proof to the world of the strength that the more honest powers can effectively wield in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The plan was in open violation of both the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. Needless to say, one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations is "that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount." We rest assured that our cause was

24-22.57

the cause of justice against tyranny, of right against wrong. Instead of supporting the right cause, you voted for the malign imperialist plan: the Bevin-Sforza agreement.

Nevertheless, we do trust and still hope that better counsel will eventually prevail. You will surely observe that your interests do not actually clash with those of our people. We want a speedy and sure way to freedom, and in helping us in our aims and objectives, you will be advancing the cause of humanity at large. Now that there is yet time, we beg you to stretch out your hand of succour to our people who are rapidly developing political and national consciousness. Cannot you once in a vital issue such as ours, act in the name of GOD and HUMANITY knowing full well wherein justice lies?

As the representative of the true interests of the country and the people, the Somali Youth League stands for immediate independence of Somaliland. The League, as a responsible body, has been quite reasonable in its demands because it does not wish to oppose the best wisdom of the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations if it wishes to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System, PROVIDED there is no restoration of the Italian Administration in any form, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations. Our reasons for opposing the restoration of Italian rule are substantial, irrevocable and permanent. We have set them forth in several memoranda circulated to the delegations of the Assembly. Our people have suffered over half a century of Italian subjugation, oppression, suppression, torture, forced labour, confiscation of land and brutal massacres. They have had enough of slavery and brutality. The entire population of Somaliland is united in this strong opposition to restoration of the Italian Administration in any form in their country. The Somalis are firmly and definitely decided

to resist such a restoration even at the price of complete extermination.

In case of Trusteeship, the League has made quite clear its preference for direct United Nations Administration. We realize quite well that under such an administration, with direct participation of all true democratic nations such as your government, our country will prosper and obtain, within the least possible time, its complete independence. The policy of such an administration would be entirely to run the country for the sole benefit of the inhabitants.

24-22.53

During the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies in the last session of the General Assembly of the U.N., the representative of India introduced a draft resolution calling upon the Assembly to place Libya and Somaliland immediately under a direct United Nations trusteeship. The proposal of India, although it received considerable support, was defeated. The principal opponents were the imperialist powers who argued about the financial and technical difficulties involved in the implementation of the Indian draft resolution. It was the opinion of the representative of India and many others that the member states can overcome these difficulties and thus seize this opportunity to administer directly the former Italian colonies.

Both the Italian and British administrations stated that the budget of Somaliland runs a continual deficit. If this is true, let us give our opinion and main reason for this deficit. It is because no one has ever tried to develop properly the rich natural resources, mainly agricultural and pastoral, of the vast Somaliland territory. No assays have ever been made of the mineral wealth of Somaliland. You will discover from the economic section of the report of the Four

Power Commission, which visited the territory early last year, that Somaliland, if properly developed, has excellent economic prospects. It is the general opinion of many well known economists that the natural resources of Somaliland, if properly developed, are sufficient to maintain the self-sufficiency of the territory, with even a possible surplus.

Italy used Somaliland mainly as a military and strategic base in an effort to realize her age-long dream of establishing an Italian Empire in East Africa, comprising Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland. You may ascertain from the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation that more than sixty per cent of the total expenditure of Somaliland, while under the Italian regime, was used for military purposes. You will note from this part of the said report that the Italians spent less than one per cent of the total expenditure of Somaliland for education. This small amount was exclusively used for educational facilities for the small minority of Italians residing in the territory since there was not even a single school for the Somalis.

During the eight years of occupation, the British Military Administration has done practically nothing for the economic development of the country. For the first five years, the Military Administration had some excuses because of the war. After 1945, the Administration easily found other excuses. Ever since that year, the Administration has said: "the future of the country is unknown" in reply to any request made for the economic improvement of Somaliland.

Experience has shown that the African territories placed under the Mandate System of the League of Nations, with a single colonial power as the administering authority, tend to become gradually but

surely more like colonies, as in the cases of Tanganyika, Ruanda Urundi, South West Africa, the Cameroons and the Togolands. Today, after nearly thirty years under the Mandate System, the inhabitants of these territories have been kept as ignorant and backward as those in colonial areas, or even worse. Tanganyika, both under the Mandate and Trusteeship administrations, has administrative, political, economic, educational and social union with the adjacent British colonies of Kenya and Uganda. It is well known that Great Britain is trying her best to make permanent this union. The new imperialist plans of His Majesty's Government, in that part of Africa, are no longer a secret. She is doing her utmost to establish somewhere in Africa her lost Indian Empire. Here is her best chance, if she succeeds in obtaining Tanganyika (a Trust Territory) which, together with the Crown colonies of Kenya and Uganda and probably some others, will form the nucleus of her new African Empire.

What is more surprising is the fact that the Union of South Africa has refused to place the Mandated territory of South West Africa under the International Trusteeship System as provided by the United Nations Charter (Chapter XII, Article 77 1-a). The Union of South Africa has recently informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations of its firm and definite decision to incorporate South West Africa into the Union. Consequently the Union Government does not consider it necessary to submit any more annual reports on the territory in question. In making this decision, the Union of South Africa (a founder member of the United Nations) has not only violated the letter and spirit of the Charter but also ignored the various resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations calling upon the Union Government to submit annual reports of their administration of South West Africa. Since the Union of South Africa first refused to

place the mandated territory of South West Africa under the International Trusteeship System, the General Assembly of the United Nations has examined the question in three consecutive sessions (I, II & III). But in each instance the Assembly has failed to take appropriate and energetic measures to solve this important matter. Such appropriate and energetic measures are not only important but essential since the very prestige of the world organization is involved in this question.

Suppose that the General Assembly of the United Nations decides to place our country under the Trusteeship Administration of one or more colonial powers. If such power or powers refuse to recognize the authority of the United Nations, what steps will the organization take? We believe that the answer will be the same as in the case of South West Africa; i.e. "the Organization is not strong enough to impose its decision." For this very reason we ask the immediate independence of Somaliland, no matter whether the inhabitants have or have not the required qualifications to take over the administration at this time. Instead of this, if the General Assembly of the United Nations decides to place our country under the International Trusteeship System, a direct United Nations Administration is acceptable as the sole alternative solution. We should like to emphasize that this, and only this, corresponds to the wishes and the true welfare of the Somalis.

In order to strengthen both the Organization and the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations, the Secretary-General has suggested placing of the former Italian colonies under a direct United Nations trusteeship during the relatively brief period which may precede their independence. We quote the suggestion of the Secretary-General from the annual report for the year ending June 30th, 1949:

"ITALIAN COLONIES

"The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The question will come before the fourth regular session of the General Assembly this autumn.

"The debate on this question at the second part of the third session was significant in several ways. It reflected the growing influence on the nations of Asia and Africa. Those nations played a decisive part in preventing the adoption of a compromise proposal which they felt was unsatisfactory to a majority of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. The debate also brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Minister.

"I recognize the political and practical difficulties involved in a direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories during the relatively brief period that may precede their independence. Nevertheless, I believe that statesmanship on the part of the Governments could lead to such a solution of the problem, and that the political difficulties could be dealt with if the practical difficulties could be overcome. The best solution, in my opinion, would be a direct United Nations trusteeship with an administrator responsible solely to the Trusteeship Council. It is, of course, for the member governments to decide, but I feel sure that such a bold forward step would help the peoples of the territories concerned to follow the peaceful path toward self-government or independence, and that it would strengthen the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations and in the member governments who would have made such a solution possible."

Italian interests as well as the other foreign interests can be safeguarded should the Assembly decide to place Somaliland under a direct United Nations trusteeship. In fact, this is the best way to safeguard foreign interests since the organization itself acts as the administering authority.

In the name of GOD and JUSTICE do not fail us in this hour of our trial. We beg Your Excellencies to fight against our subjugation to the hated Italian rule. Our hope and faith lie in your hands, and we rest assured that you shall justify the confidence that we repose

in you, your Government and your people. We trust that this time you shall support our right cause for freedom and justice in an issue which shall decide the fate of our country, ourselves and our descendants.

Praying that Almighty GOD will bestow His choicest blessings on your Government and its people, I am

Respectfully yours,

AI:RWR

Abdullahi Issa

84-22,58

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City
October 15, 1949

Chairman of the First Committee
General Assembly
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Dear Sir:

On September 19th, 1949, we submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a memorandum containing the joint program of the Somali Youth League and Hamar Youth Club in regard to the future of our country, Somaliland, and our people. The Sultans, Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Religious Sheiks and Akils of all Somali tribes inhabiting the former Italian Somaliland have unanimously approved the said program. Some forty-two declarations (with over 2,000 signatures), duly signed by them as evidence of their unqualified approval of the program, have been submitted to the Secretary-General together with the above-mentioned memorandum.

From this program you will observe our desire for immediate independence of Somaliland. From the same program you will notice also that we have been reasonable enough and stated that we do not oppose if in the wisdom of the honourable members of the Assembly it considered it best to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System, PROVIDED THAT the restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations, be completely excluded.

Our reasons for opposing the restoration of Italian rule are substantial, irrevocable and permanent. We have set them forth in several memoranda circulated to the delegations of the Assembly. The Somalis have suffered over half a century of Italian subjugation,

oppression, suppression, torture, forced labour, confiscation of land and brutal massacres. They have had enough of slavery and brutality. The entire population of Somaliland is united in this strong opposition to restoration of Italian administration in any form or guise in their country. The Somalis are firmly and definitively decided to resist such a restoration <u>even at the price of complete extermination</u>.

From the program you will notice further our preference for direct United Nations administration should the honourable members of the Assembly decide to place Somaliland temporarily under the International Trusteeship System. It is our firm conviction that this is the best administration should Somaliland become a trust territory. We believe that under a direct United Nations trusteeship our aspirations will be recognized and the welfare of our people placed first. We are convinced that only under such a direct United Nations trusteeship can the letter and spirit of Article 73 of the Charter be successfully implemented. We should like to emphasize that only such a direct United Nations administration can protect and enlarge the true welfare of Somaliland and the Somalis if our country should become a trust territory.

During the last session of the Assembly, the concept of direct United Nations trusteeship received considerable support. It is interesting to note, however, that among the sponsors and strong supporters of this form of administration were such nations as India, Pakistan, Burma and others. These nations have experienced centuries of oppressive foreign rule and are well acquainted with colonial problems.

In order to strengthen both the organization and the confi-

dence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations, the Secretary-General has suggested placing of the former Italian colonies under a direct United Nations trusteeship during the relatively brief period which may precede their independence. We quote the suggestion of the Secretary-General from the annual report for the year ending June 30th, 1949:

"ITALIAN COLONIES

"The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The question will come before the fourth regular session of the General Assembly this autumn.

"The debate on this question at the second part of the third session was significant in several ways. It reflected the growing influence of the nations of Asia and Africa. Those nations played a decisive part in preventing the adoption of a compromise proposal which they felt was unsatisfactory to a majority of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. The debate also brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

"I recognize the political and practical difficulties involved in a direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories during the relatively brief period that may precede their independence. Nevertheless, I believe that statesmanship on the part of the Governments could lead to such a solution of the problem, and that the political difficulties could be dealt with if the practical difficulties could be overcome. The best solution, in my opinion, would be a direct United Nations trusteeship with an administrator responsible solely to the Trusteeship Council. It is, of course, for the member governments to decide, but I feel sure that such a bold forward step would help the peoples of the territories concerned to follow the peaceful path toward self-government or independence, and that it would strengthen the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations and in the member governments who would have made such a solution possible."

As soon as the Secretary-General's report was made public, political observers predicted that colonial powers would oppose strongly the proposal for direct UN trusteeship. The reasons for

colonial powers opposing such a solution needs no detailed explanation.

During the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies in the last session of the Assembly, the distinguished delegate of China stated that direct United Nations administration is the best solution for the true interests and welfare of the inhabitants. He also stated that direct United Nations trusteeship will serve to set up a standard of comparison in the administration of non-self-governing territories throughout the world.

24-27-36

Statements such as that of the distinguished delegate of China, namely that direct United Nations trusteeship will serve to set up a standard of comparison in the administration of non-self-governing territories throughout the world, naturally will alarm colonial powers in general and those possessing colonies in Africa in particular. This is one of the main reasons why colonial powers strongly oppose the proposal for direct United Nations trusteeship.

But the colonial powers are clever enough to hide the true reasons behind their strong opposition to direct United Nations administration. Instead, they mention frequently financial implications involved in case of direct United Nations trusteeship. In order to discourage the member states, they exaggerate the budget required to administer all or each separate part of the former Italian colonies. If the budget of these territories runs a heavy and continual deficit, then why bankrupt Italy, the United Kingdom and France who are so anxious to administer these territories and assume the responsibility for this heavy burden?

Both the Italian and British administrations stated that the budget of Somaliland runs a continual deficit. If this is true, let

us give our opinion and main reason for this deficit. It is because no one has ever tried to develop properly the natural resources, mainly agricultural and pastoral, of the vast Somaliland territory. No surveys have ever been made of the mineral wealth of Somaliland. You will discover from the economic section of the report of the Four Power Commission, which visited the territory early last year, that Somaliland, if properly developed, has excellent economic prospects. It is the general opinion that the natural resources of Somaliland, if properly developed, are sufficient to maintain the self-sufficiency of the territory, with even a possible surplus.

Italy used Somaliland mainly as a military and strategic base in an effort to realize her age-long dream of establishing an Italian Empire in East Africa, comprising Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland. You may ascertain from the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation that more than sixty per cent of the total expenditure of Somaliland, while under the Italian regime, was used for military purposes. You will note from this part of the said report that the Italians spent less than one per cent of the total expenditure of Somaliland for education. This small amount was exclusively used for educational facilities of the small Italian minority residing in the territory since there was not even a single school for the Somalis.

During the eight years of occupation, the British Military Administration has done practically nothing for the economic development of the country. For the first five years, the Military Administration had some excuses because of the war. After 1945, the Administration easily found other excuses. Ever since that year, the Administration has said: "the future of the country is unknown" in reply

to any request for the economic improvement of Somaliland.

Experience has shown that the African territories placed under the Mandate System of the League of Nations, with a single colonial power as the Administering Authority, tend to become gradually but surely more like colonies, as in the cases of Tanganyika, Ruanda Urundi, South West Africa, the Cameroons and the Togolands. Today, after nearly thirty years under the Mandate System, the inhabitants of these territories have been kept as ignorant and backward as those in colonial areas, or even worse. Tanganyika, both under the Mandate and Trusteeship Administrations, has administrative, political, economic, educational and social union with the adjacent British colonies of Kenya and Uganda. It is well known that Great Britain is trying her best to make permanent this union. The new imperialist plans of His Majesty's Government, in that part of Africa, are no longer a secret. She is doing her utmost to establish somewhere in Africa her lost Indian Empire. Here is her best chance; if she succeeds in obtaining Tanganyika--a trust territory--which, together with the Crown colonies of Kenya and Uganda and probably some others (the Rhodesians, Nyasaland, etc.), will form the nucleus of her new African Empire.

What is more surprising is the fact that the Union of South Africa has refused to place the Mandated territory of South West Africa under the International Trusteeship System as provided by the United Nations Charter (Chapter XII, Article 77 1-a). The Union of South Africa has recently informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations of its firm and definite decision to incorporate South West Africa into the Union. Consequently the Union Government does not consider it necessary to submit any more annual reports on the territory in question. In making this decision the Union of South Africa

(a founder member of the United Nations) has not only violated the letter and spirit of the Charter but also ignored the various resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations calling upon the Union Government to submit annual reports of their administration of South West Africa. Since the Union of South Africa first refused to place the Mandated territory of South West Africa under International Trusteeship System, the General Assembly of the United Nations has examined the question in three consecutive sessions. But in each instance the Assembly has failed to take appropriate and energetic measures to solve this important matter. Such appropriate and energetic measures are not only important but essential since the very prestige of the world organization is involved in this question.

Suppose that the General Assembly of the United Nations decides to place our country under the Trusteeship Administration of one or more colonial powers. If that power or powers refuse to recognize the authority of the United Nations, what steps will the organization take? We believe that the answer will be the same as in the case of South West Africa; i.e. "the Organization is not strong enough to impose its decision." For this very reason we ask the immediate independence of Somaliland, no matter whether the inhabitants have or have not the required qualifications to take over the administration at this time. Instead of this, if the General Assembly of the United Nations decides to place our country under the International Trusteeship System, a direct United Nations Administration is acceptable as the sole alternative solution. We should like to emphasize that this, and only this, corresponds to the wishes and the true welfare of the Somalis.

Italian interests as well as those of foreign communities can be safeguarded should the Assembly decide to place Somaliland under a direct United Nations trusteeship. In fact, this is the best way to safeguard foreign interests in general since the organization itself acts as the Administering Authority of the territory.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

Ismail Hassan

Abdullahi Issa

24-22-40

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City, N. Y.
October 22, 1949

The Chairman of the First Committee
The General Assembly (IV Regular Session)
The United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Sir:

Following is the text of the letter we addressed to the Chairman of Sub-Committee 17 of the First Committee on October 19:

"We, as representatives of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the former Italian Somaliland, categorically reject the unfortunate decision taken yesterday by the majority of this Sub-Committee in regard to the future of our people and that of our country.

"The decision is in direct conflict with the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of Somaliland. The wishes of the population of Somaliland are recorded in the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation which visited the territory early in 1948. This report unequivocally states that in Somaliland none asked the restoration of Italian administration.

"Further you may observe from the various memoranda, documents, etc. submitted to the honourable members of the General Assembly of the United Nations that the inhabitants of Somaliland strongly oppose the restoration in their country of the hated Italian administration in any form or guise, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations.

"Unfortunately, we noticed, during the debate of yesterday, some delegates stated that the people of Somaliland are divided. Obviously they had in mind the Quislings from Somaliland who came here only to sell their country and their people.

"We claim the support of the quasi-unanimous population of Somaliland. In order to ascertain whether this is true or not, we have made a request to send a new Commission of Investigation to Somaliland. The Commission will also have the opportunity to ascertain whether our repeated assertion--that the Somalis prefer total extermination rather than life again under the hated Italian administration--is true or not. We renew this request hoping that the honourable members of the Assembly will give careful consideration to this request of ours.

"We, as representatives of the overwhelming majority

of the inhabitants of Somaliland, formally request the honourable members of this Sub-Committee to include this letter of ours in the report to the First Committee.

"We beg to remain, Sir."

In making the unfortunate decision, the majority of the Sub-Committee completely ignored the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of Somaliland. The Somalis do not wish and will not accept the restoration of the hated Italian administration in any form or guise, even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations.

Accordingly, we, as representatives of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somaliland, promptly and categorically reject the recommendation made by the majority of the said Sub-Committee. The recommendation proposes the restoration of the hated Italian rule in Somaliland. This is entirely against the wishes and welfare of our people. We strongly urge the honourable members of the First Committee to reject the recommendation.

The honourable members of the First Committee are undoubtedly aware of the recent anti-Italian demonstrations which have taken place in Somaliland protesting against the proposals submitted here. According to the information submitted by the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom more than 30 anti-Italian demonstrations have taken place in Somaliland. According to the information we received directly from Somaliland, more than 100 large anti-Italian demonstrations have taken place in almost all centres of the territory.

The majority of the Sub-Committee has not paid due attention to this serious matter. Instead, a member of that body stated, while the Sub-Committee was considering the question of Somaliland, that the recent anti-Italian demonstrations in Somaliland were for the purpose of threatening the members of the General Assembly of the United

Nations. Then the member said that because of the threats, he is going to support the unjust imperialist claims of Italy to rule again Somaliland.

Indeed, this statement of the aforementioned member was a surprise to us. The Somalis have organized peaceful anti-Italian demonstrations as protest against the proposals advanced here aiming to restore the hated Italian rule in their country. This is in accordance with peaceful demonstrations in democratic countries all over the world.

In the letter addressed to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee 17, we renewed the request to send a new Commission of Investigation to Somaliland to ascertain the true wishes of the population. We realize that this would mean postponement of the matter for at least another year. It is better to delay than to condemn the whole population of a weak and oppressed nation to total extermination.

We appeal to you, honourable members, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not merely laid down in the peace treaty with Italy but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter--that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount.

If, against the wishes and welfare of our people, the honourable members of the Committee approve the recommendation made by the majority of the Sub-Committee 17, and if the General Assembly adopts such a recommendation, our people will lose the great faith and confidence they had in the United Nations. Then our people will see that here is a place for bargaining and political expediency instead of justice, as they expected.

We faithfully hope that the honourable members of the Committee

will carefully consider the just and legitimate aspirations of the Somali people. We trust that these honourable members shall disregard any and all personal interests and bargaining and decide this all-important and vital issue of the fate of the whole Somali nations on the ground of equity, justice and good conscience.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

Ismail Hassan

Abdullahi Issa

AI:RWR

24-22.49

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City
October 24, 1949

Chairman of the First Committee
General Assembly
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Sir:

We express our thanks to the honourable members of the Committee for having devoted their valuable time to discussing the serious situation in Somaliland, which arose after violent attempts to suppress peaceful demonstrations by the Somalis, protesting against proposals submitted here. We extend particular thanks to the delegations of Poland, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Philippine Republic for having introduced draft resolutions and amendments in respect to this serious matter. We further extend particular thanks to all those delegations who supported the defeated draft resolution of the Philippines.

232-6

Again we express our deep disappointment in the results of the debate of this question. In fact, the Committee did not, as yet, give proper answer to our appeal for immediate intervention in this serious and very important matter.

Massacres of the Somalis, arrests, convictions and deportations of the Somali Chiefs, Sheiks and leaders of our organization have taken place. Banning of the Somali Youth League headquarters and branches in the interior has been reported. Lives have been lost. Several serious injuries and loss of considerable property have been reported. Who is responsible for this calamitous situation?

The main reason for our request for immediate intervention by this Committee is to establish this grave responsibility. We expected that the Committee would study ways and means to set up a neutral Court of Enquiry for this purpose, but nothing has been done up to now.

Even the draft resolution of the Philippines did not provide for the setting up of a neutral Court of Enquiry to investigate the matter. In order to establish responsibility, we consider essential the setting up of such an impartial Court of Enquiry. Therefore, we strongly urge the honourable members of the Committee to realize the gravity and urgency of this situation and to give careful consideration to this request of ours.

Again we state that the information submitted by the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom is that received from the British Military Authority, the same authority which is responsible for massacres, arrests, deportations, banning of the Somali Youth League, etc. Again we wish to remind the honourable members of the Committee that the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom will make light of these serious events and will do his best to avoid focusing attention on information which might cast doubt on the wisdom of the present policy of his government in regard to the future of our country, Somaliland. It is a well known fact that Great Britain intends to re-impose, by every means, Italian rule in Somaliland. In fact, the Representative of the United Kingdom has proposed, during the last session of the Assembly, the restoration of the hated Italian rule in Somaliland for an indefinitive period. To the present time, the position of His Majesty's Government remains unaltered.

Even the one-sided picture submitted by the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom indicates the seriousness of the situation in Somaliland. He informed the Committee that 7 Somalis were killed and many others injured, and that arrests, convictions, etc. have taken place. He also informed the Committee that clashes have taken place in Dolo, where two Somalis were killed and many others injured; and in Bardera, where several persons were injured. Even according to this one-sided information, more than 30 anti-Italian demonstrations have taken place in many centres of Somaliland. According to the information we received directly from Somaliland, more than 100 large anti-Italian demonstrations have taken place in almost all centres of the territory.

The honourable Representative of the United Kingdom stated that certain political leaders have been ordered to leave Mogadishu. While on this particular subject, he preferred to use the words "ordered to leave" instead of "deported." According to official information we received from home, four members of the Central Committee of the Somali Youth League together with a Somali Chief, Haji Dirie Hersi, were deported from Mogadishu to a place called El Bur (some 350 miles Northeast of Mogadishu). The names of the deported members of the Central Committee are:

1. Dahir Haji Osman,

2. Sheik Mohamud Mohamed,

3. Ali Hersi Farah, and

4. Mohamed Ahmed.

The last member, Mohamed Ahmed, was arrested in Baidoa (some 150 miles Northwest of Mogadishu) and deported to El Bur. He was in Baidoa during the anti-Italian demonstrations and riots in Mogadishu.

23a-6

Besides the Somali Chiefs and Sheiks convicted in Mogadishu for a period ranging from 6 to 12 months of hard labour (see our letter of October 13), we have been officially informed that the Secretary of the Somali Youth League--branch of Merca--and one member of that local Committee were sentenced to 6 months of hard labour each. Further convictions of Somali Chiefs, Sheiks and leaders of our organization are expected in Mogadishu and other centres in the interior.

The honourable Representative of the United Kingdom also stated that the British Military Authority in Somaliland permits free dispatches of the communications to and from Somaliland. If that is at all correct, may we ask him the reason why the authority did not permit delivery of the cablegram we dispatched to our people at home? The cablegram in question was dispatched on October 19th from here. On October 21st we received the following communication from the local Western Union Telegraph Company:

> "Regarding your cable dated Oct. 19 from Lake Success we have now been advised that code messages to Somalis are not permitted. Your cable to Muro Mogadishu is undelivered."

Perhaps the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom can explain the reason why the British Military Authority in Somaliland opposed the delivery of the message we dispatched to our people in Mogadishu.

Following are excerpts from the "SOMALIA COURIER" published by the British Military Authority (October 6, 1949). This is the only paper published in the whole territory of Somaliland:

> "Yesterday by about 1:30 p.m. a crowd of Somalis, numbering approximately two thousand, carrying banners with anti-Italian slogans, had assembled near the Mogadishu Cemetery. In anticipation of some such gathering the Police and the Military were already in position.
>
> "The Provincial Commissioner, Benadir, through their leaders called upon the crowd to disperse. They were informed that unless they did so within fifteen minutes Police action would be taken against them. After this time limit had expired the crowd had still not moved. The Police, under the command of Superintendent Wright, thereupon made baton charges; they were repelled by showers of stones. The Police then reformed and, as the crowd surged forward, opened controlled fire. One civilian was shot dead and fifteen wounded.
>
> "The crowd then dispersed but began to re-assemble shortly afterwards. They were again given a clear time limit, by means of the loud hailer, in which to scatter, but again refused. The assistance of the Military was requested by the Police and one shot was fired which killed a ringleader outright.
>
> "In addition to frequent Military patrols which continued all night, and are still continuing, the following action has been taken by the authorities:--

"A curfew has been imposed and still remains in force.

"All Native Clubs /favourite term used by the British authorities to name political organizations in Somaliland/ throughout the country have been closed by order of the Chief Administrator.

"Warrants have been issued for the arrest of five men who are alleged to have made inflammatory speeches.

"Six alleged ringleaders of the crowd were taken into custody last night.

"The Administration, in conjunction with the Municipality, is arranging for the distribution, under Police escort, of food supplies, which are coming into the town.

"THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR CALLS UPON ALL TO ASSIST IN THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY BY WHOLE-HEARTED CO-OPERATION WITH THE ADMINISTRATION."

Besides the curfew and other restrictions, the British Military Authority in Somaliland has issued an order forbidding the formation of a group of more than five persons. To quote again from the same paper:

"LOCAL ORDER NO. 9 OF 1949.

"UNDER THE POWER CONFERRED upon me by Art. 12 (a) of the Peace and Order Proclamation No. 4 of 1948, I, JAMES CHARGES GADSDON PEARSON, District Commissioner Mogadishu, hereby ORDER as follows:

"NO person other than members of the same family shall congregate in any public place to form a group of more than five persons.

"Local Order No. 7 of 1949 is hereby cancelled.

"Mogadishu, 5th October 1949."

Orders such as the above mentioned are well familiar among oppressed peoples all over the world. The former colonial nations in this Committee will undoubtedly confirm this fact.

Latest information we received from home says that new anti-Italian demonstrations have taken place in almost every centre and village throughout the country as protest against the unfortunate decision of the majority of Sub-Committee 17 to restore the hated and oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland. According to reports received, an incident has occurred in a place called Galkayu. At present we are unable to inform the Committee as to the extent of casualties and other details of this incident.

The anti-Italian demonstrations are continuing throughout Somaliland. We do not exclude the possibility that further violent attempts have been or will be made by the British troops in order to suppress the peaceful anti-Italian demonstrations of the Somalis. However, we reserve the right to submit to the Committee details of the latest anti-Italian demonstrations in Somaliland as soon as we receive them from home.

We have already informed the Committee that there is not even a single foreign diplomatic representative or correspondent in the whole of Somaliland. This is the reason why the world ignores completely what is happening there.

We kindly request the Committee to ask the honourable Representative of the United Kingdom details of the latest anti-Italian demonstrations in Somaliland, staged in protest against the unfortunate decision of the majority of Sub-Committee 17. We also request that the honourable Representative of the Uhited Kingdom be questioned about the incident which occurred in Galkayu and those in other centres, if any.

Once again we strongly urge the honourable members of this Political and Security Committee to give careful consideration to our

request for the setting up of a neutral Court of Enquiry to investigate the serious situation in Somaliland and establish grave responsibility for the massacring of Somalis, arresting, convicting and deporting Somali Chiefs, Sheiks and leaders of our organization.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

Ismail Hassan

Abdullahi Issa

AI:RWR

230-6

[1949]

UNITED NATIONS TO SPONSOR

SURVIVAL OF COLONIALISM

OR

UNITED NATIONS TO END COLONIALISM?

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

32.27.15

Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York City, N. Y.

October 5, 1949

The Chairman of the First Committee
The General Assembly (IV Session)
The United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find an open letter addressed to the members of the Assembly. Kindly inform the members of the First Committee of the contents of this letter.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

ISMAIL HASSAN
IS-AI:RWR
Enc.

ABDULLAHI ISSA

October 5, 1949

To the Honourable Members of
the General Assembly of the
United Nations
Lake Success, New York
Honourable Delegates:

We of the Somali Youth League, representing the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Somalia, ask you: What is the United Nations for? Is this young world organization the United Nations to sponsor the survival of colonialism? Or is it a United Nations to end the ages-old exploitive imperialism?

We ask these questions not because we wish to engage in unnecessary polemics or bitter criticism. We realize that there is little to be gained by resort to such tactics. We do, however, want to know the truth. In the light of recent developments, we have grave misgivings as to the true purposes of the United Nations. We want to tell you the truth, and we want to know the truth from you.

It is unnecessary to go into details explaining the great faith and confidence that peoples in dependent areas place in the United Nations. The Charter of this noble world organization is to them a symbol of freedom and justice for all peoples, regardless of colour, religion, language or culture. Moreover, one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations is that "the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount." It has been repeatedly stated both in the Charter and in the many publications of the United Nations that among the noble aims of the world organization is the termination of colonialism and subjugation.

At the opening of the last session (Part II), we came here with great confidence and faith in the United Nations. But what we then heard and witnessed during the debate on the question of the former Italian colonies, was in complete and alarming contrast with what we expected.

And what happened at that session to cause such alarm and disappointment? Instead of upholding the fundamental principle that "the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount," many delegations of member states deliberately ignored the "wishes and welfare" of our people. Instead of fighting to end colonialism and subjugation, a great number of member states strongly supported the revival of colonialism of the worse type. Instead of advocating freedom, a considerable number of nations, including some of the sponsors of the United Nations, voted to condemn the Somlai people to perpetual slavery and servitude.

We say this because the majority of the member states strongly supported the imperialist plan known as the Bevin-Sforze agreement. This malign plan recommended the restoration of the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland for *an indefinitive period*. This is entirely contrary to the wishes and welfare of our people. The Somalis do not wish and will not accept Italian rule in any form or guise even as a Trustee under the supervision of the United Nations. The Somalis repeatedly stated that they prefer complete extermination rather than live again under the hated and oppressive Italian domination. Thus the supporters of the imperialist Bevin-Sforza plan have intentionally ignored the wishes and welfare of the Somalis. In doing so they have openly violated both the letter and spirit of the UN Charter.

Following is the original text of paragraph 2 (Somaliland) of the Bevin-Sforza proposal:

> "That former Italian Somaliland be placed under the International Trusteeship System with Italy as the Administering Authority."

No mention, whatsoever, of independence or self-government. No time limit, even one thousand centuries. Is or is not this the revival of colonialism of the worst type? Is or is not this the condemnation of the Somali people to perpetual slavery and servitude? We ask the honourable members of the Assembly to be kind enough to answer honestly and sincerely these questions.

The intention of colonial powers is to use the noble world organization as an instrument to parcel out underdeveloped areas to European powers as was done during the last century. This time they have a better chance to legalize their misdeeds if they succeed in obtaining the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The greatest surprise of the peoples in dependent areas like ourselves was to see that the evil and imperialist projects of the colonial powers received not only the strong support but the blessings of the majority among the member states in the United Nations. Indeed, it was more than a surprise to see the readiness with which the majority cast its votes in favour of the legalization of the evil schemes of the colonial powers to oppress and subjugate weak and small nations like Somalia.

The return of colonies to their former masters —either under the guise of trusteeship, colony, mandate, protectorate, or whatnot—will open the way for eventual imperialist claims from the colonial powers. Among the former colonial powers, we find the war-time allies of Italy, Germany and Japan. They may demand either in the near or far future, the right to administer, at least under the guise of trusteeship, all or part of their lost colonial possessions. Other colonial powers may ask the return of their lost colonial possessions in Asia and elsewhere. In short, it is unnecessary to point out that this would mean a door open for unjust imperialist claims from the former or the actual colonial powers.

The great confidence and faith of the Somali people in the United Nations has been considerably reduced. We regret this, but we must speak truthfully. The Somalis did not arrive at this conclusion without well-founded reasons. Following are some of the main reasons:

I. that the majority among the member states of the United Nations completely and deliberately ignored the wishes and welfare of the Somali people;

II. that these honourable members strongly supported the revival of colonialism of the worst type;

III. that these honourable members attempted to re-impose—against the wishes and welfare of the Somalis—the hated and oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland; and

IV. that these honourable members supported the recommendation to restore the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland for *an indefinitive period*. This reveals their intention to condemn the Somalis to perpetual slavery and servitude.

The Somalis would have lost complete confidence and faith in the United Nations had not some disinterested and non-colonial powers defeated the malign plan of the Bevin-Sforza agreement. We are grateful to those nations which saved our people and ourselves from being condemned to perpetual slavery and servitude. The names of those nations are today dear to the heart of every Somali at home and overseas.

We consider the United Nations as a world-wide organization where all peoples, regardless of their colour, religion, language, culture, etc., are treated the same and where all matters are solved in accordance with the wishes and welfare of those most vitally concerned and in conformity with justice and equity. But it is evident that some member states intend to use this noble organization only for the selfish interests of their own governments and that of their own group. Therefore, we urge the honourable members of the Assembly to restrain anyone who seeks to use the noble aims of the world organization for purposes other than those set forth in the United Nations Charter.

It seems to us that even now some nations are planning to reintroduce a revised Bevin-Sforza agreement recommending the restoration of the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland (perhaps for an indefinitive period). Should these nations succeed in getting the required majority for their evil and imperialist projects, then peoples of the world, and particularly those of dependent areas, will see that here is a place of bargaining and political expediency instead of justice and equity as they had expected.

If, against the wishes and welfare of our people, the General Assembly should decide to re-impose the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland, how can you, honourable members, expect us to trust and have faith in the United Nations since we have seen from the very beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored?

Once again we appeal to you, gentlemen, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not merely laid down in the peace treaty with Italy but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter "that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount."

We faithfully hope that the honourable members of the Assembly will carefully consider the just and legitimate aspirations of the Somali people. We trust that these honourable members shall disregard any and all personal interests, bargaining and bickering and decide this all-important and vital issue of the fate of the whole Somali nation as well as that of their country and the future Somali generations on the grounds of equity, justice and good conscience.

We beg to remain, honourable members,

Yours respectfully,

ISMAIL HASSAN ABDULLAHI ISSA

Information for delegations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Fourth Session, 20 September 1949

LOCATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The permanent Headquarters site of the United Nations is in the borough of Manhattan, New York City. It is bounded on the north and south by 48th and 42nd Streets and to the east and west by the East River and First Avenue. Excavation at the site has been completed and construction of the first unit to be built—the Secretariat building—has begun.

For the present, the United Nations has its Interim Headquarters in buildings at Lake Success, the General Assembly Building at Flushing Meadow and offices in Manhattan.

INTERIM HEADQUARTERS: Lake Success, Nassau County, Long Island, New York. Telephone: FIeldstone 7-1100. In these buildings are situated the main offices of the Secretariat; chambers for meetings of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council; and conference rooms for committees. During the Fourth Session committee meetings will be held in these buildings.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING: Flushing Meadow, Queens County, New York. Telephone FLushing 8-2000. In this building are held the Plenary Sessions of the General Assembly; it also serves for temporary Secretariat offices during those meetings.

MANHATTAN OFFICE: 405 East 42nd Street (at First Avenue), New York City. Telephone MUrray Hill 3-1100. Offices of the Military Staff Committee; the Headquarters Planning Office; the Transportation Division; the Protocol and Liaison Section; the

International Children's Emergency Fund; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and local offices of the Department of Public Information.

PUBLIC CARRIERS, MOTOR ROUTES AND PARKING

1. Via Long Island Railroad (Port Washington Branch)

To Flushing Meadow. Train from Pennsylvania Station. Disembark at "United Nations" Station. Continuous bus service to Assembly Building.

To Lake Success. Train from Pennsylvania Station. Disembark at Great Neck Station. Buses for Lake Success meet every train.

2. Via Subway

To Flushing Meadow. Joint BMT-IRT Flushing subway. Disembark at Willets Point Station. Bus service to Assembly Building.

To Lake Success. Independent 6th and 8th Avenue Subway to Jamaica. Disembark at 169th Street. Bus service from 170th Street, Jamaica, to Lake Success.

3. Via Motor Car

To Flushing Meadow

(*a*) Triborough Bridge, then Grand Central Parkway to Horace Harding Boulevard;

(*b*) Fifty-ninth Street Bridge to Twenty-first Avenue, then Grand Central Parkway to Horace Harding Boulevard;

(*c*) Queens Midtown Tunnel and Queens Boulevard, then turn left at Horace Harding Boulevard.

To Lake Success

(*a*) Triborough Bridge and Grand Central Parkway to United Nations turnoff;

(*b*) Fifty-ninth Street Bridge to Twenty-first Avenue, then Grand Central Parkway to United Nations turnoff;

(*c*) Queens Midtown Tunnel to Queens Boulevard to Union Turnpike to Grand Central Parkway and continue to United Nations turnoff.

Parking Facilities

Available at both Flushing Meadow and Lake Success.

INFORMATION DESKS

LAKE SUCCESS

(*a*) Main entrance hall, North building (extension 309).

(*b*) Public entrance to South Building (extension 720).

FLUSHING MEADOW

(*a*) Opposite delegates' entrance—first floor;

(*b*) Public Lobby—first floor.

Information desks in Conference areas, only when meetings are in session.

The Information Unit, Lake Success (extension 311) will indicate:

(*a*) Office addresses and telephone numbers of delegations and Secretariat;

(*b*) Whom to contact in case of technical queries.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The general responsibility for the work of the Secretariat in connexion with the General Assembly is placed in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General.

Plenary meetings of the General Assembly

The Executive Office assumes direct responsibility for the Secretaryship of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, Extension 512 at Lake Success; extension 197 at Flushing Meadow.

Committees of the General Assembly

Under the direction of the Executive Office, the appropriate Departments of the Secretariat are responsible for the Secretaryship of the Committees of the General Assembly.

General Committee

Executive Office of the Secretary-General, Committee Secretary: Mr. A. Cordier, extension 512, Lake Success, and extension 197, Flushing Meadow.

First Committee

Department of Security Council Affairs, Committee Secretary: Mr. D. Protitch, extension 352.

Second Committee

Department of Economic Affairs, Committee Secretary: Mr. D. Weintraub, extension 766.

Third Committee

Department of Social Affairs, Committee Secretary: Mr. S. Hessel, extension 540.

Joint Second and Third Committee

Department of Economic Affairs, Committee Secretary: Mr. G. Yates, extension 2564.

Fourth Committee

Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Committee Secretaries: Mr. W. Benson, extension 372; Mr. B. Aleksander, extension 8376.

Fifth Committee

Department of Administrative and Financial Services, Committee Secretary: Mr. Bruce Turner, extension 2668.

Sixth Committee

Legal Department, Committee Secretary: Mr. Yuen-Li Liang, extension 2626.

Credentials Committee

Legal Department, Committee Secretary: Mr. A. Leriche, extension 608.

Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

Department of Administrative and Financial Services, Committee Secretary: Mr. G. Michalopoulos, extension 2980.

Committee on Contributions

Department of Administrative and Financial Services, Committee Secretary: Miss K. Petersen, extension 2355.

CONFERENCE MANAGEMENT

The Conference Management Section of the Conference Division prepares each evening a *Programme of Meetings* scheduled for the

following day. The *Programme* indicates the conference rooms and times of meetings, and will be printed daily in the *Journal.*

Information concerning time, place and agenda of meetings may be obtained by calling Conference Management Section, extension 2883 at Lake Success or extension 47 at Flushing Meadow when plenary meetings are in session.

A Conference Officer is on duty in the General Assembly Hall at Flushing Meadow and in all Committee meetings at Lake Success to co-ordinate the technical services of the Secretariat and, on the request of the Committee Secretary to assign conference rooms and establish times for future meetings in accordance with the over-all plan.

SERVICING OF MEETINGS

The attention of delegations is drawn to the facilities and limitations of staff and services provided for the General Assembly.

Interpretation

Simultaneous interpretation equipment has been installed in the four main conference rooms (Rooms 1 to 4), one smaller committee room (Room 5) and in both Council chambers. The number of teams of simultaneous interpreters for this session has been increased to seven. Therefore, from the point of view of equipment and interpreters, a maximum of seven meetings can be serviced at any one time.

Verbatim Records

Only one team of verbatim reporters is available to service any one meeting. By the introduction of mechanical equipment in certain types of meetings provision has been made to take verbatim reports for one additional meeting but the use must be limited and the decision made in advance as to which committee shall receive such service.

Summary Records

The Secretariat is staffed to take and transcribe summary records up to a total of 60 meetings a week and service beyond that number cannot be provided.

Sound Recording

Sound records can be made for a maximum of five meetings concurrently.

Scheduling of Meetings

While the above information indicates the maximum number of meetings that can be serviced, in the interests of speeding up

the work of the General Assembly and maintaining an even workload, these facilities should be utilized to capacity *at all times.*

The importance of a committee keeping to schedule is readily apparent. The cancellation of a meeting or delay in opening of a meeting after it has been scheduled not only obligates the services but prevents another committee from utilizing the space and facilities.

PASSES AND ADMISSION TO MEETINGS

Members of delegations and accredited representatives of the Press, Radio, Film, Photography and other similar organizations will be supplied with United Nations passes.

Members of delegations and their guests may obtain passes through the office of the Protocol and Liaison Section, General Assembly Building, Flushing Meadow, Room 146, extension 140, or Lake Success, Room CA-029, extensions 2405 and 2407.

Members of the Press must be accredited by the Credentials Office (Room K-623, Lake Success, extension 2713) where passes entitling them to attend public meetings may be obtained.

PERMANENT DELEGATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS; DELEGATIONS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Protocol and Liaison Section publishes a booklet, "Delegations to the United Nations," containing the names of Members represented at the interim headquarters, on the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, the Military Staff Committee, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Committee on Contributions and the Headquarters Advisory Committee.

The listings include title, rank, position, marital status of all persons on the above bodies and addresses of permanent delegations in New York.

During a session of the General Assembly, this publication is replaced by a booklet entitled "Delegations to the General Assembly."

These booklets are on the regular distribution list to delegations and Press.

DOCUMENTS FACILITIES

The Reproduction-Distribution Division handles the reproduction and distribution of official documents.

Reproduction of documents. Delegations wishing to submit documents for consideration by the General Assembly or its Committees should present them in triplicate to the Secretary-General, in the case of the Assembly (Room A2-103C, extension 512, Lake Success), or to the Secretary of the Committee.

Distribution of documents. Delegations should notify in writing the Reproduction-Distribution Division (Room A-428, extensions 560 and 561, Lake Success), of the number of copies they wish to receive of all documents, official records and press releases, and in what languages. Documents for delegations in Manhattan may be called for by delegations at the Manhattan Mail Center, Manhattan Building. Delegations using the lockers at the Empire State Building may call for documents there between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. After 6 p.m., documents may be called for at the Manhattan Mail Center, Manhattan Building, 405 East 42nd Street, New York City. Facilities for the pickup of documents are also available at Lake Success, Room A-422, or at the General Assembly Hall, Flushing Meadow, Room 178 when plenary meetings are in progress. Distribution arrangements should be made with the Reproduction-Distribution Division, Lake Success. A limited number of documents relating to the agenda of a meeting will be available in conference rooms from meeting services officers stationed there.

The categories of documents are as follows:

A. The "General" series;

B. The "Restricted" series, the serial number of which will be preceded by the letter R. This series will contain only those documents whose content requires that they not be made public;

C. A "Limited" series in which the serial number will be preceded by the letter L, and which will comprise documents of a technical or provisional nature whose immediate wide circulation is not necessary and documents which for any other reason are of interest to a limited circle.

N.B. Delegations are reminded that in view of the adoption of Spanish as a working language of the General Assembly three copies should be provided of any documents to be issued by the Secretariat.

Index to documents: The Documents Index Unit (Room A-301, Lake Success, extensions 565-566) indexes and checklists the current documentation of the United Nations. In addition, the Unit maintains indexes to the papers issued by the San Francisco Conference and by the Preparatory Commission and its Executive Committee.

Official Records

The Official Records of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly will contain the final summary records in the five official languages, and such documents as may be considered necessary. These records will be placed on sale as and when available.

Verbatim records of plenary meetings will be distributed in mimeographed form in English, French and Spanish; verbatim records of speeches made in the other official languages will also be provided. Delegations may submit corrections to verbatim records within the time limit specified on the first page of the records. These corrections will not be distributed, but will be taken into account as necessary in the production and final preparation of summary records.

In accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly during its second session, the provisional records of the Fourth Session will consist of the mimeographed summary records of plenary meetings and Committee meetings.

All corrections to the summary records must be submitted in writing, within the specified time limit, with a copy of the mimeographed document to which they refer. These corrections will be incorporated in the final text of the Official Records.

Journal

The *Journal* of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly will be issued in English, French and Spanish, and will contain:

1. Programme of meetings;
2. Agenda;
3. Summary of meetings;
4. Announcements;
5. List of documents distributed.

COMMUNICATIONS SERVICES

Postal and Messenger Services

LAKE SUCCESS. *Office of the Chief,* Room C-200A, extensions 704 and 2102. *Postal Services,* Room C-200, extension 2110. 8 a.m. to 12 midnight, Monday through Friday. 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Saturday and Sunday. *Messenger Services,* Room C-300A, extension 706. 8 a.m. to 1 a.m., Monday through Friday. 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Saturday and Sunday. When meetings continue later, office hours will be extended.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Room 193A, extension 195 (open when meetings are scheduled in building).

MANHATTAN BUILDING, 405 East 42nd Street, Room B-7, extension 380. 8 a.m. to 1 a.m., Monday through Friday, and 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Saturday and Sunday.

Mail

(*a*) Pouch (mail) service at 20-minute intervals between Lake Success and the General Assembly Building.

(*b*) Delegations may deliver mail at any postal and messenger station for delivery to the Secretariat. When such mail is urgent and special, the mail clerk in charge should be so advised.

(*c*) Usual postal services for private or official delegation mailings, except international money orders, are provided at the postal and messenger station in the Flushing Meadow Building, Room 193A, extension 195.

United States Post Office

Lake Success, Room A-745, extension 2493. Services provided: usual postal services for private or official delegation mailings including international money orders, parcel post, air mail, registered and insured mail, information on postage rates and regulations concerning entry or dispatch of parcels to and from various countries.

Documents

Documents for delegations in Manhattan may be called for by delegations at the Manhattan Mail Center, Manhattan Building. Delegations using the locker service at the Empire State Building may call for documents there, between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m.; after 6 p.m., documents may be called for at the Manhattan Mail Center, Manhattan Building, 405 East 42nd Street, New York City.

ARCHIVES FACILITIES

LAKE SUCCESS, Room A-201, extensions 2553 and 2555. 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday, and on Saturday and Sunday when major Committees are meeting.

Materials available include:

Non-current documents and other documents from archives of the United Nations.

Unpublished verbatim minutes and summary records of meetings.

Documents and archives of the San Francisco Conference and the United Nations Preparatory Commission.

Sound recordings of meetings. (Listening facilities are available, and copies can be made at cost).

CABLE AND WIRELESS SERVICES

1. General Assembly Building, Flushing Meadow.

American Cable & Radio Company, Room 245-A.
Press Wireless, Ltd., Room 232.
Radio Corporation of America, Room 233.
Western Union, Rooms 237, 238, 239, 245.

2. Lake Success.

In the corridor adjoining the south entrance of the cafeteria and in the Press Area (Zone K).

FILM SERVICES

LAKE SUCCESS. Room K-309, extension 2323 or 2797.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Room 281, extension 176, 155 or 172.

Services to newsreel representatives: liaison, including facilities for filming meetings and other events; credentials for covering meetings; booths overlooking the Assembly Hall and committee rooms, with lighting and sound equipment; studios for filming interviews and speeches; research and consultation service; access to a library of official and other United Nations film footage. The official United Nations film unit films meetings; its footage is available for use by any authorized company from any Member State. The newsreel filming is arranged on a pool basis, information about which the Liaison Office will furnish.

Official films and film-strips: such productions of the Film and Visual Information Division are available for public showing. Information about pertinent films from Member countries may also be obtained.

SECURITY

A Sergeant of the Guard will be on duty (at Lake Success, Room A-743, extensions 331, 332, 333; at Flushing Meadow in Room 112, extensions 72 and 73); throughout the twenty-four hours and will be responsible for all matters relating to protection and security. After office hours, the Guard will:

(*a*) Receive incoming telephone calls, telegrams and cables, for action;

(*b*) Arrange transport for late workers and night shifts;

(*c*) Take lost property for safe-keeping.

LOST PROPERTY

Lost and found property should be reported to the Security Office (at Lake Success, Room A1-99, extension 2127; at Flushing

Meadow, Room 112, extension 73). The Secretariat is not authorized to accept responsibility for valuables.

PROTOCOL AND LIAISON SECTION

LAKE SUCCESS. Room CA-029, extensions 2405 and 2407.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Room 146. Tel. FLushing 8-2000, extension 140.

MANHATTAN. 405 East 42nd Street. Tel. MUrray Hill 3-1100.

Functions of Protocol and Liaison Section:

1. To advise on matters of protocol and etiquette.
2. To maintain information lists of members of delegations, including their families.
3. To give advice requested by any delegation about Secretariat services available to it.
4. To assist in organizing official social functions of the delegations and Secretariat.
5. To assist members of delegations on matters of hospitality.
6. To maintain liaison with outside organizations on matters of hospitality to the United Nations.
7. To maintain a calendar of events to enable delegations to coordinate their schedule of social activities with the schedule of meetings.
8. To maintain lists of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic representatives in the United States.
9. To register members of delegations entitled to diplomatic privileges and immunities.
10. To publish a weekly information bulletin.
11. To issue United Nations Flag Code Regulations on behalf of the Secretary-General.

MEDICAL AND HEALTH SERVICE

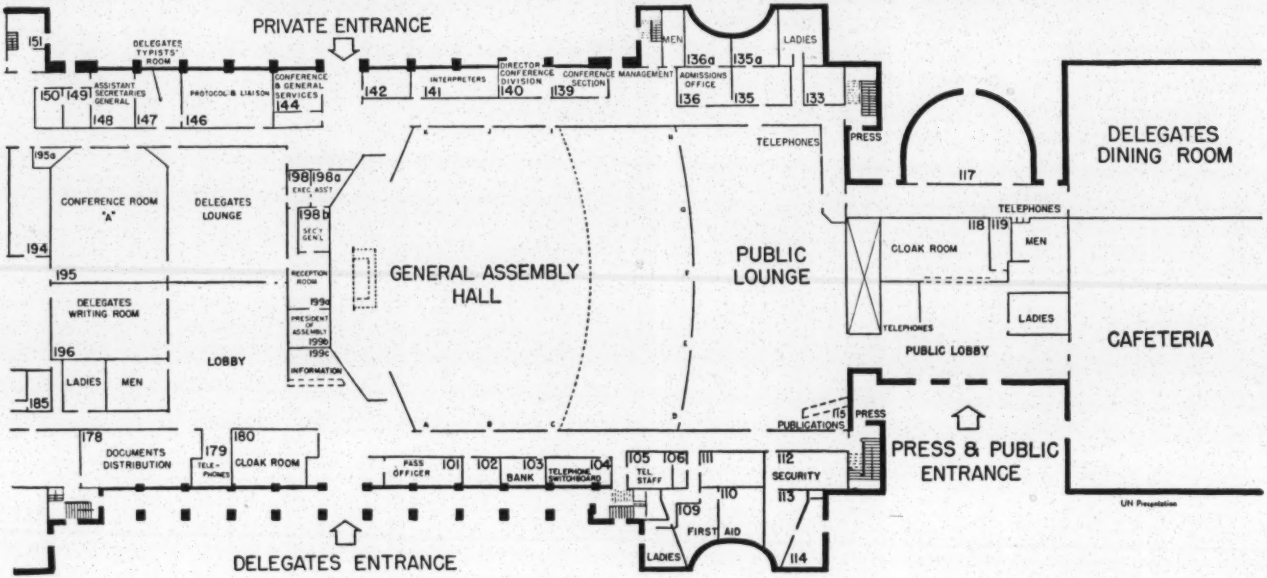
A medical service is maintained at Room 109, General Assembly Building, Flushing Meadow, and at Room CA-006, Lake Success, where delegates and staff members may receive medical and first aid treatment. The services of a doctor and nurse are available.

Hours: Lake Success . . . 9:30 a.m.-1 a.m.

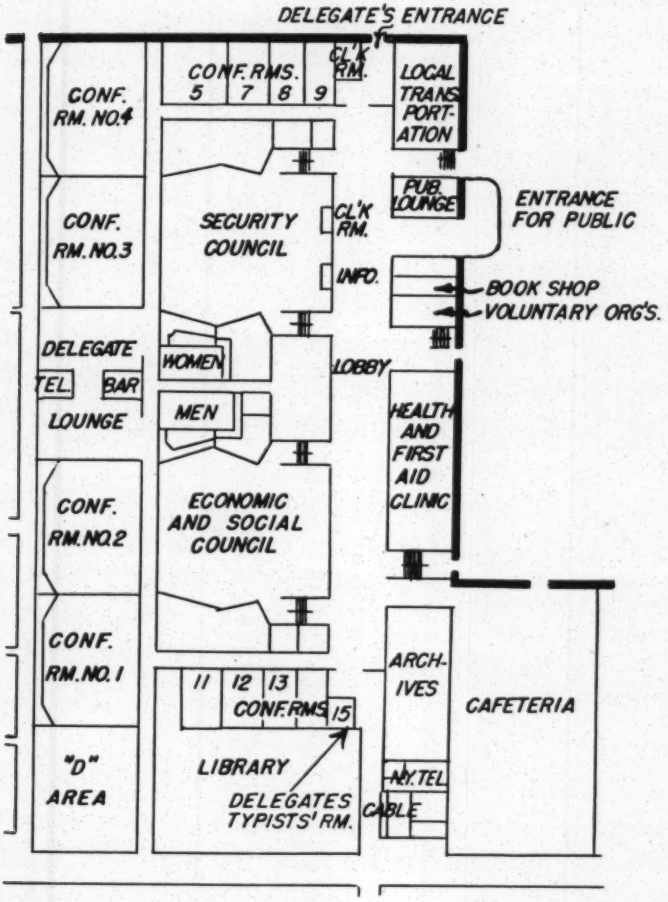
Flushing Meadow . . . during meetings and 30 minutes after adjournment

If first aid treatment is required after hours, the Guard will provide information.

DIAGRAM OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING, FLUSHING



CONFERENCE AREA DIAGRAM, LAKE SUCCESS



BANKING FACILITIES

A banking office for the convenience of delegates and personnel of the United Nations is situated at Lake Success on the ground floor corridor leading from the North Building to the South Building (Room A-700). The branch at Flushing Meadow is also located on the ground floor (Room 103). The banking offices are prepared to cash travellers' and other cheques, and drafts under travellers' letters of credit. The bank can also convert foreign currency or obtain it as required.

LOCAL TRANSPORTATION, TRAVEL AND HOTEL FACILITIES

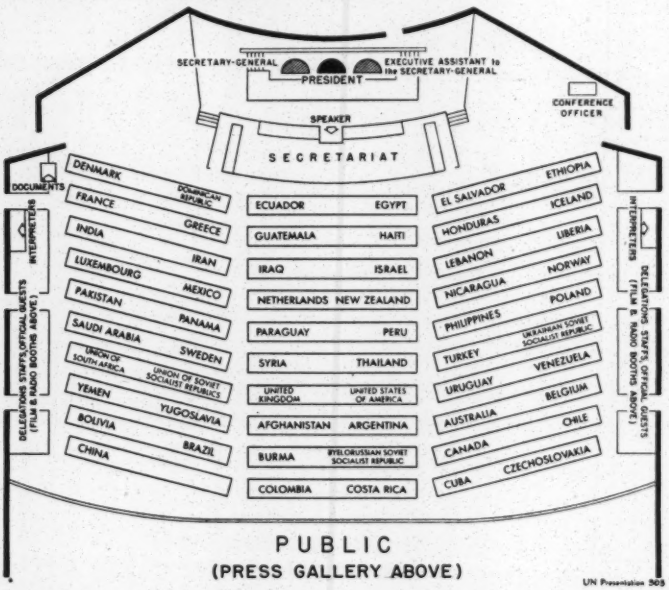
Local transportation. Each delegation will be assigned one automobile for the period of the General Assembly. Scheduling of the car will be made by the delegations themselves.

All delegates attending meetings are requested to return from such meetings in the same car in which they came. The proper procedure upon leaving meetings will be to ask the Car Dispatcher to have the car paged by CAR NUMBER. The number of each car will appear on the front and rear windows.

See "Public carriers, motor routes and parking."

Hotel accommodations and travel service. The United Nations Transportation Division, located at 405 E. 42nd Street, New York City (telephone, MUrray Hill 3-1100) will assist with hotel accommodations, travel reservations, passport and visa service. Any non-United States citizen attending the General Assembly who does not hold a diplomatic passport is advised to contact this office regarding exit permits.

SEATING PLAN OF DELEGATES FOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL



PRESS SERVICES

LAKE SUCCESS. Press Liaison Office, Room K-625, extension 2724. Credentials Office, Room K-623, extension 2713.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Press Liaison Office, Room 220, extension 184. Credentials desk, Press working area, extension 33.

Services to correspondents. Assistance and briefing from the staff of press officers, operating through the liaison office; accreditation cards, tickets for seats in press gallery, through credentials office; press releases, official documents, through documents counters at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow; cable and wireless offices at both points; a feature service (which publishes a weekly clipsheet and occasional photospreads which may be secured free of charge); working facilities in the press working area. Most press releases are filed by teletype to members of special United Nations circuit (inquire at liaison office).

PHOTO SERVICES

LAKE SUCCESS. Liaison Office, Room K-410, extension 2912. Photo Library and Distribution Office, Room K-402, extension 2907.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Room 263. Photo sales, extension 42.

Services to photographers: liaison in arranging photo coverage, locker rooms; notice of meetings, press releases, documents; accreditation for all picture coverage; use of official United Nations photos; use of a complete reference library and archives of United Nations and related photos beginning with San Francisco Conference.

Official photographs: the files of the Visual Information Section contain official photos by United Nations staff photographers, which are furnished to public information media in 4x5 contact prints and 8x10 enlargements. Prints may be ordered at cost from the Lake Success distribution office or the photo sales desk at Flushing Meadow.

RADIO SERVICES

LAKE SUCCESS. Radio Division Offices, Rooms NM-1 to NM-26: English Language Services, ext. 8091, European and Middle East Services, ext. 2874-5; Latin-American Services, ext. 2497; Trans-Pacific Services, ext. 2795.

FLUSHING MEADOW. All Radio Services: Information Office, Room 252, ext. 51-2-3.

Services to broadcasters: arrangements for delegations and others to broadcast to their own countries; studios and observation booths for commentators covering Assembly and committee meetings; facilities for recording; dubbings from speeches and proceedings of meetings; arrangements for accrediting and giving general assistance to correspondents; office and desk space, including typewriters in various languages; cable and wireless service, and, for networks, etc. which request it, use of the United Nations teletype circuit.

Official broadcasts: the Radio Division prepares and broadcasts programmes from Lake Success and Flushing Meadow on a daily schedule in a number of languages. For information concerning broadcast of relays or recordings of these, consult the Radio Division.

TELEVISION SERVICES

LAKE SUCCESS: Live Television Liaison, Room NM-16, extension 2382. Film Television Liaison, Room K-309, extension 2323 or 2797.

FLUSHING MEADOW: Live Television Liaison, Room 252, extension 51 or 52. Film Television Liaison, Room 281, extension 176, 155 or 172.

Services to television representatives: liaison, including facilities for filming and televising meetings and other events; credentials for covering meetings; booths overlooking Assembly Hall and Committee rooms, with lighting equipment; studios for filming and televising interviews; research service; access to official United Nations film footage. Footage on the meetings filmed by the Official United Nations film unit and disc recordings are available for use by any authorized television company.

LIBRARY FACILITIES

Lake Success: The Service to Readers Unit of the Library is in the South Building, (entrance B-400), extensions 2940, 2296, 2208, 2335) and is open to delegations, Secretariat and the Press during the usual Secretariat hours, and otherwise as necessary.

Material available:

General reference books

Government documents

Periodicals and pamphlets

League of Nations, United Nations and specialized agencies documents

Maps

Background material on subjects of concern to the United Nations

Reference service on current United Nations documents is available in the Documents Index Unit, Room A-301, extensions 565, 566.

Flushing Meadow: Library giving reference service to delegations, Secretariat and Press. Room 193B.

SERVICES TO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, EDUCATION GROUPS, AND LECTURERS

LAKE SUCCESS. Section for Non-Governmental Organizations, CA-024 (off the public lobby), extension 2788. Educational Liaison, A1-200, extension 2952. Lecture Services, A1-198, extension 2864.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Section for Non-Governmental Organizations, Room 283; lounge for representatives of organizations, Room 282, extension 58 or 59.

Services to representatives of non-governmental organizations, education groups, lecturers and others; assistance and briefings arranged by liaison officers; accreditation of observers from organizations; tickets for seating at Assembly and Committee meetings; lounge for accredited representatives of organizations; documentation; information papers, and other aids on the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION CENTRES

Copenhagen, Geneva, London, Moscow, Paris, Prague, Warsaw. New Delhi, Shanghai, Sydney.

Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Washington, Buenos Aires. Cairo.

CAFETERIA AND DINING-ROOM FACILITIES

1. Cafeteria

LAKE SUCCESS. Location: Main Corridor between North and South Buildings.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Location: Extreme west end of building, first floor.

2. Delegates' dining-room

LAKE SUCCESS. Location: First floor, North Building, Room A1-191.

FLUSHING MEADOW. Location: South-west corner—first floor.

3. Press Snack Bar

Located in the Press Lounges at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow.

DELEGATES' LOUNGES

The delegates' lounges are located near the Conference areas at Lake Success and at General Assembly Building, Flushing Meadow. Delegates' aides, on duty at the desk in both lounges, will give delegates any information or assistance they may require.

DELEGATES' WRITING ROOM

A delegates' writing room is available adjoining the delegates' lounge at Flushing Meadow.

DELEGATES' TYPISTS' ROOMS

Conference Room 15 at Lake Success and Room 147 at Flushing Meadow have been supplied with typist desks and typewriters for the convenience of secretaries of delegations who may be required to type urgent speeches or resolutions.

REIMBURSEMENT FOR REPRESENTATIVES' TRAVEL

Representatives and alternate representatives, up to a maximum of five per delegation, are entitled to travel to the General Assembly and return, at United Nations expense, in accordance with the conditions set out in Secretary-General's Bulletin No. 9, Revision 2.

In some cases the United Nations initially purchased the required tickets, at the request of the delegation concerned. Where the cost of travel has been paid initially by Member Governments or by the delegates themselves, it is requested that claim for reimbursement be made as soon as possible. For this purpose, UN Form F/56, Reimbursement Voucher for Member Nation Representative's Official Travel (issued in sets of five copies), should be filled out in full and signed by either the delegate concerned or the

Secretary of the delegation. The completed form, in quadruplicate, should be forwarded to the Conference Division, Room A1-105; the fifth copy may be retained by the delegation.

Delegations whose representatives and alternate representatives together number more than five persons are requested to designate which delegates are travelling at United Nations' expense. This should be done by letter addressed to the Director, Conference Division, Room A1-105. This information will permit the United Nations to make prompt reimbursement on the basis of Form F/56 and to withhold the rendering of bills to delegations for tickets purchased by the United Nations.

Reimbursement of travel claims will normally be made by cheque payable directly to the delegations concerned. In those cases where a delegate desires reimbursement directly to himself, it is requested that a letter to that effect be sent to the Conference Division by the Secretary of the delegation.

Arrangments for the return travel of delegates will be made upon request to the United Nations Transportation Division, 405 East 42nd St., New York City.

Any questions regarding travel reimbursement should be directed to the Conference Division, Room A1-105 (Tel. FIeldstone 7-1100, Ext. 2968 or 746). Form F/56 is generally available at the delegation offices, or may be obtained either from the above-mentioned office or from the Conference Officers on duty in the conference rooms.

LIST OF EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS IN WASHINGTON

(August 1949)

Embassies

AFGHANISTAN	2001 24th Street, Adams 3770, 3771 and 3592.
ARGENTINA	1815 Q Street, Decatur 7100 and 7114.
AUSTRALIA	3117 Woodland Drive, Ordway 8200.
BELGIUM	1715 22nd Street, Decatur 1286, 1287 and 1288.
BOLIVIA	Investment Building, 15th & K Streets, Republic 1481 and National 6978.
BRAZIL	3007 Whitehaven Street, Michigan 1164.
BURMA	2228 Massachusetts Avenue, Decatur 9044.
CANADA	1746 Massachusetts Avenue, Decatur 1011.
CHILE	1736 Massachusetts Avenue, North 0746, 4747 and 4748.

Embassies and Legations (*continued*)

CHINA	2001 19th Street, North 9000, 9001, 9002, 9003 and 9004.
COLOMBIA	1609 22nd Street, Decatur 2746.
COSTA RICA	2112 S Street, Adams 2945.
CUBA	2630 16th Street, Columbia 0100, 0101 and 0102.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	2349 Massachusetts Avenue, North 3300 and 3301.
DENMARK	2374 Massachusetts Avenue, Dupont 3283.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	4500 16th Street, Georgia 7667, 7668 and 7669.
ECUADOR	2125 Leroy Place, Adams 7200.
EGYPT	2310 Decatur Place, Michigan 5400, 5401 and 5402.
EL SALVADOR	2400 16th Street, Apt. 319, Columbia 7100.
FRANCE	2535 Belmont Road, Adams 0990.
GREECE	2221 Massachusetts Avenue, North 3168.
GUATEMALA	1614 18th Street, Decatur 2240.
HAITI	4842 16th Street, Georgia 7000 and 7001.
HONDURAS	4715 16th Street, Georgia 9318.
INDIA	2107 Massachusetts Avenue, Columbia 5050.
IRAN	3005 Massachusetts Avenue, North 4000 and 4001.
IRAQ	3141 34th Street, Ordway 3480 and 3481.
ISRAEL	2210 Massachusetts Avenue, Adams 5411.
LIBERIA	5201 Sixteenth Street, Georgia 8288.
MEXICO	2829 16th Street, Adams 6000.
NETHERLANDS	1470 Euclid Street, Adams 1662-1671 inclusive; after 7 P.M., Adams 1662
NEW ZEALAND	19 Observatory Circle, Columbia 1721, 1722 and 1723.
NICARAGUA	1627 New Hampshire Avenue, Dupont 4371 and 4372.
NORWAY	3401 Massachusetts Avenue, Ordway 1000.
PAKISTAN	Suite 700-E, Shoreham Hotel, Adams 6231.
PANAMA	2862 McGill Terrace, Michigan 3780.
PARAGUAY	5500 16th Street, Taylor 5000.
PERU	1320 16th Street, Adams 3001, 3002 and 3402.
PHILIPPINES	1617 Massachusetts Avenue, Hobart 1400.

Embassies and Legations (*continued*)

POLAND	2640 16th Street, Adams 3800, 3801 and 3802.
SAUDI ARABIA	2800-C Woodland Drive, Adams 7000 and 7001.
SWEDEN	1900 24th Street, Decatur 2783, 2784, 2785 and 2786.
THAILAND	2490 Tracey Place, North 1849.
TURKEY	1606 23rd Street, North 6400.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	3101 Massachusetts Avenue, Michigan 4402.
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS	1125 16th Street, National 7550, 7551 and 7552.
UNITED KINGDOM	3100 Massachusetts Avenue, Hobart 1340.
URUGUAY	Suite 303, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, National 0411, 0412 and 0413.
VENEZUELA	2445 Massachusetts Avenue, Michigan 7400 and 7401.
YUGOSLAVIA	1520 16th Street, Hobart 1450.

Legations

ETHIOPIA	2134 Kalorama Road, Adams 2281 and 2282.
ICELAND	909 16th Street, District 0909, 0910 and 0911.
LEBANON	Suite 400A, Wardman Park Hotel, Columbia 4100 and 4101.
LUXEMBOURG	2200 Massachusetts Avenue, Michigan 3857.
SYRIA	2215 Wyoming Avenue, Adams 1414 and 1415.

No Embassy or Legation in Washington

BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R. UKRAINIAN S.S.R. YEMEN

CONSULATES IN NEW YORK (August 1949)

AFGHANISTAN	18 East 94th Street, Sacramento 2-9138.
ARGENTINA	9 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 6-3328.
AUSTRALIA	636 Fifth Avenue, Circle 5-4000.
BELGIUM	630 Fifth Avenue, Columbus 5-0367.
BOLIVIA	10 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 6-9297.

Consulates in New York (*continued*)

BRAZIL	10 Rockefeller Plaza, Plaza 7-3080.
BURMA	23 East 79th Street, Trafalgar 9-1260.
BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.	No consulate in New York.
CANADA	620 Fifth Avenue, Columbus 5-3680.
CHILE	61 Broadway, Whitehall 3-5732.
CHINA	1250 Avenue of the Americas, Circle 6-3403.
COLOMBIA	444 Madison Avenue, Plaza 9-7875.
COSTA RICA	420 Lexington Avenue, Murray Hill 5-1517.
CUBA	500 Fifth Avenue, Lackawanna 4-9600.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	6 East 67th Street, Trafalgar 9-2020.
DENMARK	17 Battery Place, Bowling Green 9-9210.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 7-8225.
ECUADOR	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 5-5380.
EGYPT	29 East 69th Street, Trafalgar 9-8780.
EL SALVADOR	270 Broadway, Cortland 7-4921.
ETHIOPIA	78 Water Street, Hanover 2-3488.
FRANCE	610 Fifth Avenue, Circle 7-2364.
GREECE	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 7-6753.
GUATEMALA	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 6-5877.
HAITI	32 Broadway, Whitehall 4-2784.
HONDURAS	17 Battery Place, Whitehall 4-3505.
ICELAND	50 Broad Street, Digby 4-7780.
INDIA	630 Fifth Avenue, Circle 7-1287.
IRAN	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Columbus 5-0140.
IRAQ	36 Riverside Drive, Schuyler 4-3748.
ISRAEL	11 East 70th Street, Trafalgar 9-7600.
LEBANON	12 East 68th Street, Rhinelander 4-7905.
LIBERIA	25 Beaver Street, Bowling Green 9-8237.
LUXEMBOURG	441 Lexington Avenue, Murray Hill 7-2099.
MEXICO	70 Pine Street, Whitehall 4-7233.
NETHERLANDS	10 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 6-1433.
NEW ZEALAND	350 Fifth Avenue, Wisconsin 7-1072.
NICARAGUA	1270 Avenue of the Americas, Circle 6-1292.
NORWAY	115 Broad Street, Whitehall 4-6924.
PAKISTAN	12 East 65th Street, Trafalgar 9-5800.

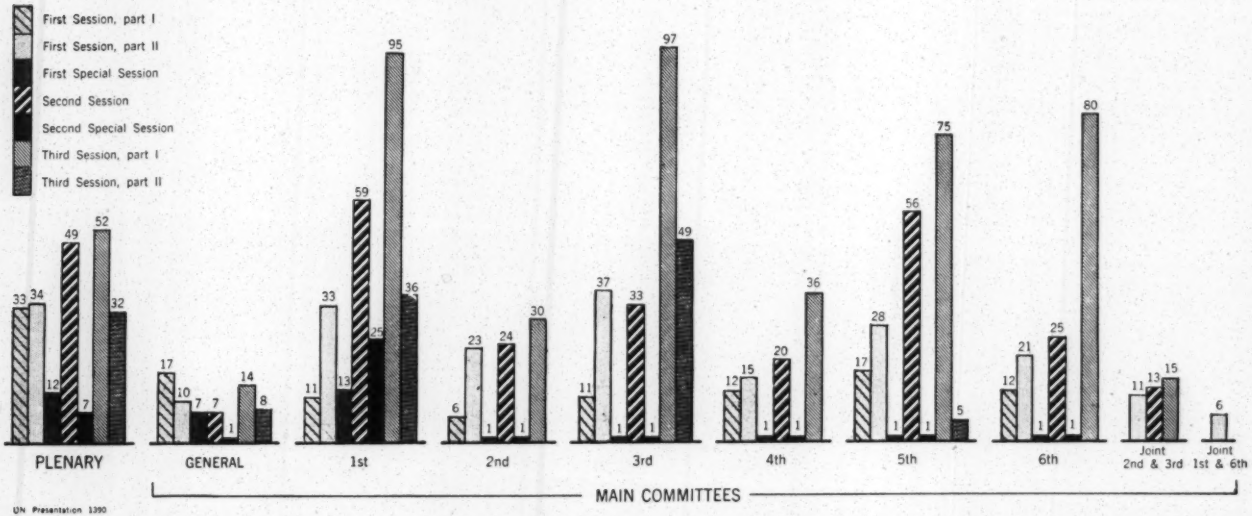
Consulates in New York *(continued)*

PANAMA	30 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 6-3773.
PARAGUAY	135 Broadway, Cortland 7-2468.
PERU	10 Rockefeller Plaza, Columbus 5-1715.
PHILIPPINES	40 Exchange Place, Whitehall 3-4440.
POLAND	151 East 67th Street, Rhinelander 4-2506.
SAUDI ARABIA	No consulate in New York.
SWEDEN	63 East 64th Street, Regent 7-7304.
SYRIA	350 Fifth Avenue, Lackawanna 4-4665.
THAILAND	30 Broad Street, Hanover 2-8800.
TURKEY	50 Rockefeller Plaza, Circle 7-5309.
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.	No consulate in New York.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	500 Fifth Avenue, Pennsylvania 6-0551.
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS	Consulate closed.
UNITED KINGDOM	350 Fifth Avenue, Longacre 5-2070.
URUGUAY	17 Battery Place, Whitehall 4-0639.
VENEZUELA	19 Rector Street, Whitehall 3-5170.
YEMEN	No consulate in New York.
YUGOSLAVIA	745 Fifth Avenue, Eldorado 5-2080.

Any suggestions or amendments to this booklet for the Fifth Session of the General Assembly should be sent to:

Conference Management Section
Conference Division
Room A1-123, ext. 2962
Lake Success, N. Y.

NUMBER OF MEETINGS HELD AT PREVIOUS SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



UN Presentation 1390

Del. Folder

United Office and Professional Workers of America

LEWIS MERRILL, President
LEWIS ALAN BERNE, Vice-President • LEON W. BERNEY, Vice-President • JOHN J. STANLEY, Secretary-Treasurer • JOSEPH H. LEVY, Vice-President

Affiliated with the C. I. O. C I r c l e 7 - 4 3 9 5
1 8 6 0 B R O A D W A Y N E W Y O R K 2 3, N. Y.

April 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

23-9-33

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Joint Trade Union Committee will hold its usual sessions in connection with the National Conference of Social Work to be held this year in Cleveland, Ohio.

We plan to give the meeting on June 15 to a consideration of the effects of the cold war on liberties and peace. We are hoping to deal with three aspects of the question. The effect upon liberties of the minorities, some steps that might be taken to meet the situation, and the will to peace.

We are hoping very much that you will be able to speak to the group on the effects of the cold war, on liberties of the minorities. These meetings are not limited to union members, but draw from the Conference as a whole. We anticipate having about 1000 people in our session (from 4:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.) on Wednesday, June 15. If you could speak about twenty minutes or a half hour at this session, I am sure people would have a much clearer grasp of the situation before them.

I will be glad to send you further details as the program develops. We are most eager to have you save this date for us if you can. We would be glad to meet travel expenses if it means a special trip for you.

Sincerely yours,

Olive O. Van Horn

Olive O. Van Horn, Chairman
National Social Service Committee
U O P W A

H:hms
uopwa 16-19

United Office and Prof. Workers of Am.

April 19, 1949

Miss Olive O. Van Horn, Chairman
National Social Service Committee
UOPWA
1860 Broadway
New York 23, New York

My dear Madame:

Your letter of April 15, has been received. Dr. Du Bois is abroad in France in attendance at the Peace Congress. He will return early in May.

I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:m

[United Office + Professional Workers, 1949]

UPW

SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' UNION, Local 19
United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO
30 East 29th Street - MUrray Hill 3-8723
Publicity: Helen Terry

FOR RELEASE
SATURDAY, April 23

23-19

With the hiring this week of two Negro professional workers at United Service for New Americans, Mrs. Patricia Garland and Mrs. Camille Jeffers, " an outstanding victory has been scored in the union's fight to eliminate discrimination in private social agencies," the Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, announced today (April 21).

The victory represents a direct and immediate outgrowth of the SSEU's fight against discrimination. It constitutes a major breakthrough in the union's total fight against discrimination in the social service field and particularly at USNA, one of New York's largest and most important agencies where, previous to the employment of Mrs. Garland and Mrs. Jeffers, the agency had not employed Negroes as caseworkers.

Hired as professional caseworkers in the Family Service Department of USNA, both Mrs. Garland and Mrs. Jeffers are graduates of the New York School of Social Work, with extensive experience in varied fields. Mrs. Jeffers was a wartime Red Cross Field Director overseas, and has worked at Wiltwyck School for Boys, Workers Personal Service Bureau, and the Personal Service Department of the National Maritime Union. Mrs. Garland was formerly with the Community Service Society.

The union's program to eliminate discrimination put forward at an all-day conference held February 12 in which the Urban League of Greater New York acted as consultant, was unanimously endorsed by over 200 Negro and white union delegates and executives, from social agencies.

One of the key points in the union's 7-point program, the practicality of which has been emphasized by the hiring of Mrs. Garland and Mrs. Jeffers, proposes that "agencies agree for a specified period of time, such as six months to a year, to grant first hiring interviews to qualified Negro applicants for both professional and clerical positions."

In addition to the union's achievement in securing the employment of these two professional workers less than three months after the conference, the establishment of SSEU's $1,000 scholarship to enable Negro college graduates to enter schools of social work as a practical indication of the union's intention to wage an all-out fight for increased employment of Negroes in the social service field, has aroused wide interest. A number of inquiries and applications have already been received.

(uopwa 16-19) # # # #

[U.S Army, Adjutant General]

AGAO-C 032.2 Powell,
Adam Clayton Jr. (30 Sep 49)

26 October 1949

Honorable Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
Representative in Congress
132 West 138th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Powell:

This is in further reply to your letter of 30 September 1949, concerning a complaint from one of your constituents, relative to his relief from duty as a chaplain at Fort Riley, Kansas.

The records show that there were two chaplains recalled to extended active duty on 30 November 1948, and assigned to the Negro units of the 10th Infantry Division, Fort Riley, Kansas. In April 1949, the Commanding General, Fifth Army, in whose command area Fort Riley is located, reported the two chaplains who were recalled to active duty as surplus to the requirements of Fort Riley, in view of the phasing out of training of Negro personnel at that installation. No suitable vacancies existed for the reassignment of these two chaplains within the Fifth Army Area and they were, therefore, reported to the Department of the Army for disposition.

At the time the chaplains were reported surplus, there was only one vacancy in the Army for the reassignment of a Negro chaplain. Consequently, one of the chaplains was selected for the vacancy and reassigned, while the other chaplain was declared surplus to the needs of the service and appropriate action was taken to effect his release from active duty.

There are now sufficient numbers of Negro chaplains on active duty to give complete coverage to all of the larger Negro Army units. Since it is the policy of the Department of the Army to assign Negro chaplains only to all-Negro organizations, the spaces to which Negro chaplains can be assigned are somewhat restricted. There are no white chaplains assigned to or caring for Negro units of any kind, except where small detachments of Negro personnel are elements of white units. At the present time, there are no white chaplains required and no chaplains are being recalled except for the purpose of entering on a Qualification Tour of duty with a view to obtaining a commission in the Regular Army.

Since one of the two Negro chaplains in question was in excess to the needs of the service, he was declared surplus in accordance with the normal procedure when no vacancy exists for the assignment of chaplains. In view of the circumstances, I believe that the action taken in this instance was reasonable and fair.

Sincerely yours,

(stamped) EDWARD F. WITSELL

EDWARD F. WITSELL
Major General
The Adjutant General

[Enc.]

Statement by
Jacob A. Dyer, ex-Chaplain, U. S. Army

I was recalled to Extended Active Duty in Category III on Nov. 30, 1948. I was posted with the 10th Infantry Division, Fort Riley, Kansas, which was then one of three centers in which Negro inductees and enlistees were being trained. There were three training regiments within the Division, one of which (the 86th) trained Negroes, while the other two trained Whites. In the Negro regiment, there were about sixty White officers and about thirty colored ones, including two chaplains.

24-6-44

In January 1949, it was decided to curtail the training program; consequently, it was also decided to cease training Negro recruits at Fort Riley, as the facilities at Fort Dix, N. J., and Fort Knox, Ky., were considered sufficient to train the number of Negroes that would be taken into the army under the curtailed program. The last group of Negro trainees arrived at Fort Riley early in February. By the middle of April all the Negro recruits at Fort Riley had completed their basic training. All Negro officers in the 10th Division, including chaplains, were then declared surplus to the needs of the Division, and available for re-assignment. By the first of June, nearly all of these had received new assignments. Instead of being given an assignment, I was relieved from Active Duty on June 22, in accordance with the accompanying directive.

On June 28th, I went to the office of the Chief of Chaplains to find out if there were other factors acting as contributing causes towards my relief from duty. The Chief was not in the office, but his representative (Chap. Lt. Col. Moran) assured me that there was absolutely no other cause than that there was no vacancy in any all-Negro unit and, according to the established policy, a Negro chaplain cannot be used in a white or mixed unit. I pointed out to him that if this policy should be continued and the integration proposals effected, all Negro chaplains would in course of time, be "squeezed out" of the Army. I told him further that, in view of that possibility, I felt it my duty to make an issue of my case.

As far as I have been able to estimate, the number of Negro chaplains on Active Duty is considerably below the number required to minister to the spiritual needs of the present Negro personnel. Under these circumstances, it does not seem reasonable nor fair to declare a Negro chaplain surplus to the army-wide needs, espacially in view of the fact that the most recent reports show that White chaplains are still being recalled to Extended Active Duty.

I regard my relief from Active Duty on a purely racial basis as a gross injustice to myself and to the Negro Race. I sincerely trust some steps will be taken in the matter, so as to safeguard the position of Negroes in the Armed Forces.

Jacob A. Dyer

Reg to print over

[U.S.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

250 West 57th Street
January 18, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-41-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of January 2nd. Because of our limited budget, and the large quantity of material from American publications which we make available to foreign editors, we regret that we are unable to pay your fee of $100. We recognize that the proposed payment of $25 is only a token fee and in no way represents the value of the article.

While we are indeed sorry that your article cannot be offered for re-publication overseas, it will, of course, be available to readers of The New York Times in our USIS libraries abroad. Occasionally foreign publishers are able to pay for reprint rights and if such an offer comes to us, we will forward it to you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Royce Moch

(Miss) Royce Moch
Chief, Magazine Liaison Section

Reg to print
Article

[U.S.]

23-41-4

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 21, 1949

Miss Royce Moch
Department of State
250 West 57th Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Moch:

Answering your letter of January 18, may I say that if this great government which is going to spend forty billions of dollars next year, really cannot afford $100, then I shall be very glad to give you the right to re-publish my article in the New York Times, for nothing; provided you let me pass on any proposed changes. I cannot accept the ridiculous sum of $25.00, but I am quite willing to make a free gift.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

250 West 57th Street
January 26, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

23-41-6

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of January 21, 1949. Your comment concerning our financial situation is well taken. Many people are amazed to discover the small proportion of the national budget that has been allocated to the overseas information program. It is for this reason that we have been dependent upon the generosity of public-spirited Americans like yourself.

With your permission, we will send your article to State Department missions abroad indicating that no changes may be made in the text.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Royce Moch

(Miss) Royce Moch
Chief, Magazine Liaison Section

[US-appl Stb

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PASSPORT DIVISION

August 18, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS:

The enclosed passport has been validated for your proposed travel to the British Isles, France, Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and necessary countries en route. Passports are not required for temporary visits to Mexico.

49-8-9

RBS

R. B. Shipley,
Chief, Passport Division

Enclosure:
Passport.

130-Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt

[U.S. - Int. Rev. Serv.]

Cover J.

June 8, 1949

Mr. James W. Johnson
Collector of Internal Revenue, 3rd District
110 East 45th Street
New York, New York

23-42-6

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I am venturing to renew an acquaintance which we had from 1944. Up to the first of this year, I have been an employee of the NAACP, but that connection was severed on the first of this year and since that I have been without regular income although my office and secretary are furnished by the Council on African Affairs.

I am writing to ask if I have any claims for the Social Security ~~from~~ the Federal Government. I presume not, since I have been employed as a teacher and social worker for many years, but I thought it would not harm to inquire.

I shall be glad of any information which you may give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S. - I.R.S.]

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

110 EAST 45TH STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR
THIRD DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

IN REPLY REFER TO JWJ:AZ:jo

June 10, 1949

42/1D/4

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

My dear Mr. DuBois:

Reference is made to your letter of June 8, 1949 in which you request advice as to whether or not you have any claims for Social Security benefits from the Federal Government.

It is my understanding that you may be able to get the desired information by directing an inquiry to the Social Security Board, 41 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES W. JOHNSON
Collector

[U.S. of E]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

23-2-15

January 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am referring your recent letter to our Statistical Service for whatever information they may be able to give you concerning the subject of your interest.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose Caliver

Ambrose Caliver
Specialist for Higher Education of Negroes and
Adviser on Related Problems

CC Mr. Emery Foster

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA. — ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH — ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD. — H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA. — BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I. — HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF

Foreign Affairs [U.S. - Senate, For. Relations Committee]

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 12, 1949.

Dr. W.E. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N .Y.

Dear Doctor Dubois :

This will acknowledge your telegram to Chairman Connally with respect to your desire to appear on the Military Assistance Bill.

The Chairman asks me to advise you that in accordance with a decision reached today by the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Armed Services Committee through a unanimous vote, no further hearings will be held on this legislation. Because of time limitations, the pressure of other Senate business, and the complete record of testimony available to the Committee from the lengthy hearings held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, it was agreed that the filing of statements by those who had asked to appear here, would be sufficient.

If you wish to present a statement , it will be considered by the Committee for incorporation in the printed record of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee. The statement is to be of reasonable length and addressed to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It should be received here not later than Friday August 19th, for inclusion in the record.

The Chairman wishes to assure you that any expression of views which you wish to convey on behalf of your organizations, willbe given every possible consideration.

Sincerely,

C. C. O'Day

Clerk.

24-83.41

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

RIverside 9-6900

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS:
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FIELD OFFICE
505 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.
June 20, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is noted from your application that Mrs. DuBois is sixty-five years of age. She is entitled to monthly benefits of one-half the amount of yours under the provisions of our Program.

Enclosed find Forms OA-C2, Application for Wife's Insurance Benefits, and OA-C3, Husband's Certification. The former is to be filled in and signed by Mrs. DuBois and the latter by you. Kindly have your wife submit her birth or baptismal certificate to establish her correct date of birth. If neither of these documents are available, the attached Form OA-C9, Instructions to Applicant on Proof of Age, gives a list of acceptable evidences of birth. It will be appreciated if we may have both forms, and your wife's evidence of birth, returned at an early date.

We will hold your application until the other requested forms are received. After they have been checked, all documents will be mailed to our office at 334 Audubon Avenue, New York City, which serves the area in which you live.

Should you wish information during the period of development, feel free to call me and I will endeavor to secure the data you desire.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Cohron
Manager

enclosures

41/8A/4

W.E.B. Social Security

[US Social Sec admin]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

RIverside 9-6900

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS:
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FIELD OFFICE
505 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
June 13, 1949

47/101/1

Personal

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Vice-Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

From the information given in your letter of June 8th, it appears that you are entitled to monthly benefits under the old-age and survivors insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. We conclude from your statement that the organization you are now with, Council on African Affairs, is not covered by the Social Security Act nor are the writings you do on an employer-employee relationship which determines coverage under our Program.

There is enclosed the Administration's pamphlet, Insurance for Workers and Their Families. On pages five and thirteen detailed information is given relative to qualifying and applying for benefits. After reading the contents of the booklet, should there be additional information desired, please call the undersigned.

We are enclosing also our Form OA-C1, Application for Wage Earner's Primary Insurance Benefits. Should you wish to file a claim, kindly complete the form and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope marked "personal." Although the addressed on your letter is in the service area of our 41 West 43rd Street field office, I will handle the matter for you since your letter was addressed to me personally.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Cohron
Manager

Enclosures

FEDERAL OLD-AGE & SURVIVORS INSURANCE

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Social Security Administration

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND
SURVIVORS INSURANCE

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS:
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FIELD OFFICE
505 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.
July 7, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Record of Marriage-Certified, submitted to establish Mrs. DuBois' age, shows that she was twenty-five years old on May 12, 1896. This establishes her date of birth as July 4, 1870 since her birthday for 1896 had not passed on May 12th.

To correct the year of birth given on her application Form OA-C2 as July 4, 1871, we are enclosing a statement which we ask that she sign and return to us. Upon receipt of the signed statement, we will forward your applications to our office at 334 Audubon Avenue which serves the area in which you live.

We have certified the marriage record and are returning it to you, since it has served its purpose.

If in the future you should wish information from the writer concerning your or Mrs. DuBois' social security benefits, feel free to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Cohron
Manager

Enclosures

41/8A/5

[ENC.?]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

INSTRUCTIONS TO APPLICANT ON PROOF OF AGE

One of the types of proof of age listed below must be furnished. Proof as high in order on the list as possible should be submitted if you have it, or if it is readily obtainable, because such proof is generally more convincing. For instance, if you have or can readily obtain a birth certificate, it should be submitted rather than a baptismal certificate or a statement of birth shown by a church record. If you do not have either of these proofs, or they are not readily obtainable, try to submit the proof listed next in order, rather than one low on the list. Additional proof of age may be requested by the Social Security Administration if the document which you submit is not convincing proof. Therefore, it is to your advantage to furnish a document which is high in order of preference on the list.

1. A birth certificate.
2. A baptismal certificate or a statement as to the date of birth shown by a church record, certified by the custodian of such record.
3. Notification of registration of birth in a public registry of vital statistics.
4. Hospital birth record, certified by the custodian of such record.
5. A foreign church or government record.
6. A signed statement by the physician or midwife who was in attendance at birth, as to the date of birth shown on their records.
7. Family Bible, or other family record, certified by a notary public. (We will be glad to make this certification without charge.)
8. Naturalization record.
9. Immigration papers.
10. Military record.
11. Passport.
12. School record, certified by the custodian of such record.
13. Vaccination record, certified by the custodian of such record.
14. An insurance policy which shows the age or date of birth.
15. Labor union or fraternal record certified by the custodian of such record.
16. Marriage records showing date of birth or age (application for marriage license or church record, certified by the custodian of such record; or marriage certificate).
17. Other evidence, such as signed statements from persons who have knowledge of the date of birth, voting records, poll-tax receipts, driver's license, etc. (We will be glad to provide the necessary forms to secure the statements and advise you of the required number.)

If you desire to keep any document which you submit as proof of age, we will make a record of it and return it to you.

Inst. OA-C9
(3-48)

41|8A|16

16—42804-3 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD
BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

Area Office
New York, N.Y.

Field Office
334 Audubon Ave.
New York 33, N.Y.

Certificate of
Social Insurance Award

This is to certify that

William E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York 32, N.Y.

Date: August 5, 1949

Claim Number: 104-12-5671A

became entitled to Primary Insurance Benefits *under Title II of the Social Security Act, payable monthly.*

Amount of regular monthly benefit will be $ 29.37

First month of entitlement to benefits is Mar. '49

The first check includes benefits for Mar.-July '49 incl.

The first payment is in the amount of $ 146.85

Payments will be mailed to you by the Treasury Department.

O. C. Pogge

O. C. Pogge,
Director

See the reverse side of this certificate for the conditions under which these benefits are not payable, and for other important information.

ALWAYS GIVE CLAIM NUMBER WHEN WRITING ABOUT YOUR CLAIM

Form OA-1 (1-45)

41|8A|3

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THESE BENEFITS ARE NOT PAYABLE

This insurance benefit is not payable for any month in which you work for wages of more than $14.99 in employment that is covered by the Social Security Act. This does not mean that because you are entitled to monthly benefits you may not work, but simply that for those months when you do work and earn more than $14.99 you will not be eligible to receive a benefit payment.

Notice of the occurrence of such employment must be sent to the Social Security Board promptly, or certain penalties as provided by the Social Security Act may be imposed. A postal card which may be used to notify the Social Security Board was given to you when you filed your claim.

If you receive an insurance benefit check for a month in which you have worked for wages of more than $14.99 in employment that is covered by the Social Security Act, you should return the check to the—

Treasury Department, Division of Disbursement
Located in the city shown on the face of your check

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Notify the Social Security Board and your local post office immediately of any change of address so that your monthly insurance benefit checks will not be delayed. A postal card which may be used to notify the Social Security Board was given to you when you filed your claim.

RECONSIDERATION OR HEARING

A claimant for old-age and survivors insurance benefits has a right to a reconsideration or hearing if he does not agree with the decision on his claim. A request for a reconsideration or hearing should be made promptly, not later than 6 months from the date of this certificate, and should be made through the local field office of the Social Security Board.

RECALCULATION OF BENEFITS

The amount of your monthly benefit was based on your average monthly wage before you filed your application. If you return to work in the near future at a higher average rate of pay than you received before and work long enough to increase your average monthly wage (generally six months or more) you should get in touch with the Social Security Board Field Office shown on the face of this certificate. You will be advised whether you may be entitled to an increase in your monthly benefit rate.

NOTE.—It is necessary to report employment that is covered by the Social Security Act for any month in which you work for wages of more than $14.99. See paragraph at top of page.

CONSULT THE FIELD OFFICE SHOWN ON THE FACE OF THIS CERTIFICATE, OR ANY OTHER FIELD OFFICE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS CONCERNING YOUR CLAIM.

KEEP THIS CERTIFICATE AS A PERMANENT RECORD

ALWAYS GIVE CLAIM NUMBER WHEN WRITING ABOUT YOUR CLAIM

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—43452-1

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS:
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FIELD OFFICE
505 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.
August 11, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The $29.37 monthly benefit you are to receive is the amount established as result of wages earned in Social Security employment prior to filing your application.

As previously advised, your file was forwarded to our office at 334 Audubon Avenue, New York City, which has jurisdiction over the area in which you live. Therefore I am not in position to recheck the figures upon which your benefit is based. It is suggested that you write to that office and request that they give you an explanation as to how they arrived at the benefit of $29.37.

There is enclosed the Administration's pamphlet, Insurance for Workers and Their Families, which explains the method and formula by which benefits are figured. If after receiving an explanation from our 334 Audubon Avenue office I can be of further service to you, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Cohron
Manager

Enclosure

Wrote Aug 15, '49

41|8A|8

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND
SURVIVORS INSURANCE

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS:
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
FIELD OFFICE
334 AUDUBON AVENUE
(BETWEEN 161ST AND 162D STS.)
NEW YORK 33, N. Y.

WAdsworth 3-6720

August 16, 1949

Mr. William E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois: Re: A/N 104-12-5671

We have your letter of August 15, 1949 in which you request information as to how we arrived at the amount of your benefit.

In arriving at the amount of your benefit, we obtained a record of all the wages you were paid, in covered employment, from January 1, 1939 up until you stopped such employment in December 1948. This amounted to $14625.00. We then divided this amount by 120 which was the number of months that had elapsed during that same period. The result of this division gave us your average monthly wage, which amounted to $121.88. This procedure is outlined on pages 2, 3 and 4 of the enclosed pamphlet.

After obtaining the average monthly wage, we applied the formula which is outlined on pages 7, 11 and 12 of the pamphlet. The formula operates as follows:

40% of the first $50.00 of the average monthly wage	$20.00
10% of the remainder, $71.88	7.19
Basic benefit equals	27.19
1% of this amount for each year in which you were paid $200.00 or more in wages (8%)	2.18
Total monthly benefit	$29.37

Your wife's benefit would amount to one half of this, or $14.69 monthly.

I do not have the complete file available on your claim. It is my recollection that you had been employed by the Atlanta University for a period of time. Wages paid to you by the University would not be counted in figuring your benefit since educational institutions do not come under the provisions of the Law. You will also note that we were not able to give you credit for the wages you were paid in

41/8A/9

1937 and 1938, since in those years the Law did not cover wages paid to persons who were beyond the age of 65.

We hope that this clarifies this matter for you. If you have any further questions, or desire any additional information, please do not hesitate to write or call.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Last
Manager

Enclosure 1

41|8A|10

Université Libre de Bruxelles

BRUXELLES, LE 5 avril 1949.
50, AVENUE F.-D. ROOSEVELT

SERVICE SOCIAL

OS/JM.

Monsieur le Docteur DUBOIS
Freedom House
West 42th street
NEW-YORK (U.S.A.)

23-43-8

Monsieur,

Madame SOHIER, Présidente de l'Union des Femmes Coloniales, me conseille de m'adresser à vous pour vous demander d'aider un de nos étudiants pécuniairement en difficulté.

Il s'agit de Georges CUNNINGHAM, étudiant en 3e année à la Faculté de Médecine, sujet britannique né à Georgetown en Guyane Anglaise. Il est en Belgique depuis deux ans, tous ses frais de séjour étaient couverts, jusquà présent, par des chèques que lui envoyait sa mère, établie en Amérique.

J'ai fait diverses démarches auprès des Autorités Britanniques en Belgique, qui ne peuvent l'aider.

Monsieur CUNNINGHAM voudrait terminer l'année académique, il fait de très bonnes études et partirait à New-York après ses examens pour se rendre compte sur place des motifs qui justifient les interruptions de paiements de sa mère.

Il est redevable à la Cité Universitaire, d'une somme de 8.000 francs, retard de loyer et repas pour les mois échus.

La même somme est à prévoir pour les quatre mois à venir.

Voulez-vous avoir l'obligeance de me faire connaître si une intervention de votre part est possible.

Le Service Social de l'Université de Bruxelles, dont les moyens pécuniaires sont très limités, peut difficilement intervenir lorsqu'il s'agit d'un étudiant étranger venu en Belgique librement, pour y poursuivre ses études.

Espérant de vos nouvelles, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

L'AUXILIAIRE SOCIALE,

Mme SMETS.

Ff 15, Lecture

Lect. comp

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Lect. party

January 6, 1949

Ff. 15
$200

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

23-9-18

Sometime ago we, a Special History Work Group here at Virginia Union University, through Mr. King, wrote and asked you concerning a speaking engagement here.

We would like for you to come to us on February the 14th or 15th. Concerning the honararium, what are the most lenient arrongements can be granted for its payment. We are engaging the Masque for this occasion, consequently our overall responsibilities are not at all small.

Please let us hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,
Edith V. Freeman
(Hartshorn Hall)

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

Miss Edith V. Freeman
Hartsharn Hall
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

23-9-19

My dear Miss Freeman:

Answering your letter of January 6, may I say that I will be able to speak for you on February 15.

My charge, as I stated in the letter to Mr. King, would be $200, out of which I would pay my expenses except lodging and board.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

FOREIGN STUDY TEAM

Campus Box 27

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

23-2-14

TRAVEL ADDRESS
care of
MLLE. LLEWELLYN HOLMES
HOTEL DAUNOU
6 RUE DAUNOU
PARIS 2C, FRANCE

THE TEAM

Traveling Members

WOODSON, EMMA
NEW KENT, VIRGINIA
Senior

TUCKER, THOMAS
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Freshman

TEELE, JAMES
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Senior

NORRELL, ALBERT
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Junior

KING, CLENNON
ALBANY, GEORGIA
Advisor

Special Members

KREBS, L. J.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Arrangements

BARNES, JOY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Communications Liaison

June 13, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please carefully read the enclosed statement, especially the last paragraph, and give us a reply on it at your earliest convenience. We want to take these statements with us on our travels. Little such things as these, we think, go a long way toward creating the world rapport so badly needed. Such letters of statement will serve to re-assure some, to convince others, and to impress all.

Most respectfully yours,

The FOREIGN STUDY TEAM
Virginia Union University
by Joy Barnes

SEND TO:
VA UNION FOREIGN STUDY TEAM
c/o Mr William Nesbitt, Agent
Transocean Airlines Hanger
Bradley Field,
Windsor Locks,
CONNECTICUT

[ENC]

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

JOHN MALCUS ELLISON, PRESIDENT
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THOSE WHO MAY BE CONCERNED

One of the most exciting and promising innovations in Negro education has appeared at Virginia Union University. Together with it being the year of Union's 50th Anniversary, the initiation of a new step in laboratory education for Social Science has taken place. This Summer, for the first time in any Negro school, Union is sending some of its students as a "foreign study team" into the highly pregnant cultural areas of the Old World---To see how interdependent peoples are and how alike they are the world over---To see members of the Negro race making their contribution in places outside America and to carry them a message of friendship ---To deepen cultural appreciation through having the opportunity of getting closer to our cultural sources---To see how necessary it is to work toward keeping our world one world, with the realization that freedom is everybody's job---To aid in international good-will and understanding---To return to America with experience which will serve life here---To swell the university's museum collection.

The Team is to leave Richmond next week. In their study and contribution, these students will also participate in many activities of high general interest---In appreciation for the Belgian Building, the Team will carry from Union College students to Belgian college students in Antwerp a fitting token of friendship---In Grimaldi, Italy, the Team will visit the grotte des enfantes, site of the earliest true humans in Europe, Negro Cro-Magnons---Before embarking, the Team will stop over in Washington to be received at the French, Italian, Ethiopian, Belgian, Israeli, English, and Egyptian Embassies for a series of interviews. They will also be interviewed at the various radio stations. In Washington WINX is doing the honors...

The Team in following through with the idea of extending international understanding, is especially interested to see members of the Negro race making their contribution in places outside America and to carry them a message of friendship. THIS STATEMENT COMES TO REQUEST THAT YOUR VOICE JOIN WITH A FEW OTHER HIGHLY SELECTED ONES IN THIS GESTURE. Your statement might incorporate the following ideas, if you like:

A.) You may congratulate generally foreign Negroes on something you think particularly commendable.

B.) You might include a brief general approach, in succinct fashion, to the Negro's problems everywhere.

C.) Friendly expression of how American Negroes feel toward foreign Negroes. Expression of the good-will of American Negroes to those in other places.

23a-2

Voice of Freedom

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

J177CC 7M NL PD

NEWYORK NY OCT 10 1949

DR W E V DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

VOICE OF FREEDOM COMMITTEE CONDUCTING CAMPAIGN TO GET NEGRO COMMENTATOR ON A NETWORK AS PUBLIC SERVICE FEATURE, TO DRAMATIZE SHAMEFUL LACK OF ADEQUATE EMPLOYMENT FOR NEGROES IN THE RADIO INDUSTRY. PRELIMINARY TO ACTUAL CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN CONDUCTING NATION-WIDE POLL TO ASCERTAIN CROSS SECTION OF OPINION AS TO WHOM THE PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR. ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS OF THE POLL AND IN THE CONSIDERED JUDGMENT OF OUR PANEL OF DISTINGUISHED JUDGES WE ARE PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THAT YOU, MARY MCCLOED BETHUNE AND PAUL ROBESON WERE NAMED AS THE THREE AROUND WHOM WE WOULD BE MOST APT TO WAGE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN. AMONG THE JUDGES WERE TWO VOF MONITORS TWO VOF OFFICER AND S W GARLINGTON MANAGING EDITOR OF AMSTERDAM NEWS, DOCTOR J RAYMOND WALSH, REV. JACK MCMICHAEL OF METHODIST FEDERATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES, JAMES ALLEN OF NAACP AND WALTER CHRISTMAS OF COMMITTEE FOR NEGRO IN THE ARTS. PLEASE LET US KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IF WE MAY HAVE THE PRIVILEGE AS WE PLAN TO LAUNCH OUR CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY AT OUR RALLY AT TOWN HALL ON OCTOBER 22ND. WE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU COULD BE WITH US ON THIS OCCASION AS YOUR PRESENCE WOULD STIMULATE THE ENTIRE MOVEMENT AND HELP TO RALLY THE PEOPLE AROUND YOU. THE SUCCESS OF OUR PROJECT DEPENDS ON YOU.

24-4-17.

DOROTHY PARKER CHAIRMAN VOICE OF FREEDOM COMMITTEE
122 WEST 71 STREET NYC ENDICOTT 2-4197

1135P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Voice of Freedom Committee]

October 12, 1949

Miss Dorothy Parker, Chairman
Voice of Freedom Committee
122 West 71st Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Parker:

Frankly I do not think that your selections for radio work, with exception to Paul Robeson are very good. However, I will be glad to help in any way I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-18

Perry
Wallace

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, [illegible]9

22-40-140

Mr. Henry A. Wallace
Farvue
South Salem, New York

My dear Mr. Wallace:

I think I ought to report to you what I have done in the case of Mrs. Blaine. I do not want you to take any further action but since you have been so kind, I want you to know what I have done on my part.

In accordance with your letter, I called Mrs. Blaine by phone early in December and asked if I might have an appointment to see her; she was very pleasant but said that she was quite busy at the time and would I call her again within a few days. Therefore, I wrote to her a rather long letter saying that I thought it would be fairer to put before her the facts in writing and then perhaps have the interview. I told her my age and something of my education and work and the books which I had written. I outlined my service with the Atlanta University and with the NAACP and my return to Atlanta University in 1934 to 1944. I told her about my family, the salaries which I had received, the home which I had bought in Baltimore, my daughter as a teacher and the illness of my wife for two years. I also told her that I have no life insurance and why, but that I had saved up a little to help educate my granddaughter. I then told of my difficulties with the NAACP and my recent dismissal. I said I would phone her on Tuesday, December 14.

On that day again, I had a pleasant talk with her, but she was still too busy to make an appointment to see me; but asked me to write her in detail just what my wants were; I therefore wrote, December 15, 1946, making a detailed scheduele of my expenses and asked if it would be possible for her to furnish me $5000 this year and also since I understood that she had planned for inaugurating a movement for peace and progress, I hoped later I might find a chance to co-operate.

I did not hear from this letter and was rather afraid that it might have been lost in the Christmas mail. I therefore phoned again, January 7, asking to talk with Mrs. Blaines' secretary and see if the letter had been received; but Mrs. Blaine answered personally and said that she had received the letter and was going to think it over soon but still could not as yet arrange for an interview. She said that if I had any further facts to lay before her she would be glad to have them.

23-40-141

I therefore wrote, January 7, showing some changes in my position but asking again for the same sum, $5000. I told her that I was speaking in Detroit, January 12, and could be in Chicago anytime between then and the 19th. I have had no answer from this letter.

I shall not write again or do anything more until I hear from her. I have told these facts to Mr. Robeson and am just outlining them to you; for your information only and not for any further action on your part. I am already deeply under obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HENRY A. WALLACE
39 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

March 14, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

While it is against my practice to join in committees of this sort, I must say that this particular one appeals to me so strongly that I am most happy to join with you.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

27-30-57

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Henry A. Wallace
~~30 Park Avenue~~
~~New York, New York~~

Farm
South Salem
N.Y.

My dear Mr. Wallace:

20-5-30

I went to Chicago last Wednesday and had tea with Mrs. Blaine Friday afternoon. She was very gracious and assured me that my salary would be provided for the year beginning April 1, 1949 and that for succeeding years as long as I am able to work, she would be glad to be one of a committee to see that funds were provided. It was a very satisfactory visit.

I want to thank you for your kindly intercession and also to apologize again for the worry that I have brought upon you. I deeply appreciate all that you have done.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Dear Mr, Wallace:

At the meeting the other night I indulged myself in a line of imagination and analogy which was too long and involved for me to take time to state it with its implications. But I am venturing to do this by letter, realizing that analogies do not go on all fours.

Suppose that instead of being in New York in 1949, we had been meeting much lower on Broadway in 1849.

Naturally I would not have been present, but present last night, for that matter, I was not much.

We would have represented the Liberty party, formed some years before and representing middle ground between the Abolitionists and the Whigs. The Anti-Slavery societies of that time numbered some 200,000 members, but were of many minds and tendencies. They were all unpopular and suspect: they harbored Atheists and the Church for that and other reasons disowned them. Some of them attacked Property, not only in men, but in things which men needed, like Land. They had a lunatic fringe who went in for Communism and rights of women. They were favorite objects of repressive legislation and court injunctions and mob law. Garrison had been dragged through the streets Douglass had his right hand permanently crippled and Lovejoy was killed Finally the group split. One wing went into politics. They wanted not only to free the slaves and permit no more slave territory, but were suspected of being subservient to a Foreign Power, undemocratic England, with King and lords, who jealous of our prosperity based on the Cotton Kingdom was now abolishing slavery in the West Indies and starting her colonial Imperialism in Asia and Africa. She was also trying to steal Oregon

But the liberals started a party in 1840. They were not Abolitionists, although they wanted to abolish slavery; but they had no other dangerous 'isms and no fear of England and her designs. They chose the name "Liberty" Party as a designation which was vague enough to catch all but the Die-hards. They started in the election of 1844, when the South was aiming toward a new slave empire in central and South America and the Caribbean area. The Liberty Party cast 62,000 votes and beat Clay for the presidency, but unfortunately helped elect Polk who promptly annexed the vast slave state of Texas and forced us into war with Mexico. He also looked viciously at England and yelled "Fifty-four forty or Fight!"

Although the Liberty party kept at it and cast a good vote in 1846, it began to be discouraged. And the main cause of this discouragement was the "smear" of Abolition.

So in 1849 (historically, it was 1847; but the analogy is not too far astray) they sat down together and took stock. Their leader was a bit discouraged. He had been subjected to mud-slinging of efficient quality and he was pretty well fed up. His family was even (to coin a word) fedder upper. Especially he resented being called an enemy of property, an instigator of servile revolt and murder or an advocate of votes for women. He hated slavery, yes; but he was not an Abol-

itionist in the current sense of the term. What shall we do, he asked and sugested that the persons present poll their fiiends and the public as to what they wanted to Liberty Party to stand for.

The discussion was long, but tended to divide in two directions: How can we avoid being classed with Abolitionists; they are unpopular and no party with their label can win in the United States; they may not be wrong in ideal, but they are impossible in method and their foreign entanglements are undoubted. Some argued: ignore the Smear and the differences; so far as both we and they oppose slavery and want Peace, lets work together. Others answered, but the Abolitionists push in, use our offices to attack slave owners and work like Hell to twist our aims and push theirs Our best bet is openly to disassociate ourselves from the Abolitionists and join forces with the Free Soil Party, now forming. "Free Soil? What's that? "Free Soil, Free Men, Free Speach?"

"Do you mean land owned in common, no slaves, and the right to discus and write about ~~slavery,~~ property and woman suffrage?"

"No, we mean no extension of slave territory, rights for men already free and reasonable discussion which does not attack private property in land or men"

There, or somwhere around there, we adjourned; what happened historically thereafter, is another story.

And here, Mr. Wallace, this admittedly lame analogy ends.

Very sincerely,

P.S. To complete the record, the Liberty committed suicide; the Free Soil Party took over, were met by the pro-slavery Compromise of 1850 and died peacefully in the election of 1852. In 1854, their ashes fertilized a Party which moved further right, recognized slavery but opposed its extension, and went into Civil War pledged to defend the institution. But in order to win that war they had to abolish slavery

Wallace

COPY

Dupl Crow

Copied for Lochard

December 2, 1949

Mr. Henry E. Wallace
Farvue
South Salem, New York

To Henry Wallace, Dec 2 1949

Dear Mr. Wallace:

At the meeting the other night I indulged myself in a line of imagination and analogy which was too long and involved for me to take the time to state it with its implications. But I am venturing to do this by letter, realizing that analogies like this do not go on all fours. Suppose that instead of being in New York in 1949, we had been meeting on lower Broadway in 1849. Naturally I would not have been present, but for that matter, I was not much present last night.

Liberty Party

We would have represented the Liberty Party, formed some years before and representing middle ground between the Abolitionists and the Whigs. The Anti-Slavery societies of that time numbered some 200,000 members, but were of many minds and tendencies. They were all unpopular and suspect: they harbored Atheists and the Church for that and other reasons disowned them. Some of them attacked Property, not only in men, but in things which men needed, like Land. They had a lunatic fringe who went in for Communism and rights of women. They were favorite objects of repressive legislation, court injunctions and mob law. Garrison had been dragged through the streets, Douglass had his right hand permanently crippled and Lovejoy was killed. Finally the group split. One wing went into politics. They wanted not only to free the slaves and permit no more slave territory, but were suspected of being subservient to a Foreign Power, undemocratic England, with King and lords, who jealous of our porsperity based on the Cotton Kingdom was abolishing slavery in the West Indies and starting her colonial Imperialism in Asia and Africa. She was also trying to steal Oregon.

The Liberty Party started in 1840. They were not Abolitionists, although they wanted to abolish slavery; but they had no other dangerous 'isms and no fear of England and her designs. They chose the name "Liberty" as a designation which was vague enough to catch all but the Die-hards. They started in the election of 1844, when the South was aiming toward a new slave empire in Central and South America and the Caribbean area. The Liberty Party cast 62,000 votes and beat Clay for the presidency; but unfortunately this helped elect Polk who promptly annexed the vast slave state of Texas and forced us into War with Mexico. He also looked viciously at England and yelled "Fifty-four forty or Fight!"

The Smear

Although the Liberty Party kept at it and cast a good vote in 1846, it began to be discouraged. And the main cause of this discouragement was the "Smear" of Abolition. So in 1849 (historically, it was 1847; but the analogy is not too far astray) they sat down together and took stock. Their leader was a bit discouraged. He had been subjected to mud-slinging of efficient quality and he was pretty well fed up. His family was even (to coin a word) fedder upper. Especially he resented being called an enemy of property, an instigator of servile revolt or an advocate of votes for women. He hated slavery, yes; but he was not an Abolitionist in the current sense of the term. What shall we do, he asked and suggested that the persons present poll their friends and the public as to what they wanted the Liberty Party to stand for.

Trying to dodge Cuba

The discussion was long, but tended to divide in two directions: How can we avoid being classed with Abolitionists; they are umpopular and no party with their label can win in the United States; they may not be wrong in ideal; but they are impossible in method and their foreign entanglements with British radicals are undoubted. Some argued: ignore the Smear and the differences; so far as both we and they oppose slavery and want Peace, lets work together and perfect organization. Others answered, but the Abolitionists push in, use our offices to attack slave owners and work like Hell to twist our aims and push theirs. Our best bet is openly to disassociate ourselves from the Abolitionists and join forces with the Free Soil Party, now forming. "Free Soil? What's that?" "Free Soil, Free Men, Free Speech?" Do you mean land owned in common, no slaves, and the right to discuss and write about property and woman suffrage?" "No, we mean no extension of slave territory, rights for men already free and reasonable discussion which does not attack legal private property in land or man." Incidentally in 1849 we found gold at the end of the rainbow, convincing us that this was God's country.

There, or somewhere around there, we adjourned; what happened historically thereafter, is another story.

And here, Mr. Wallace, this admittedly lame analogy ends.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

afterwards.

P.S. To complete the record, the Liberty committed suicide; the Free Soil Party took over, were met by the pro-slavery Compromise of 1850 and died peacefully in the election of 1852. In 1854, their ashes fertilized a party which moved still further right, recognized slavery but opposed its extension. It won the election of 1860 by a Minority vote and went into Civil War, pledged to defend the institution. But in order to win that war they had to abolish slavery.

23C-51

December 14, 1949

Mrs. Lillian Waring
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mrs. Waring:

I am sorry to hear that you have been ill. I trust you are convalescing favorably.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mal & Folder Leo. Comm. 1949

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

WEDNESDAY—MARCH 9, 1949

WILLARD HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 18, 1949

Office:
Temporary Associates to
Arrange Conference
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We whose names are signed below invite you as an important American leader to participate in an off-the-record Conference on Foreign Policy in Washington, D. C. on Wednesday - March 9. The full explanation of this emergency meeting in the following paragraphs is worth your serious consideration.

Your experience probably corresponds to ours as we come in contact with persons who hold responsible positions of leadership, some of them heads of national organizations with memberships numbering many thousands. They are anxious and alarmed at this time because of the trend of our foreign policy. The cleavage widens between East and West. We travel a dangerous road.

13a-9

Even now fateful decisions are in prospect in Washington. A further heavy spending program for aid to western Europe is being debated. A vast rearmament plan calls for appropriation of many more billions of dollars. A North Atlantic Defense Pact which is bound to carry grave military commitments is soon to be signed and to be presented as a treaty to the Senate for ratification, we are told.

These leaders have voiced the desire for a complete understanding and assessment of this fearful business. This must be done quickly, they say, before the American people find themselves irrevocably committed to plans and action that may lead to world disaster through war. They would like to go straight to Washington to learn directly from the Senators and Congressmen, especially from those responsible for foreign policy, their views of the situation. As leaders they wish to formulate and recommend to their organizations a program of peace action geared to present realities.

Accordingly, we who address you have arranged for a one-day conference at the Willard Hotel in Washington on Wednesday - March 9. The plan is to have an opening session at 10:30 A.M., a special luncheon at 1:30 P.M., and another session from 3:00 to 6:00 P.M. If this does not suffice we can work the evening through.

In order to promote full and unhampered discussion, the affair will be completely off-the-record. Enrollment will be kept low, probably within 100. Although those in attendance will be persons in important leadership positions and broadly representative of many different groups - church, education, trade union, etc. - yet the occasion itself properly must be non-organizational. Each of us will attend as an individual; no commitment of any organization will be involved.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

Tuesday ~~WEDNESDAY~~—MARCH 15, 1949

WILLARD HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 28, 1949

Office:
Temporary Associates to
Arrange Conference
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady, New York

23-42-52

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have postponed the Conference to Tuesday - March 15. We regret the confusion this causes but the reason for the change is a compelling one.

In our anxiety over the fateful decisions in prospect so soon in Washington we decided on the early date, not fully appreciating the conflict created. Many top-flight church leaders are to be in Conference in Cleveland on March 9 - a conference for the study of peace, in fact. Because they represent an important section of the people, adjustment of the Washington Conference date seemed imperative so these church leaders would be able to participate.

March 15 will yet be in good time for us to make an appraisal and to carry recommendations for action back to the people so their opinions can be registered in Washington before final decisions are made.

Everything else stands! It appears more important than ever that influential leaders gather in Washington to discuss the issues where they may have the benefit of the views of Senators and Congressmen who are at the center of foreign policy discussions.

Therefore, we urge strongly that you who have already accepted the invitation make the shift in your schedule so you can go to Washington on March 15 and advise Dr. Kingsbury at once by mail.

You who had to send regrets for March 9 may find that March 15 is possible. Try to make it so. Communicate to Dr. Kingsbury at once your intention to come on March 15.

To all you who have delayed response, we now renew the invitation with the utmost appeal for your favorable consideration. Examine our first letter again. We believe this conference to have crucial significance in these days of momentous decision. Mail to Dr. Kingsbury the card enclosed with the first invitation or just write him a letter to say you want a place reserved.

Sincerely yours,

The Reverend Phillips P. Elliott
First Presbyterian Church
Brooklyn, New York

Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Emeritus Professor of Sociology
New York University

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

The Reverend William E. Lampe
General Secretary of the
Evangelical and Reformed Church

Dr. Thomas Mann
Author
California

Prof. Linus Carl Pauling
Chairman, Division of Chemistry
California Institute of Technology

~~Feb~~ Mar 19

[WASH. CONF.]

23-42-53

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 1, 1949

Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady
New York

My dear Dr. Kingsbury:

Since the date of your Washington Conference has been changed from March 9 to March 15, I shall be glad to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-51

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

Tuesday 15
~~WEDNESDAY~~ – MARCH ~~9~~, 1949

WILLARD HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

Office:
Temporary Associates to
Arrange Conference
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady, New York

March 1, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I write today to give added emphasis to the letter sent yesterday over the names of the initiators announcing a change in the date of the Washington Conference to Tuesday - March 15.

I appreciate the fact that you had to send your regrets to the original invitation. I am hopeful that the new date may, in some way, be cleared on your schedule so you can go to Washington.

Many, many persons have responded to the invitation with a letter expressing the keenest interest in the Conference, regarding it as a very crucial occasion. On the old date, some thirty people had already asked that a place be reserved for them.

That you may find it easy now to say that you will attend on March 15, I am enclosing a special card. I will be grateful to have you mail it at once.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Kingsbury

John A. Kingsbury

uopwa 19
enc

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

~~WEDNESDAY~~ Tuesday MARCH ~~9~~ N, 1949

WILLARD HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 11, 1949

Office:
Temporary Associates to
Arrange Conference
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Conference is on!

Its gravity you can appreciate as you watch rapid developments on the international scene. Especially the attempt to finalize the North Atlantic Pact although the American people have not yet seen the text and no open hearings have been held in Washington.

A fair representation of the leaders of national organizations and a number of important community leaders from the Middle-West as well as the East are to be on hand.

You will wish to know that to date the following from Capitol Hill have expressed willingness to take part in our deliberations:

Senators J. W. Fulbright, Margaret Chase Smith, Harley M. Kilgore, Glen H. Taylor; Congressmen John A. Blatnik and George G. Sadowski.

Several others have been invited - three are members either of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House or the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. We expect some of them to come through.

The time is Tuesday, March 15. The place is the Willard Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W. - the Congressional Room. The hour of the first session is 10:30 A. M.

While there will be brief respite between morning session and luncheon, and between luncheon and the afternoon session, the luncheon will be served in a section of the Congressional Room in which the Conference will be held and will form an integral part of our day's discussions. We cannot afford to lose a single moment of time.

I look forward to greeting you on Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Kingsbury

John A. Kingsbury

uopwa 19

23a-9

[Wash. Conf.]

From: Temporary Associates
Washington Conference on Foreign Policy
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.

FOR RELEASE
A. M. PAPERS
WEDNESDAY - MARCH 16, 1949.

Seventy national and community organizational leaders from 14 States and the District of Columbia met informally at the Hotel Willard yesterday to discuss American foreign policy and its implications for national welfare and international peace. By consent of the group, discussion was concentrated upon the proposed North Atlantic Pact.

The difficulty was clearly recognized of discussing the Pact in the absence of the proposed text. However, it was felt that its major provisions and primary objectives are now sufficiently clear so that an American citizen can formulate his own conclusions, first as to whether these objectives are desirable, and, second, whether the projected Pact is calculated to achieve these goals.

Various points of view were expressed but the general sentiment appeared to be that if the main purpose of the agreement is to ensure the world against another war or specifically to contain communism within present bounds, there is danger that it will have an opposite effect.

Sentiment was virtually unanimous that those present should return to their communities to do all possible to foster the fullest understanding of what is actually involved in this Pact and to encourage individual citizens and organizations to register their convictions with their representatives in Washington. In particular, it was agreed that great insistence should be laid upon the holding of a public hearing by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on the North Atlantic Pact at which every opinion of responsible leaders could have full opportunity of expression. Ample time should also be allowed for public debate throughout the country before any decision on the Pact, in the opinion of the Conference.

While the Conference was non-organizational, it was reported that the seventy present embraced representatives of farm and trade union, church and synagogue, women's clubs, veterans, business, education, editors, lawyers, dentists, physicians and other professional groups. The Conference was initiated by six individuals: The Reverend Phillips P. Elliot, First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York; Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, New York University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; the Reverend William E. Lampe, General Secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; Dr. Thomas Mann, author, California; and Professor Linus C. Pauling, Chairman of the Division of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology.

uopwa 19

Leo Gruliow

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

WEDNESDAY—MARCH 9, 1949

WILLARD HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 22, 1949.

Office:
Temporary Associates to
Arrange Conference
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Shady, New York

Dear Friend:

I am pleased to hand all national and community leaders invited to the Conference on Foreign Policy copy of press release approved by the body mid-way in its deliberations on Tuesday, March 15.

It was expected that the discussion would center on the North Atlantic Pact. I can fairly say that the group of seventy was unanimously apprehensive concerning the Pact. They recognized the extreme danger of the course of action which must be pursued in implementation of its provisions. They were not at all certain that it would not have the opposite effect of that which it intends. There was wide opposition to the Pact; there were some who supported it in principle.

In any event, there was general agreement on the lines of action noted in the release. I detail these recommendations here with a strong appeal to you to take your part immediately in guaranteeing the maximum appraisal of this alliance before our nation makes irrevocable commitments which will so decisively affect our national welfare and international peace.

230-9

1. Write or wire President Truman your opinion on the Pact. Insist as chief representative of the American people that he guarantee adequate time for full, nation-wide public debate before decision is made.

2. Write or wire your two Senators your opinion. Impress them with the responsibility which the Senate faces, as you see it, in deciding upon the proposed treaty. Ask them to go slowly and to consider the total course of action to which this Pact would commit the American people.

3. Write or wire the Honorable Tom Connally, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate. Tell him you expect his Committee to conduct extended and open hearings which will permit all responsible leaders of the people to be heard. Push Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, also a member.

4. Contact your organization and all organizations in your community which ought to be concerned with peace. See that they immediately request Senator Connally to be placed on the schedule of organizations to testify before the Committee in Washington, asking the Senator to advise when.

5. Arrange public meetings of your organization and in your city to discuss the Pact.

6. Request all members of your organization and secure the agreement of your friends and neighbors to send individual letters or wires to their two Senators registering their opinion of the Pact.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Kingsbury

Dr. John A. Kingsbury

uopwa 19

MRS. J. LESESNE WELLS
1333 R STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

March 11, 1949

23-43-30

Dear Dr. DuBois

"A little bird told me" that you are again honoring D.C. and 1333 R Street with your presence Monday, March 14, 1949.

Could you would you extend the privilege to the students of the Armstrong Technical High School in an assembly in your honor on Monday. if you come early enough, or on Tuesday if you can stay over a few hours?

Once before I asked you and the answer was "No". Only too well do I know I may receive the same answer again. Maybe when I remind you that if you do refuse, you are depriving youth of inspiration and perhaps some future "DuBois" of a guiding beacon. your conscience will prompt you to come.

A telegram in time to arrange for the assembly will help. The invitation is that of Mr Francis a Gregory and the entire school.

Sincerely.

Ophelia

P.S. Any new books for my library this time?

23-43-31

23-43-32

23-13-33

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mrs. Ophelia Davidson Wells
1333 R. Street, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

My dear Ophelia:

Your letter was on my desk as I returned. I should like very much to speak to the Armstrong Technical High School, but I am compelled, as you know, to make a charge for my lectures, as I am not now on salary.

If I am in Washington at anytime I would, as I said to you, speak for a fee of $25. If I had to come to Washington for the purpose, I should charge $50. These are both reduced fees from what I charge usually for lectures.

It was nice to know that you were at least in the house while I was there.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
913 St. Marks Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Mr. Wilkerson:

I have just returned from Chicago, where I had a satisfactory interview with the person of whom we have been talking. My salary for a year has been guaranteed and something will be done for my income so long as I am able to work.

Thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-43-35

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, Chairman
Frederick V. Field, Secretary
Alexander Trachtenberg, Treasurer
Robert L. Dunn
Dr. William A. Hunton
Harry Sacher
Rubin Saltzman
Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Howard Selsam
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Nathan Witt
Ruth Young

23-9-78

May 17, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your letter of several weeks ago to the effect that your Chicago trip was successful. This is good news indeed.

Under separate cover I am returning the New York Times Magazine including your excellent article on "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report". Thanks for letting me use it.

You must have had a wonderful time in Paris. I hope we may chat soon in order that I might share vicariously some of your experiences.

Cordially yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

tu-555

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, Chairman
Frederick V. Field, Secretary
Alexander Trachtenberg, Treasurer
Robert L. Dunn
Dr. William A. Hunton
Harry Sacher
Rubin Saltzman
Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Howard Selsam
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Nathan Witt
Ruth Young

23-9-79

July 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In the light of our recent discussion about the ALP municipal election campaign, it occurs to me that you might be willing to write a letter of congratulation and endorsement to Mr. Ewart Guinier, who has recently been designated by ALP as candidate for Borough President of Manhattan.

Mr. Guinier is National Secretary-Treasurer of the United Public Workers-CIO. You will recall that he met with the Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs Wednesday afternoon.

The appended news story provides further information about him.

I have long known Mr. Guinier as an able, agressive and sensible young man. During recent years he has developed into one of the most able of our Negro trade union leaders.

In my opinion he merits your support; and it is clear that a letter of congratulation and endorsement from you would be very helpful in his campaign.

If you do see fit to write such a letter, please address it directly to Mr. Guinier, as indicated on the appended card. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Guinier Says His Nomination Exposes Two Old Parties

By John Hudson Jones

Negroes must no longer be excluded from the highest levels of New York City government, Ewart G. Guinier, Negro union leader and American Labor Party designee for Manhattan Borough President, said yesterday.

The 39-year-old secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Public Workers was named by the ALP county executive committee last week, after it rejected the bid of Councilman Eugene P. Connolly for the designation. Nominating petitions for Guinier are already in circulation, while a dissident group backing Connolly is circulating petitions in opposition to the majority designation of the outstanding Negro leader.

Guinier's answer to the question, "what is the significance of your campaign?" was sharp and to the point.

"It will point up the fact that no Negro sits on the Board of Estimate, the real governing body of New York City, which controls the purse strings for such public services as welfare and housing.

"But of primary importance will be the fight for continued representation of the Negro people in the City Council, where the courageous Councilman Benjamin J. Davis must be returned to speak out for Negro rights, as well as the rights of the people generally."

• • •

BEFORE GUINIER became a union leader, he was intake supervisor of the Department of Welfare and at one time chairman of the Board of Examiners, Social Work and Administrative Positions, for the Municipal Civil Service Commission. Guinier, a handsome man and fluent speaker, served as Army Warrant Officer in the 372 Infantry in the Pacific.

"A key issue in American life and in world relations," Guinier said, "is full and unconditional equality for Negroes and all non-white people." Guinier said this is significant in the coming elections since in New York such forces a sthe ALP, arm of the Progressive Party, and many unions and peoples' organizations fight for this change. He said this issue is completely tied up with "fight for peace and the struggle against unemployment. The Negro

(Continued on Page 11)

Guinier Says Nomination Exposes Two Old Parties

(Continued from Page 2)

leader, whose union of 87,000 public workers include 25,000 Negroes, lashed out at the so-called "friends" of Negroes who sell them down the river at the drop of Rankin's hat."

"Liberals and progressives must learn that compromise on Negro rights leads toward compromises on all other issues. The failure of national CIO leaders to put up a fight on civil rights led to the compromise that leaves us with the Taft-Hartley Law, the shameful 40-cent minimum wage, no health insurance, and a Jimcrow housing proposal."

Already his candidacy has been endorsed by the UPW New York District Council and has been haled by UPW Chicago Local 248.

• • •

GUINIER DECLARED he considered it a "high privilege" that the ALP selected him as the first Negro to be nominated for high office in the city.

"It exposes the Democrats and Republicans and their Liberal lackeys who've never deemed it necessary to run Negroes for high office in a city where the population is 25 percent Negro and about 35 percent non-white."

He stressed that his nomination confirms "the policy of the ALP to fight for participation of Negroes on all levels of government."

Guinier declared, "those who opposed the candidacy of a Negro for Borough President are also engaged in red-baiting through innuendo." He warned against "the voices that urge coalitions with the very Democratic and Republican forces who knifed the Progressive Party program nationally and the ALP program right here in New York.

"How can you make coalitions with the O'Dwyer administration and its rough 'em up policy towards Negroes . . . its open support for Jimcrow Stuyvesant Town . . . and its soak-the-poor tax program?" he asked.

On the other hand, Guinier declared, "what meeting ground is there with Dewey Republicans who whitewashed the police murder of the Freeport Fergusons. Or what does old man Samuel Seabury have to offer the people when he's counsel for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. in its fight to keep Negroes out of Stuyvesant Town?"

"Certainly, the ALP must seek coalitions," Guinier declared, "but only on the basis of principle and program." As for the primary fight he said, "I shall consider it my duty as the regular designee to place before the enrolled voters of my party and all citizens a full discussion of the issues including the denial of full rights to the Negro people."

MONUMENT
WEISS MONUMENTAL WOR
Official Monument Dealer for the
483 EAST 170th STREET
Cor. Washington Avenue, Bronx, N
Tel. JErome 7-6042

[ENC]

832-3

EWART GUINIER

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA, C I O

2 LAFAYETTE STREET NEW YORK 7, N.Y. WORTH 4-7117

ALP Co. Epic design
in Lumen Bon
Pre Incunab

Du Bois W Letters

[INCOMPLETE]

fort and bring up your children in decency. If you do not do this, nobody can save you from sorrow and disaster.

New York, February 8, 1949

My dear Du Bois:

You have the chance. You have a nice home, and a mother willing to sacrifice for you. As long as I live I will love and care for you in every way I can. But I am hoping that you will understand why we have tried so often to advise and guide you. It is not, can be done for nobody else. It is your by what you can and must do for yourself, you now see just tyranny and the life; you must live it.

wish to interfere with the wishes of the young; it is our desperate fear that you will get hurt in a hard world which you do not yet understand, and through wehich we try to guide until you can safely walk unaided and alone. Our solicitude is love not misunderstanding. We wanted you to grow up in contact with the best youth in the country; we wnated you of course to get married, but not until you knew something of the world and was able with your husband to earn a decent living.

With love and hope,

These opportunities you nearly threw away. But thank God, you still have a chance; you can make yourself a good intelligent woman and found a normal decent family for doing the work this world so sorely needs. But YOU must do this. You must plan your life; you must learn the world; you must do your work. This world is not solely for your enjoyment. You cannot do just what you like. If you want things you must work hard for them and sacrifice your ease and leisure. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked! Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

25-47-10

You will not be interested in things, unless you work hard to understand them. As understanding grows, so will interest and mastery. There was your music. You liked it. But you wanted to enjoy it. You did not like the hard work to master it. But without work, no mastery! There are many subjects which interest you but you drop them before hard, unceasing work, reveals their treasures. You do not see yet the absolute need of sacrifice. To achieve and really enjoy, you must as Goethe says "Thou must forego! Shalt do without. If you try to seize immediate enjoyment of Life now, you may lose all and suffer all your life.

So I hope now you will stubbornly face Life: work, sacrifice, accomplish finish high school; go through college, at least; then marry or perhaps get a profession, before of after marriage-- but Work, Work -- dont dawdle and play. If you still want to marry Pezavia and he still wants to marry you, well and good. But remember that your happiness and his respect for you will depend upon absolute restraint now and careful planning for the future so that you can live in com-

23-51-13

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 30, 1949

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear DuBois:

I received the enclosed letter from the President of Fisk University. I presume that he has written you also. This is very encouraging.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[Williams, Du Bois]

June 11, 1949

24-3-17

Dear Grandpa,

I have just received a letter from Tommy Bell. She gives several suggestions for jobs this summer. However she thinks it wise to come to N.Y. and

a week after this (June 31).

I will be looking forward to a letter from you concerning these plans soon.

Thank you for your trouble.

Love
DuBois

ask personally for a job -- -- perhaps at the library. I have already written a Mr. William Brody and asked him about a clerking job. I told him to write you if something turns up. How about Mrs. Stratton? I get out of school June 24 (Friday) I will be ready to come to N.Y. at your convenience

June 14, 1949

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-51-16

My dear DuBois:

Mrs. Goens of Wilmington suggests that you might get a job as Junior Counselor at Camp Atwater. She says you ought to write to Mr. Mapp, Director C A, c/o The Dunbar Community League, Springfield, Massachusetts. And also to Mr. R. Turner Dickerson, Program Director, Camp Atwater, 613 N. 43rd, Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. You should tell them of your experience as Counselor and also mention that you could do typing and filing etc. You ought to refer for recommendations to me, to your teachers in Baltimore, and to Dr. Virginia Alexander. Write immediately.

As to work in New York, one difficulty would be that you would have to find a place to live. I am too busy to give up my apartment or to share it; there is not room enough for more than one person.

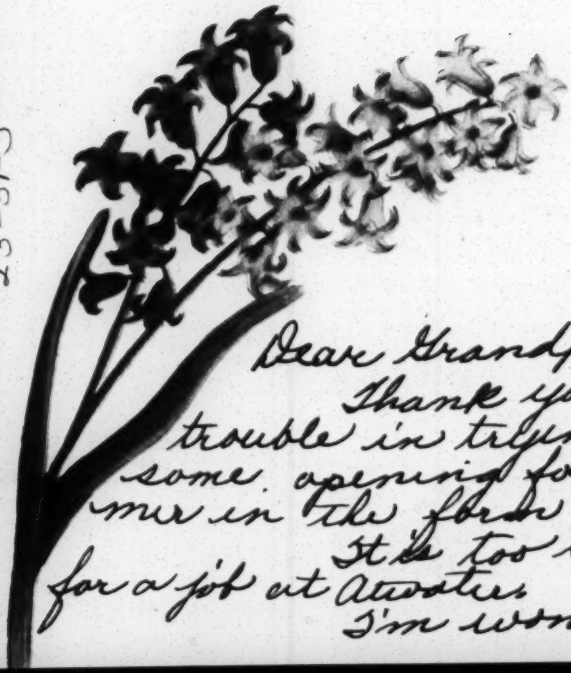
My love to the family.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-51-5



June 28

Dear Grandpa,

Thank you for your trouble in trying to find some opening for the summer in the form of a job.

It is too late to apply for a job at Atwaters.

I'm wondering now

if it would be possible to
come for a short visit (a week)
there in New York in early
July and then go to camp on
the 29th of July. I'm trying
to contact my father and
ask if would pay my tuition
($100) and extra money for
camp clothes ($50). Please write
soon and tell me what
you think of this plan.

Love, DuBois

July 9

Dear Grandpa,

I was very happy to receive your letter. As you know I have a reservation at Atwater I would like to stay for 3 weeks. This will cost $60. The remaining $40. will be used for railroad fare and clothes easily. Daddy has promised to send something to help me out when he gets paid.

Camp opens on July 29, therefore the $100 will be needed immediately. If you like send a check for $60 straight to Atwater and send me the $40 immediately. Mother will arrange the rest. Thank you very much.

All my love,

Du Bois

P. S. I hope you are well.

P. S. Send check money order to Camp Atwater for $61.50. Specify: $60 for tuition $1.50 for insurance fee

23-51-17

November 14, 1949

23-51-7

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear DuBois:

Will you please get for me a set of plans of the new house, i.e. the rooms, their floor measurement and height, including the basement and the attic if there is any.

I should be very pleased if you could do this right off.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[1949]

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

2/16-27-22

Dear Grandpa,

Mother says to come an either day at your convenience. Please let us know ahead of time. Mr. Schnieder is measuring the rooms now and will call me back shortly. (Mama hasn't had time tod go over there.)

Grandma is having a little trouble with her teeth. Dr. Higgins and Dr. Smith are conferring about whether or not the teeth involved should be extracted.

I wrote Aunt Alice thanking her for such a wonderful time in New York. Thank you too.

I'm doing pretty well in my work. Report cards came out tomarrow. I've been taking part in many extra

Assembly
curricula activities such as: Chair,
United Nations Youth Organization,
Toussaint L'Ouverture Literary Club,
Courier staff (our paper) and the
French club.

Measurements of 2417
Kolaski St.

Big Front (Upstairs Bedroom) — 11'3" by 11'9" (my room)
" Back " — 12'6" by 12 (mama's room)
Small " " — 13'6" by 8'10" (your room)
" Front Bedroom — 11'6" by 8'8"

Downstairs

Living room — 15'8" by 11'8"
Hall — 8'8" by 15
Dining room — 16' by 11'8"
Breakfast room — 11' by 9'
Kitchen 9' by 15'

Basement runs under
whole house which is 22
feet wide. See you soon.

Love,
Du Bois

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 8, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

23-51-10

As I have said I am coming down Sunday. I do not know on just what train; but sometime probably in the afternoon. I will take a cab to the house.

I wonder if you would be willing to loan me your typewriter? I need an extra typewriter in the office and if you would loan me yours, I will have it put in first class condition and then you can have it back, when you want it.

Also I want to make arrangements with some concern in town to have my pictures and diplomas packed and sent up. It would not do to have them sent as they are; they would have to be carefully packed. So if you will get me the address of some firm who does packing and shipping, I will get in touch with them Monday, March 14.

With regard to your income tax, you should take out the deduction of $600 for DuBois. I have been taking it out in my returns, but I am not doing it this year and you should have the advantage of it. Also you should be sure and take out your sales and gasoline taxes. I presume your lawyer will tell you about these things, but I am sure you are paying too much income tax.

I hope you are all well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

23-5/-11

As I have said before, if you decide that you want to sell the house and buy out near the Western High School, or anywhere else that is convenient, I will not object. I will leave the decision to you. You must remember, however, that buying a second hand house is a pretty difficult proposition. I have written a letter, (a copy of which I enclose) to Mr. Purdue. It would probably be wisest to sell our house in the Spring when the grounds are beautiful. There again, comes the question as to whether we can find a purchaser who has the ability to purchase and what price could be gotten. Think it over carefully and do not come to a decision too quickly.

With regard to the budget, there were evidently several omissions, which I have gone over again: there is the matter of light, electricity, and water; and also the gas, and repairs on your automobile. There may be other things. I am making another estimate of your budget. Please go over it carefully and make any suggestions and corrections.

After the general budget for the year is made, we will then consider the financial condition for the rest of this year; especially for the Summer. I shall write to Fist and intimate that DuBois may want to enter in 1951. She can write too. I will inquire about scholarships. I have written Dorothy at this late date, thanking her for her kindness.

The matter of repairs to the house, that is inside painting and curtains, I will take up again as soon as I find what my financial condition is. It may be that I cannot do anything, but I will if I can. And then of course, the matter of the yars; the grass in the back looks pretty bad, but we will talk about that.

I had a nice visit and thank you. Love to your Mother and DuBois and yourself.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

-ure:

file

1949

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

Here is the receipt for your Mothers' fur coat and also the electric bill which you sent me.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

March 30, 1949

Fisk

23-61-12

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed is the $250. As I am writing your mother, we had a very hectic week here, but tremendously important and enjoyable. Will you please let me know about the budget; especially scrutize your expe diture for your car and for cl thes,. I am going to Chicago today, but will return early next week. Then as soon as possible we want to see that the budget is correct and also to see about your finance during the Spring.

I am writing to DuBois about Fisk.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-51-14

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 8, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

I wish you would hurry and let me have your final criticisms on the budget which I sent you, making careful calculations. It is the only why in which I can arrange my own budget for the best interests of us all.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[April (?), 1949]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Wed. night

Dearest Popo –

So you are going to Paris – "in the spring". It is the perfect place to be at this time of year and I'm so glad that you are to have this opportunity. Of course we have been having a little bit of it – since everything is going to be fine while you are on this trip.

Please give my very

31-5-49

the "Venus" and the "Winged Victory". I know you won't forget the "Rive gauche" - walk along, the "Boul'mich" perhaps stop for a liqueur at "Le Dome" or "La Coupole". I used like to live if the "Hotel Istria" where I lived is still there. It near the "Boulevard de Montparnasse" around the corner from "La Coupole"

In other words there are so many places - for you and

best love to Paris. I know she'll be, as usual like a lonely lady with "woofly" sheets ready to greet the green willows along the Seine. I will be anxious to know how the "Champs Elysees" looks and the book-stalls along the river. I hope you'll have time to visit the Cathedral of Notre-Dame & perhaps the shrine of the "little Flower" of "Sacre Coeur" — and stop for a minute — the "Louvre" & greet

for me to find - Paris - we'll be glad to hear of them thru' you.

I have checked the budget to the head of - stability. Thanks so much for the April check. I should have answered before but I feel so "punk" so much of the time - after school and rehearsals I lie down as much as I can. The doctor says "this" change of life "business means feeling ill a good deal of the time" and a worried mind does it

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

31-5-52

keep. One good thing - I've been
- school every day this month
so far & last month except
for one day!

I'm still looking for
houses. Of course I won't
do anything until you
return. Mr. Perdue
came by and promises to
do anything he can to
help with this advice.

Mama is about the

I presume you are flying for "La Guardia" At any rate I'd like to know - the hour of leaving and the hour of arrival. You'll cable us upon arrival please so we'll know you're there all - one piece.

Dorothy has gone to Nook in Connecticut and we all send much love and best wishes for a lovely Easter in Paris - love Yolande.

same ed is much interested - your trip. She does want yr D many changes.

D. B— is O.K. her average for this quarter is 89.02. She has received the Fish material & is very pleased y Dr. Johnson's letter.

Let us hear fm yr before yr "take-off".

[enclosure]

Proposed Budget for one Year, for Yolande

Salary		$4600.00
Contribution, W.E.B.D.,		3000.00
Total		7,600.00

Expense

Absence from work	$300. ✓
Food at $22.50 per week	1170. ✓
Heat, 6 months at $28, 6 months at $14	252. ✓
Phone	108. ✓
Nurse and housekeeper at $60	3120. ✓
Clothes	1000. — see below
Insurance and taxes	400. — see below
Pension	215. ✓
Automobile, gas and upkeep	250" ✓
Electricity, gas, water	150 ✓
Laundry	312. ✓
Miscellaneous	323. ✓
Total	$7600.

31-5-53

Notes on above :—

I have checked (✓) items that seem O.K. to me

clothes - D. B—'s clothes this year have cost about $700.00 without a mink coat - mine about $200.00 but I have to have anything except a cloth coat & shoes & a dress - Ordinarily the $1000,00 would cover both. We'd have to pinch off for some other

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

~~Item~~.

Insurance & Taxes are as below:—

$430.- Income Tax (this is minus what is returned)
$24. - Hospitalization
$28. - State Tax
27 - Endowment Ins.
48 - Small Endowment through Ins. Co.
$557.00

This is my final judgment — the budget. I agree that $7600 is more than enough. The nurse & housekeeper is what keeps it too high. I maintain that living smaller — here will help bring this down somewhat.

WEB.

[1949?]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Sunday

Dearest Popo –

Welcome home for all of us. We have enjoyed so much your cards and letters. Mama has kept very close track of the places where you have been. She was especially tickled because you'd been to the "Campobello" & has passed "22 Rue - du Maine"

24-18-10

French & Hist. classes - but even she said - "it looks a story these places are real & you - I've never seen them".

The little town of Hyeres is a bit like Grenoble but I think - as I remember - Carcassonne is the most typical of the medieval period. — and yet, Dorothy & I agreed that - with your sympathetic, or perhaps retrospective view point - perhaps you did see the minnesinger - who knows.

She wished that you had gone in and asked for "Mama" & "Papa" "Mamon" - and she wondered about her favorite waiter of "the Campana". You Rue I appreciated your visits to these places I loved - my youth - Dorothy was pleased & interested - the "Bowl' much' - but I came most of it meant more to me - D. Bing liked her cards & is going to read her letter to her

at any rate it has been just
lovely that you could come
this trip - we're glad to
have you back but we're
more than glad you
could be there.

We'll look to hear
from you and all over
love to you from Mrs
Mathews, Dorothy, Mama,
DeBow and me -

love -

Yolande

File

June 8, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-51-15

My dear Yolande:

Thank you for the nice visit which I had at home.

One thing which you said in an aside to Dorothy was that I did not realize the fact that you were not well. That is not true. I know very well how hard your work is and how difficult your physical condition is during this period of your life; and I know too that your arthritis has bothered you at times.

It is pretty hard to do the school work required by the Baltimore schools and take care of your mother and do outside work. On the other hand, of course, you must remember that certain things simply have to be done: if, for instance you want to sell the house, as I said, you have my consent and cooperation; but you will just have to get at it, despite your feelings and despite your weariness. It is not a difficult thing to sell and buy real estate. You could finish the matter up in a few days, if you went at it; but you must go at it. You must make up your mind and take the necessary steps and take them immediately and take them when they ought to finish up the whole transaction. If you let it go until fall, you not only will lose chances to sell, but you will not give your prospective buyers a chance to make their plans. Therefore, if you are going to do this, get at it immediately and do not put it off a single day.

My love to you and to Mother and DuBois. I have spoken to three people about work for DuBois during the Summer, and I think something will turn up.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[1949]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Tuesday

Dearest Papa –

Just a line to thank you for your offer to help Du Bois get to camp. She is very delighted & to thank it fine for her to be able to get away.

Everything is about the same & I'm beginning a little extra sleep.

I'm stringing the

23-51-21

Dallas Nicholas as lawyer
& (on his recommendation)
Sonny Young as agent.
They have put the
price of $20,000 on it. The
homes I've looked at
run around $13,000 & $14,000.
They are opposite
Drum Hill Park - nice
location which I like.
Several people - including
Mrs. Cook have inquired
about the home & I
think they're trying to
figure if they can meet

money out as best I can
& can let ye know near
the end of the month
how I'm going to make
out for August & Sept.
thanks for the July
check.

about the house. I've
been - 3 or 4 times &
seen two houses I like
but I cannot must wait
'til I get prospects for
the sale of this one. I
have engaged

the price. Both of the houses I've seen have new 3-d floor apartments which would be just what Dorothy needs. Her furniture is in storage & she's in Connecticut waiting to hear from me

I hope you had a good rest on Spring Lake & missed some of the heat. We had two terrible spells here - one day it was over 100° & we almost died! Mama got your wire on her birthday. We got her flowers.

Lots of love —

Yolande.

[August, 1949]

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-43-23

Dearest Popa -

I'm still waiting for some news about the house but I thought I'd better hurry and write since you're planning to go out of the country. Thanks so much for the August check.

Everyone is well - Mrs Pratt (Mrs Virginia Mariano) is here & Mrs Matthews will be back Monday. W.E.B. is still at Atwater & having a wonderful time - She

wants to stay 'til the end of the season so I'm taking $40.00 from the $200.00 deposit to let her stay. It's better for her to be there than hanging around at a loose end in Bath. with me tied at home.

Mack maybe told you that Dorothy is negotiating to buy a small home as she cannot find an apartment. The paper in Hartford folded up & I think eventually we'll decide to take your advice & come back here as

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-43-24

Dorothy says she's three running around the country! She home is very cute.

I've had an offer of $16,000. There are two other families lucking for it & the agent hopes to get $17,000. I don't think I'll wait too long however - Do you think I should take the $16,000?

I'm stretching the summer money I'd

saved until Sept. 1st and it won't go further. I'd need at the minimum between $250.00 & $300.00 to carry the household 'til Oct. 11th which is pay day. What I would like is for you to look & see how much money is contained in the bonds & Bonds I had which you put in the safe deposit for me. Do they come to the above amount? If so please let me use them for September.

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-43-25

my enamme for part of
D-Bois education fund
comes due next year &
I cannot replace the
bonds then or add my
salary when I start getting
paid again. I can't think
of any other way out for
my September expenses.

I don't know how I'd
manage about the moving
expenses if I take the
deal goes thru. But I'd

worry about that when the time comes. I hope I be able to manage it out of the down payment.

How long do you plan to be gone & when do you start? I suppose we have to worry again about an air trip. However it's a marvelous opportunity. Wish you could go with both of them.

Do you have any papers in connection with the home which I need — the selling transaction — such as

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-43-26

the deed - insurance & etc?

The weather is more pleasant. Dr. Higgs medicine has made me feel a little better.

Mama seems about the same but much harder to care for as she has lost almost all control of any kind. However she is comfortable & cheerful - still able to read some & listen to the radio.

A check is here for Mrs. old age pension for $73.45. What shall I do with it? Also what about Miss Pratt's pay? If you send a blank check I'll give it to her & let you know the amount. Her time is up Sunday.

Don't forget & let us know when you leave - Are you coming down first? Also don't forget & let me know about the Sept. house money (the help amount won't be the same) and also about the deed & etc for the home. Take good care of yourself - lots of love, Yolande

P.S. Dorothy sends love & says she wishes luck & you'll write to Mrs. Glenn - her new home &.

with 8 page
letter — no date

Dr. W. E. B Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York City

Opt-13-H

232-43

23-5/-18

September 28, 1949

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed are the deeds to the proprety at 2302 Montebello Terrace, also the blue prints which I am sending in a separate package.

On July 29, 1949, I paid you $250 for the savings bonds belonging to you and DuBois. Their exact value in 1949 was $249, so we will call that square.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

November 21, 1949

23-51-6

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

I shall be down Saturday, November 26, and stay over until Monday.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

November 30, 1949

23-61-2

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed is the check for $225.31 . I have been to the bank and looked at your insurance policies.

I am enclosing a list. You ought to write a letter to the Insurance Company.

Have you kept up all of these policies? Let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check--list.

W. E. B. DU BOIS V

TO
YOLANDE DU BOIS WILLIAMS

November 1, 1949	$250.00	$250.00
Old Age Check	14.69	
Auto payment	10.00	24.69
	$24.69	$225.31

Check Enclosed: $225.31

23C-51

[1949]

Yolande

ABOUT A HOUSE YOU ARE BUYING

Ground-rent or fee-simple

State of repairs: roof and gutters

Material of building and present condition

Date built

Plumbing, pipes, drains, water-closets

Sewer, sewer connections

cellar: is it dry, ventilated

Walls, outside and in

Ceilings

Doors and windows; window-weights; awnings; shutters

Foundations

Porch and Porth supports

Easments (i.e. has the city ordered any repairs or changes on the property which have not been made)

Assessments and back taxes unpaid

Mortages: when due, rate of interest and renewal

paint: condition and cost of re-painting

Fences, boundary lines, back-yard; alley

Trees, shubbery and flowers

Side-walk and condition of pavement

Water and water-meter; water bills

heating apparatus: condition, cost of repair or replacement; fuel, heat on third floor

Stairs and staircases and steps, outside and inside

Neighbors and neighborhood at the rear

Garage facilities

Shops and stores

[1949]

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Thursday

23-51-19

Dearest Pop -

Thanks for the check. I've been waiting from day to day, hoping, I'd be able tell you that everything is settled but the final settlement has not been made yet. The man has

paid ~~the~~ $1,500 down
payment + my lawyer
has paid the down ~~p~~
to Pulaski Sq - here.

I don't know how
much longer it will
before the final
settlement - I'll let
you know

I enclose the
papers sent me —

Mrs. Yolanda DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-51-20

regard to the car loan.
Do you feel that
Gary, if - when the
interest before the
26th I can pay you
- thirty to forty
dollars a month
I can - that would
be $14.98 which
I note they have

specified at the finance
charge.

Love as well
I'll let ya know what
happens next

Lots of love —

Yolanda.

6)1495
249

SENDER IS AWAITING A SPEEDY

answer

PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

[Station WMAQ]

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

(50)

1949 JAN 21 PM 2 50

receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA181 LONG DL PD=WUX NEWYORK NY 21 232P=

W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMB AVE=

FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY OWNED STATION IN CHICAGO WMAQ HAS BEEN PRESENTING ON SUNDAY MORNINGS A HALF HOUR DRAMATIZATION OF THE LIVES OF THOSE NEGROES WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE. THE SERIES IS ENTITLED QUOTE DESTINATION FREEDOM UNQUOTE AND HAS PORTRAYED THE LIVES OF SUCH PEOPLE AS HARRIET TUBMAN, DENMARK VESEAY, DR HUBERT WILKINS, W C HANDY, MARY BETHUNE, WALTER WHITE, MARIAN ANDERSON. WE WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO DRAMATIZE YOUR LIFE IN CONNECTION WITH NEGRO HISTORY WEEK, ON SUNDAY JANUARY THIRTIETH. THE SCRIPT IS WRITTEN BY A YOUNG NEGRO LAD, RICHARD DURHAM. THE MATERIAL FOR THE DRAMATIZATION WILL BE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

NA181 LONG 2=

gram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

TAKEN FROM EMBREE'S QUOTE THIRTEEN AGAINST THE ODDS UNQUOTE AND FROM YOUR OWN AUTOBIOGRAPHY QUOTE DUSK AT DAWN UNQUOTE.

IF YOU COULD FIND TIME TO COME TO OUR STUDIOS IN RADIO CITY AND RECORD A BRIEF MESSAGE OF ONE OR TWO MINUTES CONCERNING THE MEANING AND NECESSITY OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK WE WOULD LIKE TO USE IT AT THE CLOSE OF THE PROGRAM. THIS IS A NON-COMMERCIAL PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAM. IT IS BROADCAST FROM 1000-1030 AMCST ON SUNDAYS. WE ARE PRESENTING JESSE OWEN THIS WEEK. I WILL APPRECIATE WORD FROM YOU GIVING US YOUR PERMISSION FOR THE BROADCAST AND INFORMATION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT YOU COULD MAKE THE RECORDED MESSAGE. WILL YOU WIRE COLLECT. ALSO ADVISE WHERE WE COULD REACH YOU BY TELEPHONE=

JUDITH WALLER NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO CHICAGO=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 25, 1949

Miss Judith Waller
National Broadcasting Company
Chicago, Illinois

23-9-15

My dear Miss Waller:

Answering your telegram of January 21, may I say that I would be willing to record a brief message in your studio in New York City.

My office telephone is MUrray Hill 3-7894. My home telephone is Wadsworth 6-9837.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

Lecture

WESTERN UNION

1201

(02)

1949 FEB 8 PM

1144 BROADWAY NY
MU-3-5295

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NB036 DL PD VIA DLY=WUX NEWYORK NY 8 250P= 1949 FEB 8 PM 4 05

=DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

23-44-N

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR RECORDED COMMENTS WHICH FIT BEAUTIFULLY INTO PROGRAM DRAMATIZING YOUR LIFES STORY. TRANSCRIPTION OF BROADCAST BEING SENT TO YOU WITH OUR COMPLINENTS. WE DO APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST AND COOPERATION.=

JUDITY C WALLER=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MAXINE WOOD
242 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

June 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am writing you at the request of Sr. Narciso Bassols.

As you probably know, Sr. Bassols was Minister of Education in the Cardenas cabinet and is the former Mexican Ambassador to France and the Soviet Union. At the present time he is chairman of the organizing committee for the American Continental Congress for World Peace to be held in Mexico City on September 5th through September 10th.

23-40-48

As he did not have your address in Mexico City, I promised to send the enclosed material to you for I have agreed to forward to him the names of the people in the United States who are endorsing the Congress.

I know that you realize the importance of this gathering in Mexico City of leaders of thought of all the Americas to discuss their common problems in a war threatened world.

I trust that you, who have long used your influence to work for world peace, will send me your sponsorship on the enclosed form as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine Wood

MW:ls
encl.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

Dr. Ira Eisenstein
Workship For Cultural Democracy
204 East 18th Street
New York 3, New York

23-27-19

Dear Dr. Eisenstein:

I thoroughly agree with the plans set forth in your letter of "February 28", meaning of course January 28. I am engaged in lecturing during the week of February 6 and therefore cannot attend your meeting but I should very much like to be on the advisory board. I do not think I can attend often enough to be on the Board od Directors.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director

Charlotte A. Scott, Executive Secretary

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Chairman

Dr. Ira Eisenstein Vice-Chairman

L. Hollingsworth Wood, Treasurer

Mrs. Gertrude Ayer Secretary

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Benjamin Butner
Dr. Joseph S. Butterweck
Dean Harry J. Carman
George Corwin
Dr. Leonard Covello
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Mrs. Milton Durlach
Eugene Exman
Miss Miriam R. Ephraim
Murray Galves
Miss B. Elizabeth Gillilan
George Graff
Marjorie Barstow Greenbie
Mrs. Gabriel Hamburger
George K. Hunton
Dr. John Knox
Mrs. Marvin Lowenthal
Dr. Chih Meng
Gordon Nugent
Dr. Harry Overstreet
A. Philip Randolph
Dr. G. Howland Shaw
Harry Starr
Dr. Milton Steinberg
Mrs. Hjordis Swenson
Dr. Frederick R. Thorne
Dr. Frank D. Whalen
Dr. Harry Noble Wright

SPECIAL CONSULTANTS

Louis Adamic
Pura Belpré
Julien H. Bryan
Yaraslav Chyz
Dr. John Conroy
Miss Ethel Duncan
Jacques Ferrand
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Charles Hendry
Wallace House
Dr. Irene Hypps
Dr. Otto Klineberg
Dvora Lapson
Dr. Edward Liss
Miss C. Francis Loomis
Cornelius McDougald, Jr.
Dr. Margaret Mead
Dr. Broadus Mitchell
Dr. Geraldine Pederson-Krag
Lawrence Rogin
Gilbert Seldes
Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher

23-27-17

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Founded in 1934 as the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations

Leadership Training
School and Community Programs
Consultant Services
Publications

204 East 18th Street
New York City 3, N. Y.
ORchard 4-3193

February 28th, 1949

Dear Friend:

I know that you will be very much interested to hear about the most recent developments in the Workshop for Cultural Democracy. The Workshop is about to enter a new phase in its development and I think we have good reason to hope that the work of Dr. DuBois and the Workshop will now begin to establish a mass base of support. This has come about through the successful experiments in P.S.165 which have spread to other public schools.

The fine reaction on the part of the mothers to the work done has created a groundswell of interest. The laity are now clamoring to enlarge the organization through a membership drive. Several of the leaders have indicated a sincere interest in assuming responsibility for the Workshop.

After several serious discussions a number of us realized that there was only one way to accomplish this, and that was through a reorganization of our Board of Directors. As you probably know the Workshop is incorporated as a membership corporation. Thus far the Workshop has not been functioning along the lines of its charter. We have had a Board of Directors who really functioned as an advisory board. Nothing was done to enlist membership support. Now we have the opportunity to put upon the Board people who are prepared to work for the development of the Workshop. Room must be made for them.

The idea occurred to us, therefore, that we ought to request of the present Board that they constitute themselves as an advisory educational board, and that the Board of Directors be constituted of men and women who are prepared to work on membership, finance and other phases of the Workshop. The change which is suggested can be easily carried through at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors.

I am therefore urging you to attend this next meeting of the Board which will be a crucial one in the life of the W shop. At this meeting we want to declare a number of vacancies on the Board, and fill those vancancies with people who are now prepared to go forward with the new program.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE (IN FORMATION)

Dr. David Baumgardt
Washington, D. C.

Clement M. Biddle
Bronxville, N. Y.

Grace Brosius Biddle
Bronxville, N. Y.

Dr. Edward W. Blakeman
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Miss Mabel Carney
Marseilles, Illinois

Miss Fannia M. Cohn
New York City

Miss Babette Deutsch
New York City

Miss Mildred Dougherty
Austin, Texas

Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Arlington, Vermont

Miss Helen D. Green
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Jacob Greenberg
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Maurice Hammond
Boonville, N. Y.

Dr. Frank Hart
Berkeley, Calif.

S. I. Hayakawa
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Howard Hintz
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheney, Pa.

Rev. Lawrence Hosie
Syracuse, N. Y.

Robert C. Jones
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Louis O. Kattsoff
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Rev. Charles Keenan, S.J.
New York City

Judge Anna Kross
New York City

Harold Lett
Newark, N. J.

Mrs. Lionello Perera
New York City

Clarence E. Pickett
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. David de Sola Pool
New York City

Dr. Daniel A. Prescott
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Sean S. Reid
New York City

S. A. Rudnick
Albany, N. Y.

Mrs. George Scott
Montclair, N. J.

Rev. H. Norman Sibley
New York City

Miss Lillian Smith
Clayton, Georgia

Miss Edna Studebaker
Cleveland, Ohio

Ninon Tallon
New York City

Dr. G. E. von Grünebaum
Chicago, Illinois

Carl Voss
Rutland, Vermont

Trude Weil
New York City

Dr. Regina Westcott
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Henry N. Williams
Lancaster, Pa.

Mrs. Mayme E. Williams
Miami, Florida

STAFF

Lillian Ciclo
Joyce Dorfman
Field Secretaries

Marguerite Harris
Newsletter Editor

John Chambers
Lucy Kaufmann Broido
C. Russell Snyder
Editorial Assistants

Incorporated under the laws of N. Y.

The meeting will take place on Tuesday, February 8th. It will be a cafeteria luncheon meeting from 12 to 2. Central Branch Y W C A, Lexington Avenue and 53rd Street. Get your tray and bring it to Room 1003.

I should be most appreciative if I could receive your reply at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Ira Eisenstein

Ira Eisenstein

23.27-18

[World Congress of the Defenders' Peace]

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

Lec. Corres

COMITÉ DE PRÉPARATION :
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (VIIIe)

TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54

PARIS, LE 9 mars 1949

W.E.B. DUBOIS

-=-=-=-

Mr.

In the name of the Initiating Group for a World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, we hereby send you the enclosed call and ask you to give it your fullest attention. It concerns the convocation, in Paris, of a Congress which will gather all the democratic organisations and personalities concerned with peace on an international level. Il is hoped in this way, to tightly bind together all the forces of the mind and of mass organisations; to unite the best representatives of world intelligence with the qualified delegates of the millions of men and women who cannot help but hate war; and to fight together with all their might against the return of a scourge to whose terrible effects the peoples have only just been subjected.

We invite you to participate in this World Congress of Defenders of Peace which will be held in Paris the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd of next April.

Hoping for your early, and favorable, reply,

sincerely yours,

for the Initiating Group
and the Preparatory Committee

Aragon

ARAGON

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

COMITÉ DE PRÉPARATION :
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (VIIIe)

TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54

PARIS, LE 12 mars 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DUBOIS
-:-:-:-:-

832-9

Mr.

In the name of the Initiating Group for a World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, we hereby send you the enclosed call and ask you to give it your fullest attention. It concerns the convocation, in Paris, of a Congress which will gather all the democratic organisations and personalities concerned with peace on an international level. It is hoped in this way, to tightly bind together all the forces of the mind and of mass organisations; to unite the best representatives of world intelligence with the qualified delegates of the millions of men and women who cannot help but hate war; and to fight together with all their might against the return of a scourge to whose terrible effects the peoples have only just been subjected.

We invite you to participate in this World Congress of Defenders of Peace which will be held in Paris the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd of next April.

Hoping for your early, and favorable, reply,

sincerely yours,

for the Initiating Group
and the Preparatory Committee

Aragon

ARAGON

[World Cong. of Defenders of Peace]

[18 March, 1949]

CONGRES MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

RÉUNION DU COMITE DE PREPARATION VENDREDI 18 MARS

MAISON DE LA PENSEE

COMPTE-RENDU DE SEANCE

1) Mme COTTON, Présidente de séance, salue les délégués étrangers et français (voir à l'annexe, la liste des présents)

2) M. LAFFITTE donne une information sur les adhesions reçues depuis la publication de l'appel du groupe d'initiative. Elles comprennent des organisations groupant plus de 200. millions d'adhérents.

3) Mme DEGUENT pour la Belgique, MM. AMADO (pour le Brésil), MALO (pour l'Albanie), FEDOSSEEV (pour l'U.R.S.S.), MIRSJEL (pour la Pologne), FLEISCHMAN (pour la Tchécoslovaquie), KOCHSTAETTER (pour la Suisse), INNES (pour l'Angleterre), VIGNE (pour la France), apportent de nouvelles adhésions d'organisations et de personnalités de leurs pays.

4) M. Laurent CASANOVA présente des propositions pour l'élection du Bureau du Comité de préparation et insiste sur l'urgente nécessité de donner à l'entreprise un caractère officiel.

5) Mme DEGUENT propose d'adjoindre à ce Bureau un représentant de la Belgique, M. SAILLANT, un représentant des syndicats de Chine et de l'Amérique Latine, M. MANHES, un représentant des prisonniers politiques, M. KEDROS, un représentant de la Grèce, Mme Ella WINTER, de nouveaux représentants pour les Etats-Unis. M. INNES (Angleterre) et remplacement de M. PRITT par le professeur BERNAL.

6) M. FARGES propose un additif à la résolution permettant d'adjoindre ultérieurement au Bureau, "toutes personnalités susceptibles de représenter sur le plan national et international, les grands courants traduisant la volonté de paix des peuples".

7) Après un échange de vues avec les délégués étrangers, il est décidé d'adjoindre au bureau :

Le Général Lazaro CARDENAS (Mexique) comme Vice-Président
Mme ALESSANDRINI (Italie) comme secrétaire
MM. LE LEAP (France) et UNTERMEYER (Etats-Unis), BOREYZA (Pologne), comme secrétaires.

8) Sur proposition de M. INNES, représentant le comité d'initiative anglais, il est décidé de remplacer à la vice-présidence M.PRITT par le professeur J.D.BERNAL.

9) Compte tenu de toutes ces modifications et des adjonctions possibles le bureau du Comité de préparation et son président F.JOLIOT-CURIE sont élus à l'unanimité (voir communiqué joint en annexe)

10) Le communiqué annonçant cette élection et donnant la composition du bureau sera transmis à la presse le soir même.

11) Les membres du bureau non représentés seront informés de leur élection, tenus au courant de l'état de préparation du congrès et invités à se rendre à Paris pour assurer leur fonction

---oOo---

[I World Congress of the Defenders of Peace]

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

COMITÉ DE PRÉPARATION :
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (VIIIe)

TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54

PARIS, LE 22 mars 1949

M. W.E.DUBOIS

Council African Affairs
26 West 23 Street
NYC (U.S.A.)

23-43-16

Cher Ami,

Comme vous le lirez dans le compte-rendu ci-joint de la réunion du Comité préparatoire, à laquelle il ne vous a pas été possible d'assister, vous avez été élu Secrétaire de ce Comité. Le Comité préparatoire, unanime, espère que vous accepterez la charge qui vous a été dévolue, et vous en remercie.

Notre Président, M. Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE, me prie d'insister auprès de vous afin que vous fassiez l'impossible pour venir à Paris participer effectivement aux travaux du Bureau. Ce sera pour le Comité préparatoire, à la fois un honneur et une aide précieuse.

Vous voudrez bien nous informer aussitôt, à la fois de votre acceptation et de la forme sous laquelle vous pensez pouvoir apporter votre concours personnel à nos travaux.

Veuillez agréer, cher Ami, mes salutations les meilleures.

Pour le Comité préparatoire,

#200

p/o J. Laffitte

J. LAFFITTE

P.S.
Bien entendu, les frais de voyage et de séjour à Paris des membres venant de l'étranger, sont à la charge du Comité Préparatoire.

[World Cong. of the Def. of Peace]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

The Committee of Prepration
for the World Congress of
Defenders of the Peace
Attention of Mr. Aragon!

23-9-87

Sir:

I have your kind invitation to attend the Congress to be held in Paris, April 20-23. I have the deepest interest in your object and will be very glad to come if possible. I am afraid however, that I may not be able to afford the expense. In any case, I shall give to your cause my deepest and most willing collaboration.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[World Congress for Peace]

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

COMITÉ DE PRÉPARATION :
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (VIIIe)

TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54

PARIS, le 24 MARS 1949

23a-12

Cher ami,

Je vous informe que le Comité de préparation du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix tiendra une importante réunion plénière, le samedi 9 avril, à 10 heures, à Paris, 2 rue de l'Elysée, salle des Boiseries.

Le bureau du Comité préparatoire y rendra compte de ses travaux et de l'état de préparation du Congrès.

Cette assemblée aura pour objet principal :

1) de régler le déroulement des travaux du Congrès

2) d'étudier les thèmes des rapports à présenter au Congrès et de désigner les rapporteurs.

Je me permets d'insister personnellement auprès de vous ainsi qu'auprès des comités de préparation dans les différents pays pour que vous fassiez tout votre possible pour être à Paris le 9 avril.

Veuillez recevoir, cher ami , mes salutations les meilleures.

Frédéric JOLIOT CURIE
Président du Comité de préparation.

P.S. - Les frais de déplacement des membres des comités de préparation résidant à l'étranger seront pris à charge par le Comité d'Organisation.

Picasso

American Sponsoring Committee

WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE

PARIS · April 20, 21, 22, 23 · 1949

Room 1111, 119 West 57th Street
New York City 19
CIrcle 7-3987

April 8, 1949

Co-Chairmen
DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
BISHOP ARTHUR W. MOULTON
O. JOHN ROGGE

Sponsors
ELMER BENSON
RICHARD O. BOYER
JOSEPH BRAININ
DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN
ANGUS CAMERON
RABBI J. X. COHEN
PROF. HENRY W. LONGFELLOW DANA
OLIN DOWNES
MURIEL DRAPER
PROF. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
HOWARD FAST
LION FEUCHTWANGER
DANIEL S. GILLMOR
SHIRLEY GRAHAM
ADA B. JACKSON
SAM JAFFE
ALBERT E. KAHN
ROCKWELL KENT
DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY
LEO KRZYCKI
PROF. JOHN MARSALKA
PROF. F. O. MATTHIESSEN
ARTHUR MILLER
PROF. PHILIP MORRISON
CLIFFORD ODETS
MARTIN POPPER
RAYMOND ROBINS
MAUD RUSSELL
ROSE RUSSELL
PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
ARTIE SHAW
DR. MAUD SLYE
MARY CHURCH TERRELL
LOUIS UNTERMEYER
DR. MARY VAN KLEECK
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
MAX WEBER
DR. GENE WELTFISH
ELLA WINTER

(Partial List)

22-12-03

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing a letter to you which was sent from France to me.

Needless to say, I am tremendously glad that you are able to make the trip to Paris; and they are very excited about it there, too. I look forward to traveling with you!

Best regards,

Albert E. Kahn

aek/dl
uopwa 16

encl

[World Congress of the Def. of Peace]

22-12-04

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 8, 1949

Mr. Frederic Joliot Curie
President of the Committee
of Prepration
World Congress for Peace
2, Rue De L'elysee
Paris, France

My dear Sir:

I appreciate the honor you have done me, in naming me secretary of one of your committees, representing the United States. I am afraid it will be impossible for me to get there for your preliminary meetings, but I am planning to be present when the Congress opens. I have read your reports with great interest and enthusiasm.

I am Sir

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[World Congress of the Defenders of Peace]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 11, 1949

Mr. Albert E. Kahn
World Congress for Peace
Room 1111
119 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

My dear Mr. Kahn:

Thank you for forwarding the letter from Buber, I will answer it.

23.40-1

I am enclosing a manuscript of the speech which I propose to make in Paris. I shall be glad of any criticism. Also if possible, I should like to have this speech translated into French before I go; but perhaps that can be attended to best in Paris.

I am enclosing a letter from the World Tourists. I am not yet quite clear as to what aid your committee and the French committee are going to furnish me, and I should like to know as soon as possible. As I said before, it will be quite impossible for me to contribute much to the total cost of the trip, as I am now working without salary and have been for three months. I should be glad to have definite data as to this and will leave it to you to reply to this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[WORLD CONGRESS... of the Def. of Peace

April 14, 1949

Mr. Albert E. Kahn
World Congress for Peace
119 West 57th Street, Room 1111
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Kahn:

In the three abstracts of my speech enclosed are corrections according to your suggestions. They can be incorporated in your copy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

24-9-16

[World Cong. " Def. of P]

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

COMITÉ DE PRÉPARATION :
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (VIIIe)

TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT 7172-60
N°

PARIS, LE 19

PRESS SECTION

BACKGROUND INFORMATION NOTES

Issue number 2.

April I5. I949

(The following information was transmitted to the Press at a general Press Conference on April I2, by Louis Aragon).

23C-43

The idea of holding a World Peace Congress in Paris is a recent one. It originated in the International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals for the Pease, and the Committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Thus, the Congress is a logical sequence of the Wroclau Congress of last August, and of the Budapest Congress of least I December.

But whereas Wroclau was a world congress of intellectuals and the Budapest assembly a congress of women, the Paris Congress will group without distinction représentatives of all social groups.

ooo

The appeal for the Congress was launched on February 25, and was signed by the International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals for the Peace, the Women's International Democratic Fede ration and many eminent people of some seventeen different countries.

This initiative met with such success that it surpassed even the most optimistic forecasts of the organizers. In four days, the appeal had gone around the world and support came in with growing strength :

March 2I : 250 millions
March 29 : 430 millions
April 7 : 550 millions.

Today, with the Latest adherences, there is no exaggeration in saying that the figure is approaching 600 millions.

ooo

The support has come from all directions, and from fifty-three different countries, including :

Australia, Japan, the Philippines, China, India, countries of the Near East and Central Africa, and every country of Europa and the Americas.

It comes from thegreat democratic organizations : labor unions, cooperatives groups, intellectuals'associations, scientific, journalist and peasant organisations; youth and women's movements, etc...

Other international organizations have joined the initial sponsoring group, including : the WFTU, the WFDY, the International Federations of Ex-Political Prisoners, the World Federation of Scientific Workers.

ooo

In the religious world as well, the call has been answered.

In Hun gary, two hundred Catholic prieste have given adherence. The two Protestant Churches of the country, the Lutheran and the Calvinist, have also joined.

In Czechoslovakia, all Churches, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox have given their support.

In Albania, the Orthodox Church lent its adherence.

Besides the Abbé Boulier, of France, the Patriarch Alexis from Moscow, head of all the Churches of Russia, Dr Emery Shipler director of the largest magazine of the Protestant Church of the USA, Bishop Arthur Moulton, président of the American Committee fort he World Peace Congress; Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury Bishop Wienken of Germany, the Commissariat of Fulda Episcopal Conferences, etc.. have all lent their support.

ooo

And so the list could go on...

Prominent nam es from the sciences, letters, arts and politics have poured in :

in France : JOLIOT-CURIE, PICASSO, ARAGON and others.

in Italy : Pietro NENNI, Vittorio GUI.

in Mexico : Lazarus CARDENAS.
in AMERICA : the great actor Charlie CHAPLIN, Henry WALLACE
in Belgium : Queen Elisabeth

ooo

To these names, the list of which is very long, are added each day those of the numberless crowds of little people.

Support from the women's groups of the Pampas of Argentina, from whole camp-villages of North Africa, from villages, schools, universities, factories, with thousands of signatures.

Preparatory Committees for the Congress are now functioning in 28 countries and are in direct relation with us.

ooo

On April 20, 2.000 delegates (500 French, 1500 from other countries) will be in Paris to attend the Congress.

Some delegations - for example the Chinese and the Corean - are already on their way to Paris.

The Congress will be on from the 20th to the 25th of April inclusive. It will not meet on Sunday, April 24, which is reserved for a great popular demonstration at the Buffalo Stadium. On that day, Peace Caravans in the form of special trains, lorries, cars, barges, bicycles, etc., coming from all the departments of France and from neighbouring countries like Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, England, will join the demonstration which is being prepared with great enthusiasm.

ooo

But in other directions the idea of a World Peace Congress is causing much uneasiness.

Following the refusal of visas to Madame Eugénie COTTON, the Abbe BOULIER and M. Paul ELUARD, who were to have attended the Conference recently held in New-York,

Following the breaking-up by armed force of the Peace Congress in Rio-de-Janeiro,

the French Government presumes to limit the number of visas granted to foreign delegations.

The Polish, Czech, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav delegates were to have comprised respectively 77, 70, 40, 23 and 30 members ; they are now restricted to 8.

The Chinese delegation, with 40 members, is waiting at Hong-Kong, unable to leave.

These measures are unjustifiable, for the Congress, starting out from the common preoccupations of men and women threatened by war, intends to base its work on these very preoccupations.

ooo

The themes debated at the Congress will bear on the following topics :

1) Denunciation of the armaments race,
2) Role of UNO in the defence of peace,
3) Denunciation of war propaganda,
4) The respect of national sovereignty and of the independence of peoples,
5) Economic relations between nations,
6) Women's participation in the peace movement,
7) The union of all partisans of peace.

Seven reports will be presented to the Congress. Mme Eugénie Cotton and M. Yves Farge for France, M. Pietro Nenni for Italy, and M. Fadeev for the Soviet Union, have already agreed to present each one of these reports.

Replies are awaited from the three others who were asked to present reports : from America, England and China.

Questions relative to the defence of peace and culture, and to the problem of colonial wars will also be dealth with during the Congress. Youth will be given its chance to speak as well.

The Congress will decide on some stable form of international organization, fixing as the principal basis the fact that peace is above all the concern of the peoples of the world.

The essential basis of the Congress is that once one has agreed with this theme, freedom of discussion is complete.

ooo

Finally, the organisers of the Congress believe that despite threats of war, the forces of peace are strong enough to check it.

Only those who are preparing war can be troubled by the holding of such a Congress ; and whatever attempts to restrict its scope or limit its representation may be made, nothing can prevent peace-lovers of all nations from expressing their firm resolution.

Caro Amico,

La popolazione parigina tiene ad acclamare di delegati venuti del mondo intiero al CONGRESSO MONDIALE DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE.

Con lei, le carovane della Pace venute dolle Francie intiera saranno

DOMENICA 24 APRILE, alle ore 15, allo STADIE BUFFALO (Métro Porte-d'Orléans).

Tutti affermeranno la volontà d'unirsi per salvare la Pace.

Queste grandiosa manifestazione si svolgerà sotto la presidenza di S. Federico JOLIOT-CURIE (premio Nobel di Fisica e Chimica, Membro dell' Istitute e dell' Accademia di Medicina).

Siete cordialmente invitate e noi speriamo que vorrete onorare con la vostre presenza queste manifestazione.

Il Comitato Francese di Sostegno del Congresso Mondiale dei Partigiani della Pace.

P.S. — Presentare queste carte all' entrata.

Querido Amigo,

La población parisién desea tener el honor de aclamar a los delegados que del mundo entero vienen al CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ.

Juntamente con ella, las caravanas de la Paz que llegan de todas partes de Francia, acudiràn el

DOMINGO 24 de ABRIL, a las 15 horas al ESTADIO BUFFALO (Métro Porte-d'Orléans).

Todos afirmarân su voluntad de unirse para salvar la Paz.

Esta grandiosa manifestación se desarrollará bajo la presidencia del Sr. Federico JOLIOT-CURIE (Premio Nobel de Fisica y Quimica, Miembro del Instituto y de la Academia de Medicina).

Al invitarle a Vd. cordialmente, esperamos que honrará Vd. con su presencia esta manifestación ;

El Comité de Ayuda y Organizacion Francés del Congreso Mundial de los Partidarios de la Paz.

P.S. — Sírvase Vd. presentar esta targeta a la entrada.

I. C. C. - MBS - LONDON IMPR.

[1949]

230-43

CONGRÈS MONDIAL
DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

BUFFALO

DIMANCHE 24 AVRIL
15 heures

Délégué au Congrès

* ENTRÉE RUE CARVÈS *

Cher Ami,

La population parisienne a tenu à acclamer les délégués venus du monde entier au CONGRES MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX.

Avec elle, des caravanes de la Paix venues de la France entière seront le

DIMANCHE 24 AVRIL, à 15 heures, au STADE BUFFALO (Métro Porte-d'Orléans).

Tous affirmeront leur volonté de s'unir pour sauver la Paix.

Cette manifestation grandiose sera placée sous la présidence de M. Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE (Prix Nobel de Physique-Chimie, Membre de l'Institut et de l'Académie de Médecine).

Vous y êtes très cordialement invité et nous espérons que vous voudrez bien honorer cette manifestation de votre présence.

Le Comité de Soutien Français du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

P.S. — Présenter cette carte à l'entrée.

Дорогой Друг,

Парижское население настаивает на своем желании приветствовать Делегатов приехавших со всего света на Всемирный Конгресс Партизан Мира.

Вместе с ним караваны сторонников мира всей Франции, соберутся

В ВОСКРЕСЕНЬЕ 24-го АПРЕЛЯ В 15 ЧАС. НА СТАДИОНЕ "БЮФФАЛО".

где все подтвердят свое желание соединиться, чтобы спасти мир.

Председатель этой грандиозной манифестации будет гр. ФРЕДЕРИК ЖОЛИО-КЮРИ, лауреат Нобелевской премии физики и химии, член Института и Медицинской Академии.

Вы все сердечно приглашаетесь и мы надеемся, что Вы не откажетесь почтить своим присутствием эту манифестацию.

Французский Комитет Поддержки Всемирного Конгресса Партизан Мира.

P. S. Предъявить это приглашение при входе.

Dear Friend,

The people of Paris extend a hearty welcome to the delegates, come from throughout the world, to attend the WORLD CONGRESS OF PARTISANS OF THE PEACE.

The people of Paris will be present on **SUNDAY, APRIL 24th, at 3 p.m., at the BUFFALO STADIUM** (Métro Porte-d'Orléans). to welcome also the "Peace Caravans" which will come from all parts of France. At this giant demonstration, every man, woman and child will reaffirm his undaunted will to unite to save the peace!

The Buffalo meeting will be presided over by M. Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE (Nobel Prize-winner for Physics and Chemistry, member of the Institute and the Academy of Medicine).

You are very cordially invited to attend the Buffalo demonstration and we sincerely hope that you will make every effort to be present.

Very truly yours,
The French Congress of the World Congress of Partisans of the Peace.

P.S. — The enclosed card should be presented at the Stadium entrance.

[WORLD CONGRESS for PEACE]

Paris Peace

PAZ! PAIX! PEACE! PACE!

МИРА! 和 BEKE!

!ɔlɟǝ 平 FREDE!

REPORT FROM PARIS

"In the name of 600 million represented here, the World Congress for Peace sends this message to the peoples of the earth :

COURAGE, AND AGAIN COURAGE !

WE HAVE MET. WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD EACH OTHER.

WE ARE READY AND RESOLVED TO WIN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE, WHICH MEANS TO WIN THE BATTLE FOR LIFE.

(Manifesto adopted World Congress for Peace Paris, April 1949)

Reporting for U.S. Delegation *

O. JOHN ROGGE — DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS

HOWARD FAST — DONALD HENDERSON

MINEOLA INGERSOLL — ALBERT E. KAHN

ROCKWELL KENT

*

MONDAY - MAY 23 - 8 P.M.

CITY CENTER CASINO • 135 WEST 55TH STREET

Admission 60¢

Auspices: AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE OF WORLD PEACE CONGRESS PARIS, APRIL 1949

Suite 1111, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19
Circle 7-3987

Monday, May 23, 8 p.m. [1949]
City Center Casino
135 West 55th Street, N. Y. C.

"REPORT FROM PARIS"

World Congress for Peace

Members of U.S. Delegation

O. JOHN ROGGE — DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

HOWARD FAST — ALBERT KAHN

DONALD HENDERSON — MINEOLA INGERSOLL

ROCKWELL KENT

Admission 60 cents (tax incl.)

412

23C - 10

[World Congress of the Defenders of P]

CONGRÈS MONDIAL
DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

Paris les 20, 21, 22, 23 Avril
SALLE PLEYEL

Secrétariat Général
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS 8°
Tél : ANJ : 91-54

Banque Commerciale pour les Pays
de l'Europe et du Nord.
21, rue de l'Arcade
PARIS
Compte n° : 22-88

PARIS, le 30 Mai 1940

Aux membres du Comité
Mondial des Partisans
de la Paix

Cher ami, (chère amie)

Notre Président, M. Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE, me charge de vous communiquer le document adressé ce jour, au nom du Bureau de notre Comité, à l'ensemble des Comités Nationaux du Congrès des Partisans de la Paix.

Ce document résume les dispositions prises par le Bureau durant le mois écoulé depuis la première réunion de notre Comité, le 26 Avril dernier, au lendemain du Congrès.

Vous y reconnaîtrez l'application pratique des décisions prises alors par le Comité, concernant la mise en place et les fonctions de l'organisme permanent, l'édition d'un organe de presse, la fixation des cotisations et la création du fonds des Prix Internationaux de la Paix.

Le Bureau m'a en outre chargé de vous adresser, ainsi qu'à l'ensemble des membres du Comité Mondial, un appel particulier pour que vous apportiez votre collaboration à la revue.

Il importe en effet que dès ses premiers numéros, elle puisse publier des textes nombreux reflètant l'ampleur et les caractéristiques de la lutte engagée dans le monde entier pour la paix, et apportant le témoignage et le jugement de ses partisans les plus éminents et les plus actifs.

Veuillez recevoir, cher ami(chère amie), l'assurance de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Jean LAFFITTE
Secrétaire Général,
du Comité du Congrès Mondial des
Partisans de la Paix.

23C-43

[World Congr. of the Def. of Peace]

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
世界保衛和平大會委員會

PRÉSIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRÉSIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS-VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 91-54
C.C.P.: F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS

Banque Commerciale des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8[e]
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le 3 juin 1949

Communication n° 3.

Chers Amis,

Dans sa dernière réunion, le Bureau du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix a adopté le texte de la lettre ci-jointe. Celle-ci a été adressée le 2 juin à Messieurs BEVIN, VYCHINSKI, ACHESON et SCHUMAN. Elle a été rendue publique.

Le Bureau prie :

- les membres du Comité Mondial
- les Comités nationaux du Congrès Mondial
- les personnalités et organisations avec lesquelles il est en correspondance.

1. de faire connaitre aussitôt cette lettre à l'opinion de leur pays, notamment en la communiquant à la presse.

2. de la transmettre aux organisations et personnalités adhérentes au Congrès en leur demandant de la faire connaitre à leur tour.

Le Bureau souhaite que la publication de ce texte contribue à orienter l'action de tous les partisans de la paix dans le sens d'une vigilance soutenue.

Il est clair, en effet, que d'un échec de la conférence (dont on peut légitimement craindre qu'il soit délibérément envisagé par certains) sortirait une menace de guerre accrue.

La brève période actuelle de négociations n'est donc pas une période d'expectative, dans l'attente de décisions et d'évènements où nous n'aurions pas part.

C'est au contraire l'occasion impérieuse de manifester puissament, et de rendre sensible aux négociateurs eux-mêmes, la vérité de cette conclusion essentielle de notre Congres :

"Les peuples ont cessé d'être passifs. Ils entendent jouer une partie active et constructive...
"Le Comité International des hommes de culture et des organisations démocratiques fera peser sur ceux quiveulent la guerre, à chaque étape de leur complot, la menace permanente de la force populaire capable d'imposer la Paix... La Défense de la Paix est désormais l'affaire de tous les peuples."

(Manifeste du Congrès Mondial)

Pour le Comité du Congrès Mondial
des Partisans de la Paix

Jean LAFFITTE.
Secrétaire Général

23C-43

[I World Cong. of the Def. of P.]

PARIS, le 7 Juin 1949

Message envoyé à la Conférence des "QUATRE" et transmis à Mrs. ACHESON, BEVIN, SCHUMAN, VYCHINSKI par le Bureau du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Excellences,

Le Bureau du Comité International du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix parlant au nom de plus de 600 millions d'hommes et de femmes qui y furent directement représentés, salue dans votre Conférence actuelle le retour à des négociations entre les quatre grandes puissances dont l'accord entre elles peut être une grandiose contribution au maintien de la Paix dans le monde.

Notre Bureau, interprète des décisions du Congrès Mondial, désire affirmer auprès de vous l'espoir et la volonté des peuples de voir maintenir l'esprit de négociations entre les alliés de la deuxième guerre mondiale pour régler toutes les questions internationales qui en découlent.

Les peuples de tous les pays restent attentifs à tout ce qui peut mettre en cause la Paix, et à tout ce qui peut leur donner des garanties pour le maintien de la Paix.

Notre Bureau estime devoir vous déclarer que vos négociations actuelles sur la question allemande éveillent dans l'esprit des Peuples, le souvenir de l'immensité des sacrifices et des peines qui furent les leurs au cours de la dernière guerre. Ce souvenir est par lui-même un impératif qui motive la recherche d'un accord au sein de votre Conférence.

Les Partisans de la Paix dans le monde, souhaitent que de la Conférence de Paris résultent un net recul de tout esprit ou propagande belliciste ou guerriers et les solutions à la question allemande orientées dans le sens d'une dénazification et démocratisation véritables. Ils se rappellent que toute négociation entre les Etats n'est réellement pacifique qu'avec le support et l'attention soutenue des peuples, et ce sont là les préoccupations que nous nous permettons de vous signaler.

Recevez, Excellences, l'assurance de notre haute considération.

[World Corg. of the Def. of Peace]

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
世界保衛和平大會委員會

PRESIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRESIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

*

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS - VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJou 16-06 16-29
C.C.P.: F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS
Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale
des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8e
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le 15 juin 19 49.

Communication N° 4.

Chers Amis,

Un mois et demi s'est déjà écoulé depuis la fin du Congrès et nous nous rappelons avec émotion l'enthousiasme soulevé par un tel rassemblement mondial auprès de l'ensemble des délégués. Aujourd'hui encore le Secrétariat du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix reçoit des délégués, des lettres de remerciements et de sympathie.

Cependant, à l'issue du Congrès, des tâches bien précises ont été définies. A ce sujet, nous vous rappelons notre communication N° 2 du 30 mai dans laquelle nous vous informions des premières dispositions prises par le Bureau du Comité Mondial réuni à Paris le 19 mai dernier en application des décisions du Congrès et qui intéressent tous les Comités et mouvements pour la Paix, dans tous les pays.

L'une de ces dispositions concerne notamment la parution rapide en plusieurs langues de la revue : "LES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX".

Nous possédons actuellement les textes nous permettant d'assurer la parution du premier numéro le 1er juillet 1949.

.../...

Malheureusement, il nous sera impossible d'en assurer l'édition à temps si nous ne recevons de toute urgence le paiement des cotisations prévues.

Si la revue ne peut paraître le 1er juillet, nous devrons envisager de repousser la date au 1er octobre. Ce long intervalle représente la période des vacances pendant laquelle un grand nombre de personnes quittent leur domicile habituel, tant en France qu'en Europe.

Il apparaît donc comme très important que tous nos efforts soient déployés pour que la revue paraisse le 1er juillet.

Nous sommes persuadés que vous comprendrez l'importance et l'urgence de notre appel et que vous y répondrez. S'il ne vous est pas possible d'envoyer en une seule fois le montant total de votre cotisation, vous pouvez en envoyer, par exemple, la moitié dès maintenant et l'autre partie un peu plus tard.

Dans l'espoir de vous lire prochainement, nous vous prions de recevoir, Chers Amis, l'expression de nos sentiments les plus cordiaux.

F. GUYOT
Secrétaire administrative

J. LAFFITTE
Secrétaire Général

CONGRÈS DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
SECRÉTARIAT
PARIS-VIIIe
- 2 -

[World Cong. of the Def of Peace]

Prière d'insérer. Le 20 Aout 1949.

- COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE -

du Bureau du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

-:-:-

Le Bureau du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix s'est réuni le 19 aout à Paris. Des représentants de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale, de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes, de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique, du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels ainsi que de personnalités de France et des autres pays, assistaient à cette réunion.

Après avoir entendu différentes informations sur les initiatives envisagées par les grandes organisations démocratiques pour la préparation d'une JOURNEE INTERNATIONALE DE LUTTE POUR LA PAIX, le Bureau a confirmé la date du 2 Octobre pour la réalisation de cette grande journée. Il a décidé en outre, de lancer à cette occasion, un appel qui s'adressera à tous les peuples du monde.

D30-43

Cet appel demandera aux hommes et aux femmes de tous les pays, unis contre la guerre, de donner une impulsion nouvelle à leur lutte pour la paix, de refuser le fardeau des budgets de guerre écrasants et toujours aggravés, et d'exiger la fin des aggressions contre la liberté des peuples.

Invité à se faire représenter à différentes manifestations pour la paix en voie de réalisation pour le début de septembre, le Bureau a décidé d'envoyer des délégations et des messages au Congrès National de Moscou, au Congrès Continental de Mexico, au Congrès International de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique à Budapest, au Congrès National de Hollande, ainsi qu'aux semaines de la paix organisées pendant le mois de Septembre en Suède et en Norvège.

Le Bureau a décidé, par ailleurs, de convoquer pour les 27, 28 et 29 octobre, une session plénière du Comité du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Cette session aura lieu dans un pays européen.

Le Bureau a enregistré avec satisfaction la parution récente du premier numéro de la revue internationale : "LES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX" Il a décidé de poursuivre la publication régulière de cette revue en plusieurs langues et d'en assurer la diffusion la plus large par l'intermédiaire des comités nationaux et organisations de 72 pays avec lesquels il se trouve déjà en liaison.

-:-:-:-:-

[World Congress of the Def. of Peace]

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
世界保衛和平大會委員會

23-43-10

PRESIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRESIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS-VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJou 16-06 16-29
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS
Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale
des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8^{e}
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le September 9th 19~~49~~

Dear Friend,

We should like to confirm that the Plenary Session of the Committee of the World Peace Congress is to be held on the 27th, 28th and 29th of October next.

This meeting will take place in Italy. The only question left open is the choice of the city : it will in all probability be Genoa.

We shall inform you of this definitely after the next meeting of the Bureau, and also send you the agenda.

Would you be good enough, therefore, in agreement with your National Committee, to take all necessary steps making possible your attendence at this meeting. Your personal attendance there is indispensable.

We look forward with great pleasure to seeing you on that occasion. With cordial greetings,

Yours sincerely

For the Committee of the World Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Congress of the Def. of Peace]

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION

ÉDITÉ PAR LE BUREAU DU COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

23c-41

PRÉPARATION DE LA JOURNÉE INTERNATIONALE DE LUTTE POUR LA PAIX

LE 2 OCTOBRE 1949

Le 6 Septembre 1949.

ALLEMAGNE : En une marche de la Paix, la jeunesse des villes et des villages de Rhénanie, les 3 et 4 septembre, s'est rendue à Gelsenkirchen, où s'est déroulée une immense manifestation en faveur de la Paix.

Le 1er septembre, des millions de colombes de papier blanc, lancées par les Partisans de la Paix, ont volti,é au dessus de Berlin. Des tracts répandus à des millions d'exemplaires appelaient la population à manifester en masse pour la Paix.

COREE : Un télégramme du Comité National de la République Démocratique au Comité Mondial :

" Ayant reçu votre proposition relative à la
" Journée Internationale de Lutte pour la Paix,
" nous avons décidé de choisir le 2 octobre comme
" Journée Internationale de la Paix et de la
" Liberté ".

FRANCE : Une vaste campagne de diffusion de tracts a été entreprise par les syndicats. Des Comités de Défense de la Paix se forment dans les entreprises mêmes. De vastes assemblées d'informations ont lieu et le vote pour la paix se prépare sur les lieux du travail (affectation de bureaux de vote, constitution des listes de votants, désignation de scrutateurs...).

Les Anciens Combattants préparent des caravanes de la Paix pour le 11 septembre, anniversaire de la mort d'Henri Barbusse. Ils organiseront le vote pour la paix le 2 octobre, devant les monuments aux morts.

Les Jeunes préparent le vote des conscrits. Les Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté tiennent des conférences d'information et préparent les rassemblements régionaux du 2 octobre.

Les femmes poursuivent leur campagne contre la guerre du Viet-Nam ; les Femmes de Demain recueillent des signatures pour une pétition que 4 mères, dont les fils sont morts dans la guerre du Viet-Nam, porteront le 2 octobre au ministère de la guerre.

La fête du journal l'Humanité, le 4 septembre, a rassemblé des centaines de milliers de Parisiens et de Parisiennes qui ont voté pour la Paix au stand des Partisans de la Paix - où 50 urnes ont recueilli les votes et 50 troncs le " franc de la Paix " -.

GRANDE-BRETAGNE : Le Comité Britannique des Partisans de la Paix organise, pour préparer à la fois le 2 octobre et le Congrès national des 19, 21 octobre à Londres, une série de meetings, les 4, 13 et 25 septembre avec MM. Hutchinson, Smith et Crowther comme orateurs, les 1, 2, 3 et 6 octobre avec MM. Smith, Bernal et Joyce.

Un grand rassemblement central est prévu le 2 octobre à Londres, vers lequel convergeront tous les messages.

GUATEMALA : Un Comité National a été récemment élu sous la présidence de M. Ricardo Castillo, musicien et compositeur. Il est composé comme suit : Mme Angelina Acuna, poète ; Maria Josefa Estrada, directrice d'Ecole Normale Supérieure ; Ismaël Mendez Zebrada, musicien compositeur ; Carlos Martinez Palma, Secrétaire Général adjoint ; José Rivera Toledo, président de l'Association des Etudiants des Lettres et Fernando de Léon Porras, de la Faculté des Lettres, secrétaires à la propagande et à l'organisation; Mmes Elisa Fernandez, étudiante et Lorenzo Montufar Nevas, présidente de l'Association des périodiques du Guatemala.

...

Ce Comité a décidé : d'organiser la célébration d'une Journée de la paix, et de préparer par une vaste campagne de presse et de propagande des assises nationales des Partisans de la Paix au Guatemala.

INDES : L'A.I.T.U.C. (Union des Syndicats Hindous) a convoqué une Assemblée des Partisans de la Paix à Bombay le 9 septembre afin d'étudier les modalités d'action pour la journée de lutte du 2 octobre.

Des conférences des partisans de la paix sont annoncées à Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Calcutta.

Une Conférence de la Paix pour toute l'Inde est prévue pour Novembre. Le Secrétaire de l'Union des Syndicats de l'Inde est chargé de toucher toutes les organisations et personnalités qui ont largement aidé la cause de la Paix, afin d'obtenir leur participation.

La date exacte et le lieu seront fixés ultérieurement.

ITALIE : Un télégramme de la Confédération des Travailleurs de Crémone.

Réunis en leur 3ème Congrès, les travailleurs de Crémone ont adressé leur salut fraternel aux Partisans de la Paix et affirmé leur volonté de s'opposer aux manoeuvres de ceux qui "de l'autre côté de l'Océan et dans les pays capitalistes, préparent les guerres impérialistes ".

LIBAN : Création d'un Comité National : Ce Comité s'est constitué comme suit : Monseigneur Elie Karam, Métropolite du Mont Liban - Docteur Georges Hanna, médecin - M. Antoine Tabet, architecte - M. Moustapha El Ariss, président de la Fédération des Syndicats du Liban, membre du Comité Exécutif de la F.S. . - M. L'Abbé Antoine Menhem - M. Rodouane Chahal, dessinateur - Docteur Nagy Chaer, médecin - Docteur Mouzeffar Ariss, médecin - Docteur Adnane Soltane, médecin - Maître Moustapha Mourad, avocat à la cour - Maître Akef Ossayrane, avocat à la Cour.

Ce Comité a lancé un manifeste destiné à rallier tous les amis de la paix au Liban.

...

Un de ses premiers actes a été d'adresser aux Légations brésilienne et argentine au Liban, des lettres de protestation contre les interdictions (suivies de répressions) à des rassemblements pour la paix en Argentine et au Brésil.

Ces interventions ont eu un retentissement notable dans l'opinion libanaise, copies de ces lettres ayant été reproduites dans les journaux.

La Section libanaise de l'Union Internationale des Architectes réunie en Assemblée générale le 17 août à Beyrouth a décidé à l'unanimité d'apporter son adhésion au Manifeste lancé par le Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Cette décision a été notifiée à Monsieur Pierre Vago, secrétaire général de l'union.

LUXEMBOURG : Campagne contre la conscription :

Le Mouvement national des partisans de la paix luxembourgeois a adressé le 28 août un appel à 30 organisations et à tous les amis de la paix, les invitant à prendre position pour une campagne commune contre la conscription (le gouvernement luxembourgeois vient de déposer un projet de loi prévoyant le service militaire obligatoire pour tous les citoyens de 18 à 45 ans).

Le Mouvement National rappelle au peuple luxembourgeois son droit démocratique de se prononcer par référendum.

Cette campagne contre le militarisme sera couronnée par les manifestations du 2 octobre.

MAROC : A l'appel du Comité marocain relatif à la Journée Internationale du 2 octobre, les syndicats marocains ont commencé à préparer leur campagne, malgré la forte répression qui s'abat sur eux, et sur les éléments autochtones en particulier. Un tract est en préparation qui sera diffusé par eux dans tout le pays.

MEXIQUE : Le Congrès Continental Américain s'est ouvert le 5 septembre à 19 heures au Colisée de la Arena à Mexico. Les discours les plus importants sont ceux de M. Enrique Gonzalez, écrivain et poète mexicain, qui préside le Comité d'organisation, du chef de la délégation des Etats Unis et des représentants du Comité Mondial, MM. Paul Eluard et Roger Garaudy.

...

SUGGESTIONS POUR LA CAMPAGNE DE PRESSE

-:-:-:-:-:-

La Commission de Presse et de Propagande du Comité du Congrès Mondial propose aux différents comités nationaux de mener, pour la préparation de la Journée du 2 octobre, une campagne de presse systématique dans les organes qu'ils peuvent utiliser autour des thèmes suivants :

1.- Le Pacte de l'Atlantique et ses développements militaires ne sont pas défensifs, mais ils constituent au contraire un instrument d'aggression.

2.- Dénoncer avec exemples à l'appui l'hystérie de la propagande de guerre qui a suivi la ratification du Pacte Atlantique.

3.- La course aux armements engendre la misère : aggravation des charges fiscales, surexploitation des masses laborieuses, chômage dans la production de paix, etc...

4.- La préparation à la guerre renforce dans tous les pays soumis à cette politique les tendances les plus réactionnaires : soutien au fascisme en Grèce, en Turquie, en Espagne, en Allemagne Occidentale - relèvement et réarmement de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest et du Japon - attaques contre les libertés démocratiques - doctrine de l'intervention contre les peuples défendant leur indépendance et leur liberté.

Poursuite et aggravation des guerres coloniales (Viet-Nam, Malaisie, etc...) et de la répression colonialiste (Madagascar, etc...).

5.- Développer la confiance dans nos forces et dans l'issue de notre bataille. Insister sur la nécessité de l'union la plus large comme condition de la victoire des partisans de la paix. Montrer que la Journée Internationale du 2 octobre peut être une étape très importante de la lutte pour la paix et contre la misère.

6.- Les informations sur les actions entreprises et sur tout le travail de préparation de la Journée du 2 octobre dans le monde entier, seront pour le succès de la campagne un élément essentiel.

Aussi, invitons-nous tous les comités nationaux à nous faire parvenir le plus rapidement possible toutes les informations qu'ils recueillent à ce sujet.

-:-:-:-:-:-

Des orateurs de chacune des délégations d'Amérique sont inscrits pour venir saluer le Congrès. Ces délégations ont été envoyées par l'Argentine, le Brésil, le Canada, la Colombie, Costa-Rica, la Bolivie, Cuba, le Chili, le Salvador, les Etats-Unis, le Guatemala, le Mexique, le Panama, Porto-Rico, le Vénézuéla, l'Uruguay, l'Equateur et le Pérou.... Assistent également à titre individuel des observateurs du Nicaragua, du Honduras et de St-Domingue.

La délégation des Etats-Unis compte 200 délégués et celle du Mexique 700. Cuba et le Guatemala ont envoyé chacun 20 à 30 délégués.

Des représentants de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes, de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique et de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale participent au Congrès.

NORVEGE : Les ouvriers de la pierre et du ciment d'Oslo refusent de travailler pour la guerre.

Le syndicat des ouvriers de la pierre et du ciment d'Oslo vient de décider, à une écrasante majorité, que ses membres ne participeront pas aux constructions présentant un intérêt militaire : installations de défense, aérodromes militaires, etc...).

Ce syndicat a, d'autre part, demandé aux autres syndicats affiliés à l'organisation centrale ouvrière qui compte près de 450.000 membres d'adopter une attitude analogue.

SCANDINAVIE : Aux semaines de la paix qui se dérouleront en Scandinavie pendant tout le mois de Septembre, M. Gilbert le Chambrun représentera le Congrès Mondial. M. Jorge Amado, membre du Comité Mondial pour le Brésil et M. Konni Zilliacus sont également annoncés.

TRIESTE : On annonce pour le 2 octobre le Congrès de la Ligue Culturelle slovène-croate (S.H.P.Z.)

Un télégramme du 2ème Congrès de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique au Congrès Mondial.

Par un télégramme en date du 5 septembre, le 2ème Congrès de la F.M.J.D. assure le Comité du Congrès de la

" volonté de tous les jeunes démocrates du monde entier de participer toujours plus activement à la défense de la paix, et de préparer avec enthousiasme la journée de lutte du 2 octobre ".

COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE

Paris December 17 th 1949

To the National Committees
and Members of the World
Committee.

Dear Friends,

Below we give the press statement and the two decisions taken by the Permanent Executive of the World Peace Committee at its recent meeting in Paris on December 16 th.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

On behalf of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

PRESS STATEMENT

The Permanent Executive of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace met in Paris on December 16th under the presidency of M. Joliot-Curie.

Having taken note of the growing activity of the world movement of the defenders of peace, the Executive stressed the necessity for broadening this movement still further in order to meet the increasing tempo of the preparations for a new world war.

With this object in view it drew up the text of an appeal addressed to all elected assemblies.

It decided to have this appeal presented to every parliament

in the world, backed b the will to unity in action of the peoples struggling for peace.

The Executive then took the decision to award the first International Peace Prizes in 1950.

It further decided to summon the World Committee to meet for its third plenary session in the second half of April 1950.

APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE.

To all elected Assemblies :

At a moment when the increasing tempo of war preparations is sharply underlined by the armaments race and series of military conferences, the committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace addresses itself to every elected Assembly the world over.

In the name of hundreds of millions of men and women unitedly striving in 76 countries in defence of peace, it invites these Assemblies to debate the following proposals and to pledge themselves in their support :

1. That an end be put to the armaments race, which is creati widespread poverty and destroying all hope of prosperity. This can be achieved by the reduction of military estima and armed forces.

2. That an end be put to the terrible threat of atomic attac This can be achieved by the banning of atomic weapons.

3. That an end be put to the wars of intervention directed against the peoples in Indonesia, Malay and Vietnam. Thi can be achieved by the opening of immediate and direct discussions under international auspices.

4. That an end be made of all repressive measures directed against the defenders of peace, which aim to break popul resistance and to leave the field clear for war prepara

5. That an end be put to the war of nerves and confidence be restored. This can be achieved by the signing of a peace pact between the Great Powers within the framework of the United Nations.

In order to realize these peace proposals, the World Peace Committee appeals for the active support of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world. It calls upon them to lobby their par-

liamentary representaives or candidates, individually and collecti-ly, to ensure that these peace proposals, which reflect the unanim. will of the peoples, shall be supported in the local, regional and national Assemblies and by the governments.

It is on their unity and their action that the peace of the world depends.

The Committee of the World Congress of the
Defenders of Peace.

23c - 43

Decisions Taken

regarding the Award of International Peace Prizes

The Permanent Executive of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace has decided to award the first international peace prizes, offered by the Paris and Prague Congres in April 1949, in 1950. This award will be made in accordance with the rules adopted by the World Committee at its Rome session in October 1949.

The final date for the despatch and submission of entrie is postponed until April 1st. 1950. All works produced since 1945 will be eligible for entry.

Entries should be addressed to the national body recognis as representing the world movement of the defenders of peace. In countries where such national bodies do not exist, entries may be addressed to the Permanent Executive of the World Committee.

In accordance with article 5 of the general rules the World Committee will appoint a jury at its next meeting in the fir half of 1950.

Prizes will be awarded on the occasion of the Committee's subsequent meeting during the second half of 1950.

[World Congress of Def. Peace]

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
世界保衛和平大會委員會

PRESIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRESIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

*

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS-VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 16-06 16-29
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS
Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8^{e}
Compte N° 2288

230-12

Paris, le 23 décembre 1949

Monsieur W.E.B. DUBOIS

Dear Friend,

You will find herewith a copy of the decisi-sions agreed by the Executive of the World Peace Committee at its meeting in Paris on December 16th. They are concretely expressed in the five proposals to be put to all elected assemblies.

We intend sending these peace proposals to every Parliament throughout the world. This step will be carried out in all countries simultaneously during the first fortnight in February 1950.

We consider that for certain countries such as the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, India, one of the countries of Latin America, Scandinavia, the Near East etc., this had best be done by a delegation of three or four figures of world renown.

In those countries where there is a powerful peace movement, this could be done by a delegation formed on a national basis.

Finally, in those countries where delegations can neither be formed nor sent, the proposals will be addressed to the Parliaments by the ordinary postal service.

In every case the proposals will first be submitted for the approval of the people of the country. We are convinced that they will meet with the support of all those who sincerely wish for peace, apart from any questions of doctrine.

I should be most grateful if you would lend your support and, if possible, your personal assistance in carrying out this approach to the Parliaments of all nations envisaged for the beginning of February. For instance, your participation in one of the international delegations would be of immense service as would also your help in approaching other leading figures who could be persuaded to join our effort. In addition, your participation would be invaluable in making our activity known throughout the world, and I take this opportunity of thanking you in advance for all that you can do to contribute to the success of our movement.

23a-12

I should be glad to have your answer as soon as possible, indicating the country to which you would prefer to go. Perhaps you could also let us have your views on the composition of the international delegations for the countries mentioned.

I very much hope that you will see your way to giving us your most valuable help in this great act in the cause of peace.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

F Joliot Curie

Joliot-Curie
President of the World Committee
of the Defenders of Peace.

P.S. All practical details with regard to the journeys will be settled by us according to the wishes expressed in your letter.

[ENC]

COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE

Paris December 17 th 1949

To the National Committees
and Members of the World
Committee.

Dear Friends,

Below we give the press statement and the two decisions taken by the Permanent Executive of the World Peace Committee at its recent meeting in Paris on December 16 th.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

On behalf of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

PRESS STATEMENT

The Permanent Executive of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace met in Paris on December 16th under the presidency of M. Joliot-Curie.

Having taken note of the growing activity of the world movement of the defenders of peace, the Executive stressed the necessity for broadening this movement still further in order to meet the increasing tempo of the preparations for a new world war.

With this object in view it drew up the text of an appeal addressed to all elected assemblies.

It decided to have this appeal presented to every parliament

in the world, backed b the will to unity in action of the peoples struggling for peace.

The Executive then took the decision to award the first International Peace Prizes in 1950.

It further decided to summon the World Committee to meet for its third plenary session in the second half of April 1950.

APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE.

To all elected Assemblies :

At a moment when the increasing tempo of war preparations is sharply underlined by the armaments race and series of military conferences, the committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace addresses itself to every elected Assembly the world over.

In the name of hundreds of millions of men and women unitedly striving in 76 countries in defence of peace, it invites these Assemblies to debate the following proposals and to pledge themselves in their support :

1. That an end be put to the armaments race, which is creating widespread poverty and destroying all hope of prosperity. This can be achieved by the reduction of military estimates and armed forces.

2. That an end be put to the terrible threat of atomic attacks. This can be achieved by the banning of atomic weapons.

3. That an end be put to the wars of intervention directed against the peoples in Indonesia, Malay and Vietnam. This can be achieved by the opening of immediate and direct discussions under international auspices.

4. That an end be made of all repressive measures directed against the defenders of peace, which aim to break popular resistance and to leave the field clear for war preparations.

5. That an end be put to the war of nerves and confidence be restored. This can be achieved by the signing of a peace pact between the Great Powers within the framework of the United Nations.

In order to realize these peace proposals, the World Peace Committee appeals for the active support of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world. It calls upon them to lobby their par-

[ENC]

liamentary representatives or candidates, individually and collectively, to ensure that these peace proposals, which reflect the unanimous will of the peoples, shall be supported in the local, regional and national Assemblies and by the governments.

It is on their unity and their action that the peace of the world depends.

The Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

23-12

Decisions Taken

regarding the Award of International Peace Prizes

The Permanent Executive of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace has decided to award the first international peace prizes, offered by the Paris and Prague Congress in April 1949, in 1950. This award will be made in accordance with the rules adopted by the World Committee at its Rome session in October 1949.

The final date for the despatch and submission of entries is postponed until April 1st. 1950. All works produced since 1945 will be eligible for entry.

Entries should be addressed to the national body recognised as representing the world movement of the defenders of peace. In countries where such national bodies do not exist, entries may be addressed to the Permanent Executive of the World Committee.

In accordance with article 5 of the general rules the World Committee will appoint a jury at its next meeting in the first half of 1950.

Prizes will be awarded on the occasion of the Committee's subsequent meeting during the second half of 1950.

[ENG]

COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
Second session - Rome October 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st 1949

General Rules Governing the Award of International Peace Prizes

1. In accordance with the decisions of the first World Peace Congress, three international prizes of 5 million francs each will be annually awarded under the auspices of the World Peace Congress.

2. These prizes will be awarded respectively to the best published works (books, films, works of art) that most effectively forward the cause of peace between the peoples.

3. The Committee reserves the right not to award any prize, should the quality of the works submitted be considered inadequate.

4. Eligible for entry are works presented by public organisations, other parties or the authors themselves.

5. The Peace Prizes will be awarded by the World Committee. The Committee will appoint a jury to submit preliminary recommandations. The jury will examine the works presented and will submit its proposals to the world committee which is the body that finally awards the prizes. These will be awarded by vote according to a simple majority of the committee members. The jury appointed by the World Committee shall consist of 11 members of different nationalities among whom shall be included the president and two vice-presidents.

6. A preliminary selection of the works submitted in each country may be carried out by means of national juries appointed in agreement with the World Peace Committee.

7. The works that are not awarded prizes but are considered worthy of interest can be brought to the attention of the world public by any means which the jury considers suitable.

8. The Committee undertakes to take every step to popularise the prize-winning works.

9. The cost of despatch and of the eventual return of the submitted works must be borne by the candidates or by the national organizations that forward the entries.

10. The works must be submitted to the jury before the 1st. of January of every year.

11. Further details with regard to the rules of the competition and the conditions of awarding the prizes will be published later.

[World Congress of the Def. of Peace]

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ

J.L/J.C
Réf : J370

世界保衛和平大會委員會

PRESIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRESIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

*

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS-VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJOU 16-06 16-29
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS
Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8[e]
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le 30 décembre 1949

A tous les membres du Comité Mondial

Cher Ami,

Comme suite aux décisions de la dernière réunion du Bureau du Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix qui s'est tenue le 16 décembre à Paris, nous avons le plaisir de vous confirmer qu'une nouvelle session du Comité Mondial est prévue pour la deuxième quinzaine d'avril 1950. Le lieu de cette session n'a pas encore été déterminé. Néanmoins nous vous informons qu'elle se tiendra dans un pays européen.

Dès que les décisions seront prises, nous vous communiquerons le lieu où cette session se tiendra, la date exacte et l'ordre du jour.

Dès maintenant, nous vous prions de prendre toutes dispositions utiles pour pouvoir y assister et de nous confirmer votre participation.

Dans cet espoir, croyez Cher Ami, à nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Pour le Comité du Congrès
Mondial des Partisans de la Paix

Laffitte

Jean Laffitte
Secrétaire Général

[1949]

For a world Congress of peace

To all democratic Organizations

To all defenders of peace

230-9

THE International Co-ordinating Office of Intellectuals for peace, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the undersigned individuals, are disturbed by the daily growing threat to peace among peoples.

IN some countries press, radio, politicians openly sow enmity and hatred toward other countries and make propaganda for a new war. Instead of the decrease in armies and armaments which could have been expected at the end of the war, an overwhelming armaments race has begun. Military blocs which threaten the peaceful co-existence of peoples are being formed. In some parts of the world the fires of war are still burning, lit and fed by the intervention of foreign states and the direct action of their armed forces.

BUT the peoples of the world do not want war. They do not want new slaughter, new ruins and devastation. And the duty of all honest people, of men of art, science and literature, of all democratic organizations, is to rise with a spirit of firm decision and ardent will for unity in the defense of peace among peoples.

THAT is why we call upon those democratic organizations in all countries whose task is the defense of peace, and all individuals devoted to progress : labor unions, women and youth movements and their international federations, peasant organizations, cooperative groups, religious groups, cultural organizations of scientists, writers, journalists, artists and democratic statesmen, so that they will speak out for peace. We call upon them to rally their forces in order to convene next april a World Congress for Peace whose goal will be to unite all the active forces in all countries for the defense of peace.

OUR hope is great and we are certain that we will see rising all over the world the defenders of peace.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-ORDINATING OFFICE OF INTELLECTUALS FOR PEACE

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

FRANCE :

ARAGON, Mrs Eliane BRAULT, Abbé Jean BOULIER, Jean CASSOU, Aimé CESAIRE, Raymond COGNIAT, Pierre COT, Aimé COTTON, Mrs Eugénie COTTON, Mrs Gabrielle DUCHENE, Paul ELUARD, Yves FARGE, Justin GODART, Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE, Mrs Irène JOLIOT-CURIE, Mrs Françoise LECLERC, Louis MARTIN-CHAUFFIER, Pablo PICASSO, Marcel PRENANT, Paul RIVET, Mrs Romain ROLLAND, Armand SALACROU, Mrs Elsa TRIOLET, VERCORS.

GREAT-BRITAIN :

J.-D. BERNAL, J.-G. CROWTHER, J.-B.-S. HALDANE, D. HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of CANTERBURY, Denis-Nowell PRITT, Mrs Marie PRITT, Mrs Nora WOOSTER.

ITALY :

Mrs Ada ALESSANDRINI, Massimo BONTEMPELLI, Renato GUTTUSO, Guido MIGLIOLI, Mrs Isa MIRANDA, Pietro NENNI, Mrs Camilla RAVERA, Mrs Maria-Magdalena ROSSI, Giuseppe de SANTIS, Emilio SERENI, Elio VITTORINI.

U.S.A. :

Howard FAST, Mrs Ada JACKSON, Albert KAHN, Mrs Gene WELTFISH, Mrs Ella WINTER.

U.S.S.R. :

M. SHOLOKOV, A. FADEEV, P. FEDOSSEEV, Mrs Nina POPOVA, S. VAVILOV, Mrs Wanda WASSILIEWSKA.

DENMARK :

Mrs Agnete OLSEN, M. A. NEXO.

NORWAY :

Mrs Mimi SVERDRUP-LUNDEN.

SWEEDEN :

Mrs Andrea ANDREEN.

POLAND :

J. BOREJSZA, DEMBOWSKI, Léon KRUJKOVSKI, Mrs PRAGUEROVA.

CZECOSLOVAKIA :

Jan DRDA, Mrs HODINOVA, Jan MUKAROWSKI.

GERMANY :

Bernhard KELLERMANN, Heinrich MANN, Otto NUSCHKE, Mrs Anna SEEGHERS.

EIRE :

Sean O' CASEY.

SPAIN :

José GIRAL, Mrs Elisa URIZ.

INDIA :

Raj MULKANAND.

CHILE :

Pablo NERUDA.

BRASIL :

Jorge AMADO.

CHINA :

Mrs TSAI CHANG.

THIS CALL CAN BE REPLIED TO IN THE PRESS OR BY LETTER TO THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS :

INITIATING GROUP OF WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE

2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (8e)

world peace

[World Congress of the Def. of Peace]

[1949?]

COMITATO NAZIONALE DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE

VIA PALESTRO, 68 - ROMA - TELEF. 496.914

23-43-9

Cher ami,

Au nom du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, le Comité Italien des Partisans de la Paix a l'honneur de vous inviter à la session du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix qui aura lieu a Rome le 28 - 29 - 30 octobre. Le siège des travaux vous sera comuniqué prochainement.

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir confirmer votre partecipation aux travaux du Comité ainsi que de nous informer directement (Rome, 68 Via Palestro) à la date de votre arrivée.

Nous vous saluons bien cordialement.

COMITATO NAZ. PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE - ROMA - V. Palestro 68 Tel. 495914

p. LE COMITÉ D'INITIATIVE

PIETRO NENNI
Deputé - Ancien Ministre

Nenni

P.S. Priére de bien vouloir nous renvoyer le formulaire ci - inclus, aprés l'avoir soigneusement rempli.

IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

ILYA EHRENBURG : *This Is Only the Beginning.*
PIERRE COT : *Atomic Energy Must Serve Mankind.*
EMILIO SERENI : *The Italian Experiences in the Struggle for Peace.*
B. GEBERT : *The World Federation of Trade Unions Fights War.*
JEAN GUIGNEBERT : *Greetings to the Moscow Peace Congress.*
General LAZARO CARDENAS : *Appeal.*
JUAN MARINELLO : *Before the American Continental Congress.*
GUY DE BOYSSON : *The Budapest Festival.*
ANTOINE TABET : *The Peoples of the Near East Oppose Imperialism.*
ALBERT E. KAHN : *Letter from New York.*
PABLO NERUDA : *Poem.*

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE : News from the World — WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES FOR PEACE.

BUREAU OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE

President

Mr. FRÉDÉRIC JOLIOT-CURIE, *Member of the Institute, Nobel Prize.*

Vice-Presidents

Mrs. EUGÉNIE COTTON,
President of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Messrs. ARAGON,
Secretary of the International Bureau of Liaison of Intellectuals.

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER,
General Secretary of the African Democratic Movement.

J.-D. BERNAL,
Professor (Great Britain).

General LAZARO CARDENAS,
(Mexico), Former President of the Republic.

ALEXANDER FADEEV,
Writer (U.S.S.R.).

KUO MO JO,
Writer (China).

PIETRO NENNI,
Deputy, Former Minister (Italy).

O.-JOHN ROGGE,
General Attorney (U.S.).

GUY DE BOYSSON,
President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Louis SAILLANT,
General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

General Secretary

Mr. JEAN LAFFITTE, *Writer.*

REVIEW
« LES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX »
Direction, Administration :
18, rue du Croissant, PARIS (2e). Tél. : GUT. 92-50
(Temporary Address)
Postal Cheques : 7272-31, PARIS
DIRECTOR :
JEAN LAFFITTE

ORGANISATION AND ACTION OF THE WORLD COMMITTEE OF PARTISANS OF PEACE

(Resolution adopted unanimously)

The World Congress of Partisans for Peace, anxious to achieve still greater mobilisation of the forces for peace, which this Congress has largely made possible, and wishing to see more and more men and women of good will rally under the banner of the Partisans for Peace, has decided that a COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF PARTISANS FOR PEACE will continue the action begun by the magnificent assembly in Paris.

This Committee will devote all its efforts to safeguarding Peace and to reinforcing the fight against all aggressions, propaganda and attempts of the enemies of the people aiming to provoke a third world war.

To this end, the Committee shall develop unity among all international, national and local organisations favouring the defence of peace, as well as among all men and women anxious to maintain peace. Special attention will be paid to the action of Committees for the Defence of Peace already established or to be set up in towns and villages, factories, shops, offices and universities, as well as to the National Committees for the Defence of Peace wherever they will be created.

All members, whether individuals or belonging to groups and organisations, shall to the best of their ability give active and material support to the action of the Committee of the World Congress of the Partisans for Peace, whose essential tasks will be the following :

A. — To publicise the work and the decisions of the Paris Congress throughout the world, as quickly and widely as possible, through all appropriate means of propaganda (reports, meetings, publication of resolutions and reports, exhibitions, distribution of films, etc.).

B. — Popularise all information on the activities undertaken for the defence of peace and develop the exchange of experiences between the different countries. Encourage campaigns in favour of Peace by all helpful means such as international delegations, calling of regional congresses, etc.

C. — Denounce all plots directed against Peace and co-ordinate the action of the peace forces against the war-mongers and their propaganda. Mobilise these forces in order to put an end to the present attacks against the national independence of peoples and their democratic liberties. Encourage aid to the victims of war and oppression.

D. — Promote all collective and individual activities for Peace in the field of culture, for instance, by instituting the award of prizes for the best literary and artistic productions serving the cause of Peace.

E. — Prepare the next World Congress of the Partisans for Peace.

F. — Develop the means of propaganda necessary to the activity of the Committee by a publication in several languages.

While undertaking all these actions, constant attention must be given to the aim of bringing about the greatest possible unity amongst those who are ready to work for the defence of peace : that is why the Committee elected at the Paris Congress is expressly authorised to name the additional members which it considers useful for the strengthening of the unity of the Partisans for Peace.

IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

N° 1 AUGUST 1949

Price per copy :

FRANCE .. .. 35 Francs ABROAD .. .. 45 Fr. (or $ 0.15) (or 9 d.)

Abonnements :

FRANCE : 12 issues .. .. 400 Francs ABROAD : 12 issues .. .. 500 Fr. (or $ 1.60) (or 10/-)

24 issues .. .. 750 Francs 24 issues .. .. 950 Fr. (or $ 3.00) (or 18/-)

[1949]

EDITORIAL

STRENGTHEN THE PEACE FRONT EVERYWHERE

THERE is something changed in the world. Since the World Peace Congress the danger of war and the prospects for peace are no longer the same.

The first appeal to "all active forces among the peoples of all lands to unite in defence of peace" was published on February 25th. Less than two months later delegates from over seventy countries and seven great international organisations assembled in Paris and Prague. Two thousand one hundred ninety-two delegates, representing 700 million men and women of all political opinions and creeds, of all social strata, took part in the work of the Congress.

***

After free discussions, they unanimously adopted the Manifesto and Resolutions which have since been published in millions of copies throughout the entire world.

The scope and unity of the Congress has given the peace forces, gathering and taking shape on a world-wide scale, new consciousness of their own power, and a definite assurance that they are able not only to condemn war, not only to warn the peoples of its dangers, but to prevent it.

The Permanent World Committee elected at the Congress provides the Partisans for Peace throughout the world with a practical means of co-ordinating their activities and of developing their common efforts.

Experience has shown that these are facts which can concretely change the course of events, which can contribute to the defeat of the war forces.

The World Congress has publicly demonstrated that "the peoples are no longer content to remain passive, but are determined to play an active and decisive role in shaping their future." There can be no doubt that this demonstration has had a positive bearing both on the convention and the results of the Four Power Conference in Paris, which examined the German and Austrian questions.

These results represent a very real success in favour of peace.

On the one hand, the limited but substantial agreement reached on the question of Berlin has solved one of the most burning conflicts and has strengthened the United Nations Organisation.

On the other hand (and this is the most important thing), it has been proven that ways and means can be found through negotiation to ensure the peaceful co-operation among peoples.

More general agreement is possible. Public opinion has been strengthened in this view by Mr. Vishinsky's declaration, when he admitted that agreement had been reached on the basis of mutual concessions, and expressed the opinion that such concessions would be necessary also in the future for the peaceful settlement of other questions.

***

This first success has shown all men of good sense and good will which path they can follow to save the world from war : the path of negotiations supported by the constant vigilance of the peoples.

But at the same time the whole policy of the war instigators, the policy based on blackmail and fear, has been exposed.

That is one of the reasons for their redoubled fury. They fill the world with their noisy clash of arms. Their chiefs-of-staff travel through the continents to inspect their bases of aggression, to feed the wars they already provoked, to enlist the youth of other peoples for their future

32-18-12

battlefilds. They outdo each other in barbaric prophecies and boast that they will use atomic bombs to settle the future of the peoples who oppose their war rule.

Thus the danger once again assumes its most threatening features and fills our hearts with anguish.

This war propaganda, which becomes more violent every day, coincides with the ratification of the Atlantic Pact. The war-mongers have not lost a single day in implementing the most dangerous clauses of the Pact.

They try to convince the peoples once again that war is inevitable ; they want them to lose faith in their own power to prevent a new slaughter. They want to throw people into panic, to intimidate millions of decent men and women.

But their cynicism achieves just the contrary : ever larger masses, which may have been deceived for a moment, can see with their own eyes, on the basis of facts, the real character of a policy hypocritically presented as defence of peace and civilisation.

The war-mongers forget the hundreds of millions of Partisans for Peace throughout the world. They do not take into consideration the consciousness which the Partisans for Peace have gained through unity, and the powerful attraction they exert by their force and self-assurance upon hundreds of millions of other men and women who are eager to find the ways by which peace can be won.

For it is undeniable that the World Peace Congress has given rise to a powerful movement, and each day brings proof of its growth and consolidation.

The Committee of the World Congress is now in contact with Partisans for Peace in 72 countries.

Already Permanent National Committees in 49 countries are organising and increasing their activities for the defence of peace. Congresses are being called from one end of the world to the other.

In Moscow the Soviet Partisans for Peace will hold their Congress on August 25th ; in Mexico City, at the Continental Congress of America, delegates coming from all parts of the hemisphere, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, will meet.

As you read further in this Review, you will find impressive reports of some of these activities.

This action will develop on an ever larger scale.

Ever-increasing action against the Atlantic Pact !

Defend the principle of peaceful collaboration among all peoples, based upon mutual respect of the independence of all nations !

Denounce the hysteric war-mongering and propagation of race hatred !

Defend the Charter of the United Nations !

Struggle against the monstruous war credits which spell poverty for the peoples !

Yes, the Partisans for Peace are already powerful enough to check the plans of the war instigators.

By the thousands they have organised, and will continue to organise Committees for the Defence of Peace, even in the smallest villages, as they did in Italy. In each factory, trade and profession, the forces of peace unite and will further unite for action. Thus, for instance, the resolution of the World Trade Union Congress calls upon every trade union to work for the creation of Peace Committees in the shops.

Already the movement has innumerable organisers and propagandists. Let them devote all their energies to the great task of convincing the millions around them, before it is too late! Let us carry on our work and inspire the masses by our example, so that all men and women will defend peace with as much determination and love as that with which they defend their children, their homes, their wages and their harvests.

Our sincere and generous struggle will arouse all decent people, threatened with destruction and death, to unite into a unanimous, unconquerable force, expressing the will of all who cry out in their hearts : DOWN WITH WAR.

Let us prepare for the International Day of Struggle for Peace which will demonstrate that the Partisans for Peace, united on a world scale, "face the plotters of war with the permanent threat of a popular force capable of imposing peace."

[1949 see p. 13, bottom]

This is only the beginning

by Ilya EHRENBOURG

The bad temper of the partisans of war is the best indication of the success achieved by the World Peace Congress. And I do not even want to speak of the articles and news items in those journals in every language that generally glorify atomic diplomacy, economy and morality.

Professor Sidney Hook, of New York University, is mixed up in this too ! He isn't just any kind of a journalist, but a philosopher. However, he surpasses all the journalists by far. "This Congress of Partisans for peace," said he, "has only done harm to the cause of peace. All the speakers there spoke in the name of Soviet expansionism." It is clear that Sidney Hook is furious. Actually he crossed the ocean to organise a counter-congress in Paris, the one which ended so piteously. Nevertheless, if it is possible for me to explain Sidney Hook's irritation, I can't understand the real meaning of his statement. I was present at all the meetings of the Congress, but never once heard any designs of "Soviet expansionism" brought forward. The only explanation I can find is that there is something peculiar about Sidney Hook. We know actually that in the country of this very respectable philosopher mental illnesses are not revealed until their very last phase. The day before these sick people are put into strait-jackets they make laws, make speeches and give press conferences.

The partisans of war attempt to diminish the importance of the Paris Congress by insults, threats and slander. We know that Winston Churchill made some vulgar remarks concerning Pablo Picasso, based on Mr. Churchill's peculiar aptitude of "kicking". We know that French newspapers, whose sentiments have nothing in common with France, violently attacked Joliot-Curie. We know that Senator Cain is demanding the expulsion of Charlie Chaplin from the United States. We also know that those behind the government of the State of Connecticut threaten to forbid Paul Robeson to enter his own home. All these good people apparently think that the signature of a Jules Moch is enough to get rid once and for all of advanced science ; they think that Churchill will be able to resolve all aesthetic problems with a kick, and that by decree of the Un-American Activities Committee they will be able to exclude Gorky, Mayakovsky, Eisenstein, Sholokhov and Shostakovich from world culture.

Speaking of the Paris Congress, the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote : "The Communists have the advantage in the fight for their so-called peace." Let us take notice of the generosity of the partisans of war. They classify as Communists all those throughout the world who crave for true peace. This does not surprise me. More than a year ago, when the epidemic of mental illness had just begun, one of the members of the Un-American Activities Committee denounced a forerunner of Shakespeare, the dramatist Christopher Marlowe, as being a dangerous Communist. If this writer, who has been dead for hundreds of years was a Communist, why not Abbé Boulier, why not O. John Rogge, or the Italian Catholics, or the writer Vercors, or the Moslem Scouts, or the Queen of Belgium, and with them six hundred million men and women ? They are all Communists ! But what does it mean "to have the advantage in the fight for their so-called peace?" One might imagine that near the Salle Pleyel there was an office where you could patent slogans and resolutions, and that "Communists" like the Dean of Canterbury or the Catholic writer Martin Chauffier had arrived at the office just an hour before Mr. Acheson, who had actually intended to reserve the exclusive right of glorifying peace for himself. At the ceremony that accompanied the signing of the Atlantic Pact in Washington the signatories had only the word peace in their mouths. Why then do the

32-18-13

journals that approve of the Atlantic Pact assure us that propaganda for peace is a trump card of the adversary ? Perhaps it is because 1949 does not resemble 1939 and that people have learned by now to distinguish an impostor from a man of good will, an atomic factory from an olive branch, and "so-called peace" from true peace.

The people have learned that there is a difference between fighting for peace and talking about peace. The mere existence of pacifists never stopped partisans of war from continuing to prepare their crimes. Speches of friends of humanity, tears of sensitive women, and now and then the refusal of impressionable young people who oppose conscription on the grounds that they are vegetarians—all such manifestations help the warmongers in their manoeuvres by calming the fears of the "common people". "Pacifism" transforms its adherents little by little into sheep. And sheep are particularly appreciated as cannon fodder. At the right moment, sheep can be easily herded off to slaughter with no questions asked.

It is evident that at present the partisans of war are not only perfecting their armaments but also the moral and ideological means necessary to prepare war. They are not only cultivating their microbes of plagues but also microbes of lies. The pacifism of Bertha Sutner is no longer fashionable ; instead one talks today of "world government," and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the person of Garry Davis, the "world citizen." For wealthy people, there is Winston Churchill. For the common people there is Garry Davis. In saying that, I am not suggesting that the "citizen of the world" is an emissary of Dean Acheson. On the contrary, personally I think that Garry Davis is an honest man, a little too naive perhaps and a little too talkative. Nevertheless, whether he is aware of it or not, he does not serve the partisans of peace, but the partisans of war. If he had renounced his American citizenship not at Paris, but at Washington, Chicago or Jacksonville, his gesture would have had an entirely different significance. Had he carried on his campaign not in Europe (where countries according to the American warmongers should renounce their national sovereignty), but in his own country, in the United States, where the people have lost their heads because of gold and atomic bombs, then his words would have sounded differently. Had he caused scandals not at the entrance of the Salle Pleyel but on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, his actions would have a different import. When I speak of the naiveté of Garry Davis it is not to belittle him, it is on the contrary to single out extenuating circumstances in his case.

The "citizen of the world" sent a letter to the President of the French Republic. In this letter Garry Davis protested against the refusal to grant visas to the Soviet, Polish, Chinese, Czech and other delegates. One might tell him that he had written to the wrong address. It was from Washington that the attacks against the Peace Congress were launched. Why didn't the "citizen of the world" think about the fact that Jules Moch, while afraid of the Soviet composers or the Czech poets visiting Paris, if only for a few days, does not consider Garry Davis' noisy activities a danger for the authors of the Atlantic Pact. One must be exceptionally naive under these circumstances to consider oneself an independent "citizen of the world"...

At the counter-Congress that Professor Sidney Hook tried to organise in Paris the atomic scientist Karl Compton declared that with the manufacture of atomic bombs, one of the summits of humanism had been attained. Mr. Kadt described the Atlantic Pact as a gospel of peace, while by their side the "citizen of the world" repeated his grandiloquent and empty slogans for the thousandth time. The fact that Sidney Hook, one of the pillars of the State Department, considers Garry Davis neither an agitator nor a traitor, but a pretty flower embellishing the table of cannibals, clearly shows the role played by the "citizen of the world" in the fight for peace.

Of course the prattle about "world government" will continue. It is part of the mobilisation plans of the partisans of war. Everybody knows what it means to have the majority in the United Nations Organisation. It is enough to remember the way in which Washington appoints and dismisses the presidents of some dozens of so-called independent republics. The partisans of "world government" want to create yet another world organisation in which the fate of Warsaw and Prague would be decided by a majority of votes entirely dependent upon Washington.

Among the partisans of "world government" we find honest and naive people, but also experienced impostors. The former do not see (this would surpass their imagination) that if the inhabitants of Paraguay, Chile or Bolivia were to elect delegates to a "World Government" these elections would give about the same results as those leading to their present "Parliaments." As for the impostors, they know what they want ; they want to hurl atomic bombs while making solemn resolutions. For-

tunately the people are not quite so gullible, nor are the impostors all-powerful magicians. The so-called partisans of peace are unmasked. Is it necessary to recall that in the Soviet Union, there are not, there cannot be, any partisans of war. That is a fact recognised even by our enemies, who generally say that the Soviet Union was exhausted by World War II. In other words they want to convince naive people that it is due to our weakness that we want peace. I think we want peace because we are strong. We are certain our ideas are right and just. We do not intend to turn unnecessarily to arms, to frighten anybody, nor to go mad with fear and jump out of the window as did the defunct Secretary of Defence of the United States.

There was a time when the "Black One Hundred" (1), the spiritual brothers of the Un-American Activities Committee, proclaimed: "We will catch our enemies with our caps, like flies." At that time Czarist Russia was living its last days and their slogans expressed their fright. Today the American "Black One Hundred" claim that, by dropping the atomic bomb they will exterminate the peoples. I am quite aware of the difference between a bomb and a cap, but nevertheless I'm certain that the American hysteria is due largely to fear : fear of a crisis, of the European countries fighting for their independence, of the awakening of the coloured peoples, of progress. The atomic bomb may be very destructive but in the battle between the past and the future it will not be a decisive factor. Man is capable of creating any weapons, but weapons cannot create men. Weapons can kill thousands or millions of people, but there will always be men and they will live as they choose. We have no intention of releasing bombs on the world, but on the contrary, a stream of books, scientific discoveries, masterpieces of art, the golden harvest of corn, and the laughter of happy children.

This summer, in central and southeastern Russia, men tirelessly plant trees to protect the fields from the draught caused by scorching winds of the desert. They must have real faith in the future to devote all their forces, their ardour, their youth, to the task of planting these young trees which only years later will become a rich, verdant curtain. Our enemies often talk of a so-called iron curtain behind which, they say, we are trying to isolate ourselves from western Europe and America. But, in fact, what we think of is another curtain, a verdant curtain which will protect our future harvest from the deadly winds of the desert.

That is why at all the meetings where I have reported on the World Peace Congress, the Soviet people, men and women, young and old, workers and farmers, poets and masons, have heartily approved the work of the Congress. They know that the Congress is not the final achievement, but only a beginning, that a new formula has thus been found to unite people around the fundamental idea : the safeguarding of peace. And the men who are planting trees in the regions of Saratov, Stalingrad or Voronezh firmly believe that these trees will grow because there are in the world splendid creators: Joliot-Curie, Aragon, Neruda, Picasso, Chaplin, Haldane, Bernal, Prenant, Fast, Eluard, Anna Seghers, Guttuso, who are all working for the "common man" ; because there are throughout the world hundreds of millions of men and women who, like those of the Soviet Union, believe in the future, in the wonderful achievements of future geniuses, in the books yet to be written, in the cities yet to be built, in the rich harvests of the years to come. We will save the peace.

(1) Terrorist bands that carried out pogroms and massacres, with Czarist support.

32-18-14

ATOMIC ENERGY MUST SERVE MANKIND

by Pierre COT, *deputy, former minister*

SEVERAL days ago the French National Assembly ratified the Atlantic Pact, but without any enthusiasm.

The debate which had taken place in the French Chamber, similar to those being held in other "western" Parliaments, reveals a sort of fear and anguish. Petty considerations of internal politics prevailed during the debate. It was anti-Communist hatred, not national interest, which was the main reason for the approval of the Atlantic Pact. Reports of the debate prove that supporters of the Pact had little faith in their cause. In their declarations one felt their uneasiness, and they did their utmost to find excuses for the vote they were about to take. Many of them implied that in the event of war between the Soviet Union and the United States their American friends, having plunged them into this horrible adventure, would probably not furnish all the means of assuring effective protection, and that on the whole they would be asked to draw the thunder upon themselves, while the Americans would not even undertake delivery of a lightning rod. In addition, no one among them could have any illusions. They knew that they could vote in favour of the Atlantic Pact, but that they would be unable to obtain participation of the French people in a war against the Soviet people. Such perspectives deprive the ratification of the Atlantic Pact of all practical value.

Moreover, recent declarations of responsible American Army Chiefs do nothing to dispel the fears of European supporters of the Atlantic Pact. Had I voted for the Pact a week ago, I would have had shivers running down my spine when reading General Bradley's statement of three days ago. For we know now, from official sources, that if tomorrow war were to break out, the western European nations would have to furnish "the greatest part of the land forces," that is, what is commonly called cannon fodder. During the first period of the conflict, the role of the United States would be to furnish materiel to the western nations and aid them by "strategic bombing" carried out with atomic bombs. We have now been warned : we shall be the advance pawns protecting the king and queen on the chessboard, and we shall serve as an "atomic cushion" for our American friends. One can well understand United States interest in the adoption of such a strategy ; one understands much less the interest of the poor western and "Atlanticised" nations.

The efforts of the Partisans for Peace can free us from this nightmare. We must not wait until war has been unleashed to struggle against it ; now is the time to act.

The conference of Partisans for Peace in the Soviet Union, news of which gives us the greatest satisfaction, will no doubt be a new positive contribution to the struggle for peace.

The war-instigators must realise that the Soviet Union is strong, not only because of its two hundred million inhabitants, its planned and restored economy, of that Soviet Army whose progress amazed the world, but also because of its shining example and ever growing prestige. A solemn affirmation of the Soviet peoples' determination for peace can and will be a serious warning to those who, consciously or unconsciously, threaten to unleash war.

All peoples without exception want peace,

because they all have a common interest in peace.

Repeating President Truman's words, General Bradley told us that the United States of America would not hesitate to utilise the atomic weapon, that is, to massacre women, old people and young children — with no military justification. Let us imagine what benefits atomic energy could bring all mankind, were it used for peace, for peaceful achievements.

In his remarkable book on "Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy," Professor Blackett stresses that already today production costs of atomic energy, if used for industrial purposes, would be the same as, or less, than electrical energy in most countries. Thus mankind could have the means at its disposal of considerably raising the standard of living of all peoples. In a few years misery and suffering, hunger and disease could disappear from the earth. An era of general prosperity, from which all would benefit, would then be open to us. And the day would not be distant when "mankind would leave behind it its gloomy past."

For that, three conditions which can easily be achieved, would be necessary and sufficient.

1) An international convention outlawing atomic warfare.

2) A control system guaranteeing its application.

3) Measures enabling exchange of information between all countries regarding new developments in atomic research.

Who opposes the introduction of a plan which includes these three conditions ?

It is the American government and its satellites. And what are the real reasons for this opposition ? They are easy to discern, and here again Professor Blackett's book helps us discover the truth : If tomorrow atomic energy were used everywhere for peaceful purposes, what would happen to the profits of those in the world who control what is called the usual sources of energy coal, and above all, oil ? Still another factor : if tomorrow there were abundance all over the world, what would happen to the capitalist regime, whose very existence is based upon a certain scarcity of resources and products ?

In fact, at our present stage of human evolution, the lords of capitalism have every reason to fear a long period of peace and loyal cooperation among peoples. They are afraid that peace would rob them of their privileges. Let us show them that in war they would lose still more.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD CONGRESS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZES

(Adopted unanimously)

In order to encourage intellectuals and artists to take part in the defence of Peace, the World Congress of Partisans for Peace has decided to create « International Peace Prizes » for the best films, literary and artistic works which help to consolidate Peace among peoples.

The prizes will be awarded each year by the Committee of the World Peace Congress. The Congress sets up three international Peace prizes of five million francs each.

The World Peace Congress calls upon all organisations and institutions which took part in the Congress to organise the collection of funds necessary for the awarding of the International Peace Prizes.

IMPULSE AND ORGANISATION

The Italian Experiences in the Struggle for Peace

by Emilio SERENI, Senator

A study of the experiences of the struggles which developed in various countries according to the directives of the Paris Congress, presents the greatest interest for the strengthening of the peace front.

At a time when the most aggressive circles of imperialism are holding conference after conference with their chiefs-of-staff and armament technicians, it is indispensable for the peace forces to exchange their experiences. Not the least important of our advantages in contrast to those of the war forces is our ability to exchange our experiences with neither reticence nor petty jealousies such as characterise the relationships among the war-mongers. We have no secrets to hide one from the other ; nor need we conceal from the people the serious realities which preoccupy them. Criticism of the shortcomings of our work is in itself a powerful weapon in our struggle for peace ; and all partisans for peace express their national pride in fraternal emulation for their common cause.

The experiences of our struggles for peace in Italy seem to lend themselves to considerations of a more general character. Italy, along with France, is right in the midst of economic, political and military pressure exerted by the war forces. As in France, the Italian people are faced with the most responsible tasks in the struggle against war. Again, as in France, this struggle has its roots in a powerful peoples movement which brings it all its traditions and vigor, thus enabling it to develop and to conquer new positions.

What has been done since the Salle Pleyel Congress to utilise these possibilities ?

What are the successes, the shortcomings, and what are the most immediate tasks with which we are faced in our work ?

The actual composition of the Italian delegation at Salle Pleyel gave us wide possibilities for popularising the work of the World Congress in our country. Among the 1.200 Italian delegates who came to Paris, no less than 242 had actually been elected by committees for peace in villages and neighbourhoods, 145 by local Union of Italian Women organisations, etc. Experience has proven that popularisation of the work of the Congress was most effective where the delegations had been elected by most democratic methods. A delegate elected by a rank-and-file meeting is more keenly aware of his responsibilities to his mandate ; he takes his work more seriously and his reports are given with greater enthusiasm and assurance. Thus, for example, there were four women delegates who had been elected at rank-and-file meetings in Ravenna who personally gave no less than 54 reports on the work of the Congress at various meetings. In general, the most effective work for popularisation of the Congress was done at thousands of such rank-and-file gatherings, not necessarily very big, where direct contact with men and women workers, peasants and housewives could be established by personal conversations. In the province of Florence alone, delegates of cooperatives conducted 50 meetings of housewives in cooperative shops during rush hours, and similar methods were used in other localities in order to reach the greatest number of housewives and women peasants.

Naturally, the work of popularising the Congress has not been limited to these special, localised forms, but wider, more extensive methods, involving greater masses of people were used. The democratic press devoted much space to articles on the Congress, and published its manifesto. Even the reactionary press could

not remain silent and had to mention the work of the Congress, though distorting its significance. The women's democratic press, the trade union and co-operative press particularly distinguished themselves in popularising the Congress. Thus, for example, the co-operators' journal published all sorts of documents and news items about the Congress for a period of seven weeks.

Besides all this, the most prominent personalities of the Italian delegation addressed hundreds of mass meetings where the resolutions of the Congress were explained to the public by examples from every-day life. During the month of May alone, according to incomplete clippings of the national press, 277 meetings were held throughout the country, not including the province of Emilia, where the peace movement is particularly powerful. It should be noted that this figure relates only to the most important meetings which were reported in the national press ; an examination of the local press would add to this a much larger figure of local meetings. But it was not during the month of May that our work reached its peak. At the initiative of the National Italian Committee, on June 2nd — anniversary of the death of Garibaldi and of the birth of the Italian Republic — a "Day of Liberty and Peace" was celebrated throughout Italy. One can say without exaggeration that on that day there was not a single village or city in Italy where, thanks to delegates and partisans for peace, the voice of the Paris Congress was not heard.

There is no doubt that the great campaign of popularisation of the Congress forced the enemies of peace in Italy to show their hand. The government and the Christian-Democratic Party had to devote themselves to a frenzied poster and counter-poster campaign, thereby trying to check the actions of the partisans for peace. After having tried without success to deceive the people by minimizing the danger of war, the reactionary forces had to make this theme the central point of their propaganda. Thanks to the popularisation of the work of the Congress the war danger continues to be a topic of discussion, even after the first debate in the Italian Parliament. At the same time, action for peace has gone beyond the forms of simple propaganda ; it has entered the field of political mass action.

Following directives of the Paris Congress, the Italian Democratic Youth took the initiative of organising a Youth Rally for Peace which was to have assembled in Rome on June 10th 100.000 young Italians, bringing with them peace flags from all the towns and villages of Italy. The government resorted to the use of a special law — forbidding mass meetings in the Capital — in order to prevent this demonstration. But the anti-democratic manoeuvre of Mr. Scelba has given added impetus and scope to the struggle of Italian youth for peace. There were not 100.000, but millions of young people who assembled in impressive peace meetings in all the towns of the region. And in spite of police measures even the manifestation of youth in Rome was attended by a considerable crowd.

June 10th marks an important turning point in the development of the movement of Italian democratic youth. Proof was given on that occasion of the fundamental contribution which youth can and must make to the struggle for peace. Some weaknesses of that struggle, particularly serious as far as youth was concerned, were overcome in a new forward movement. The consolidation of these results is one of the most important tasks facing the peace movement in Italy. And June 10th has given us a basis for our work among this group which requires constant and careful attention.

Following these exterior manifestations, the time has come for youth to undertake the task of reaching and organising through manifold activities ever-larger sections of youth, and in particular those still under the influence of the reactionary and clerical oragnisations.

Such activities were especially developed by the second initiative in the struggle for peace, carried on during the past few months in Italy. The petition for peace initiative is not one of those which ends in a spectacular demonstration, but which has no continuation. The exercise of the constitutional right of petition requires an organisational effort which the state apparatus is hardly able to stand at the time of general elections. Here it is not only a question of collecting signatures, but of organising official committees in each neighbourhood and village, authorized to authenticate the signatures. Besides, the peace petition campaign was carried out under conditions of hysterical police terror.

Hardly had this initiative begun, when Mr. Gasperi's government realised all the extremely serious political repercussions that it involved for his position, both at home and abroad. Precisely at the moment when he was to put his signature to the Atlantic war Pact, the petition became not merely an act of propaganda but a constitutional one which nullified all obligations binding the Italian people. That is why the government at first attempted to deny the unquestionable constitutionality of the petition. Having had to abandon this position, which was

obviously untenable because of the letter and spirit of the Republican Constitution, he reduced the time limit of the discussion on the ratification of the Pact. Scheduled to take place after the resumption of the sessions of Parliament, this discussion was suddenly brought up without notice, in order to reduce the time available for the collection of signatures. But that is not all, nor is it the most important factor. Finding it impossible to deny the constitutional right of petition, a massive police repression was let loose during the collection of signatures. The gentlemen of the Prefectures had to admit that "the petition is legal", "but collecting signatures in public places or in houses is liable to create disorder!" That is why in accordance with the fascist police regulations (which Mr. Scelba has not yet altered despite his repeated promises), citizens collecting signatures for the peace petition were systematically denounced and arrested. In the province of Revigo alone, 800 citizens were arrested and fined 10.000 liras each for having collected signatures for the peace petition. In most cases they were agricultural labourers involved at that time in a national strike which demanded from them the heaviest sacrifices. A 'phone call from a Christian-Democrat, whose signature was being requested, was sufficient to set all the police and "legal" machinery in motion. They immediately proceeded to sentence the "guilty" — in this case citizens exercising a right expressly granted by the constitution. Thus the campaign for peace in Italy has become a campaign for peace and for democratic liberties.

Governmental repression itself has taught the masses to recognise the link between the struggle for peace and the defence of the Republican Constitution. For the first time in recent Italian history thousands of citizens have learnt to avail themselves of the Republican Constitution in a practical way, in order to defend their right to peace. And very often those who gave the police and prefecture officials the most trouble were women and housewives.

The peace petition was launched in the course of mass meetings held in May, at the same time as those organised to popularise the Peace Congress. In fact, at all meetings held to popularise the Congress, the petition was mentioned, and vice versa. At first, however, the two initiatives remained separate ; it was only during the campaign that they became merged. That is why we are giving separate figures for the large mass meetings especially organised for the launching of the petition. Here again only the national press was examined. No less than 473 large meetings were held, according to these incomplete figures, and should be added to the 277 previously mentioned. The most important work once again was the manifold activities carried on for the first time from village to village, house to house, hamlet to hamlet, and floor to floor. Thousands of cadres were recruited and trained for the peace movement in the course of this activity. And the experience which they passed on, when submitting their lists, is a precious one which we must study and utilise.

And that is where the weakness of our work becomes apparent. The leadership given to the movement was clearly insufficient — we must admit this openly — in relation to the scope and impetus of the movement itself. The National Committee did not meet regularly enough ; too few members were drawn into effective leadership. The provincial committees did not give effective leadership ; while local factory and neighbourhood committees have shown a greater capacity for consistent leadership. It is true that the National Committee itself did not, at the outset, want to give the partisans for peace too precise forms of organisation. But, it seems to us, experience has proven that at present organisational directives have become a necessity. In many places local committees were formed spontaneously and are functioning regularly. There are 250 in the province of Genoa, 180 in the province of Milan, about a hundred in the province of Leghorn, and so on, down to the less developed provinces. We must search for permanent forms of organisation to consolidate this spontaneous enthusiasm which arose during the petition campaign. This is a task which we must not neglect at present, if this enthusiasm is not to be lost. In Leghorn, for example, no less than 70 % of the population were reached by activities of the movement during the campaign. Such are the experiences, the contacts, which we established and which we will be unable to consolidate without giving our movement a leadership, a more solidly organised leadership.

This is a problem we must face. The petition was an act of concrete struggle for peace. In spite of police terror, in spite of the reduction in time at our disposal, in spite of the enormous difficulties of organisation of the petition which has actually developed into a sort of electoral consultation, which the whole state apparatus opposed with all its might, almost seven million Italian voters have demonstrated their opposition to the Atlantic Pact, an opposition which they could only voice by struggling. Wherever this sort of private electoral consultation was organised, the number of signatures gathered

greatly surpassed the number of last year's Popular Front voters. For instance, in the city of Genoa 223.289 signatures were gathered as against 183.670 voters for the Front (+ 22 %); in Florence, 318.488 signatures as against 295.512 Popular Front voters. The figures were less favourable in regions where the organisation did not consolidate the enthusiasm of the masses, where enthusiastic meetings were the only expression of the movement.

In Italy, as in France, despite popular opposition, the imperialist governments have ratified the Atlantic Pact of war and serfdom. This Pact, which violates the right of our people to their constitutional liberties and national independence, certainly does not bind them : the petition for peace is a clear proof. But this will not stop this government from trying to advance still further on the road to war. What the peoples, all peoples, expect from us is action capable of stopping them. In order that this action become more effective, capable of exerting a real and decisive influence on the forces of war, a spontaneous movement is not sufficient. What is needed is organisation of the peace forces in every factory, village, neighbourhood. What is needed is a leadership less rigid and at the same time more alert and consistent, capable of devoting itself more persistently to the concrete tasks of this struggle for peace.

32-18-17

FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DAY OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

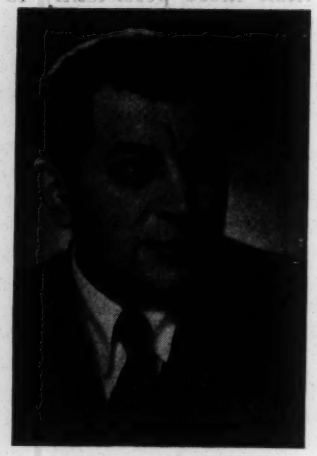
The Bureau of the Committee of the World Peace Congress met on the 29th of July in Paris. Delegations from the secretariats of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, as well as representatives of the Partisans for Peace movements in Latin America then in Paris were present at the meeting.

They heard a report by Mr. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER, vice-president of the World Congress Committee, giving details of the constantly increasing activities of Partisans for Peace in 72 countries with which the Committee is now in correspondence.

He underlined the importance of the Congress of Partisans for Peace in the Soviet Union, which will be held at the end of August in Moscow. He also stressed the scope of the Continental American Congress for Peace scheduled September 5th to 10th in Mexico City. The Bureau decided to give its full support to these congresses.

At the suggestion of Mr. Louis SAILLANT, vice-president of the World Congress Committee, the Bureau proposed October 2nd as International Day of Struggle for Peace. The initiative for this movement was taken at the recent congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. This date will be definitely confirmed after consultation with the national committees of Partisans for Peace.

The World Federation of Trade Unions fights war



by B. GEBERT, Secretary of the W. F. T. U.

AMONG other fundamental tasks, the World Federation of Trade Unions aims at « combatting war and the causes of war, working for a stable and enduring peace » and also, « to wage the struggle against reaction for the complete realisation of democratic rights and the freedom of all peoples. »

Almost four years have passed since these aims have been defined by the first World Trade Union Congress in Paris (October 3rd, 1945) and included in the Constitution of the W.F.T.U. During these four years, the W.F.T.U., with its 72 million members, has been striving to achieve these tasks. For, obviously the defence of peace cannot limit itself to declarations. It is necessary to wage an active struggle, every day, to unmask the war-mongers, to denounce and destroy their criminal plans. That is why the W.F.T.U. and the trade unions are constantly on guard, mobilising and guiding the great masses of the workers of the world for the defence of peace. This struggle is at the same time a struggle for the right to live, waged against the reactionary forces who want to suppress the democratic rights of the peoples and their national independence.

In this spirit the W.F.T.U. helped the workers to become conscious of the fact that their daily struggle for the improvement of their economic and social conditions, for wage increases, for reduction of working hours, for reduction of the taxes which weigh so heavily on them, is part and parcel of the struggle for peace. The W.F.T.U. showed them that it is necessary to unite with all forces ready to defend peace, against those who want to unleash a third world war and cynically proclaim, in the name of international capitalism, that war would be less costly than an economic crisis.

The workers throughout the world understand ever more clearly that the merchants of death are already drawing considerable profits from rearmements which overburden the people. They understand why the capitalists, who are trying to escape the crisis through war, who hate the Soviet Union because it is the champion of peace, slander, persecute, imprison and murder those actively defending peace in the countries under their domination. Thus the idea that war can be avoided has been profoundly understood by millions of men and women all over the world. The consciousness of this possibility in itself becomes a real force, a powerful factor hampering the race to war.

The first step of the Anglo-American imperialists in this race to war and world domination is the Marshall Plan, this plan of bankruptcy whose aim is not to strengthen the Marshallised countries but to weaken them to such an extent that they must surrender to the political, economic and military domination of Wall Street. The Marshall Plan paved the way for the Atlantic Pact and itself openly expressed an aggressive policy.

The second World T.U. Congress held in Milan has very carefully examined this situation and unanimously declared that « the policy of the imperialists is most glaringly expressed in the so-called Marshall Plan and in the Atlantic Pact, both of which serve the aim of enslaving nations economically and politically, and are the instruments for furthering the aggressive designs of the instigators of a new war...

« The Marshall Plan means new burdens and privations for American workers also. »

It must be clearly stated that if certain reactionary trade union leaders of the British T.U.C., of the American C.I.O. and a few others have left the W.F.T.U., it is because they make common cause with their respective governments and support the policy of the

war-mongers. This policy which aims at weakening the working-class movement by splitting the trade unions has also failed. To-day these reactionary trade union leaders show their true faces, the more so as they unconditionally support Point 4 of the Truman Program on the so-called « Development of Backward Countries. » This point actually is nothing but a means by which American imperialism tries to penetrate colonial territories of other imperialist powers, at the expense of the freedom and independence of the colonial peoples. Here the aim of American imperialism is to seize raw materials essential for war preparation : oil, rubber, copper, uranium, etc., and to install military bases on all these territories. That explains the vicious attacks which the colonial powers and the national feudal reactionaries launch against the free trade union movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

In one of its resolutions, the Second World T.U. Congress condemns the colonial wars which at present rage in Viet-Nam, Indonesia, and Malaya, pointing out that

> « the struggle of the world working-class is one and indivisible and the quicker the colonial peoples are free, the quicker will the workers in the imperialist countries be freed of the crushing burdens of war budgets and other charges which serve not to increase the standard of living of the exploiter-countries' working-class, but to add to the profits of the capitalists and to the means of attacking the workers and their trade union organisations. »

In its manifesto the Congress also stressed that « the forces of democracy in favour of peace are great and powerful. They are much superior to the forces of reaction and are capable of checking them. » It calls upon the workers of the whole world to erect a formidable barrier against the intrigues of the war-mongers, so that the vicious plans of the imperialists are doomed to failure.

The World T.U. Congress unanimously approved the decisions of the World Peace Congress, and calls upon the workers « to develop widespread action in favour of the defence of peace, to draw up a concrete program for this action, within the grasp of the broad masses of the workers, and to unite without distinction of race, religion, or opinion in order to achieve the realisation of this program : where circumstances permit, to form committees for the defence of peace in factories and offices. »

Thus the Congress of the W.F.T.U. has concretely defined the tasks of the defenders of peace and has formulated practical proposals so that factories and shops may become strongholds for peace.

Furthermore, the World T.U. Congress is convinced that its proposal to the Committee of the World Peace Congress, to establish an INTERNATIONAL DAY OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, expresses the sentiments and the will of the peoples who are determined to fight the war-mongers.

> « The World T.U. Congress invites all workers to organise this Day under the slogans of struggle against fascist regimes, against colonial wars, against the infringement of trade union rights, for peace, freedom and democracy and for the consolidation of international working-class unity. »

The W.F.T.U. therefore welcomes the World Peace Committee's proposal, suggesting October 2nd as the date for this International Peace Day.

The question of peace was also one of the main subjects discussed at the International Trade Union Conferences of metal workers, textile and leather workers, builders, miners, seamen and dockers which were held at the time of the Milan Congress. The Manifesto to the workers of these trades vigorously appeals for the defence of peace and struggle against the imperialist plans.

At the Conference of the Seamen and Dockers, striking examples of the struggle for peace were cited. The Australian dockers, for instance, have for four years refused to load and unload Dutch ships carrying war material for use against the Indonesian people.

The Manifesto of the Miners' Conference includes a solemn declaration that « miners will not give a grain of coal or ore for war. »

The Second World T.U. Congress has itself concretely determined the tasks of the struggle for peace. It has recommended that in each country a whole network of committees be established in shops and mills, in offices and schools, in villages, towns and on the ships, committees which will co-operate with national and local peace committees, with organisations of youth, women and intellectuals, with religious groups and all other groups opposed to war and fighting for peace.

The workers will unite with all these forces, even though the concepts of their allies may differ. Complete agreement on all matters is not indispensable for the unity of all men and women of good will in the great and noble struggle for peace. In our profound desire for peace we have no other aim but to form a solid alliance with all those who, as we, sincerely desire a true and enduring peace among the peoples. There is no fundamental difference between the interests and aims of the workers in different countries. These aims are the same everywhere : peace, social progress and the creation of a better world in which all will enjoy a better life, security and dignity.

At this moment we have before us a concrete task of foremost importance : let us rally all forces of progress to make October 2nd, 1949 an International Day for Peace and Freedom which will resound throughout the world.

GREETINGS TO THE MOSCOW CONGRESS

by Jean GUIGNEBERT, Journalist, Municipal Councillor of Paris

A preparatory committee has just been formed in Moscow for the purpose of calling a conference of Partisans for Peace in the Soviet Union on the 25th of August. Undoubtedly this will be one of the most important manifestations of that spirit which took shape at the Paris Congress and is formulated in its Manifesto.

We, in France, who have just been witness to American generals and admirals putting final touches to the military system provided for by the Atlantic Pact, and having seen them draw up plans involving our country and our youth, we feel profoundly encouraged by the announcement of this conference.

The mechanism of the war machine into which we are being driven against our will is running faster week after week. We see how methodically international capitalism develops its enterprise, with a cynicism which calls for unremitting vigilance and relentless struggle.

We have long known that the Soviet people and government are as devoted to the cause of peace as we. Actions of Soviet statesmen have always been directed towards that end. And we have not forgotten the precise and repeated proposals made by Joseph Stalin with a view to peaceful settlement of international problems. In any case, news that the Partisans for Peace in the Soviet Union are to hold a conference gives us a great deal of comfort.

We are well aware of the common ideal which inspires our two peoples and also of our identical interests — this in the best sense of the word. The criminal indulgence of the Anglo-Saxons towards Germany (which in its present electoral campaign proves it has learnt nothing) is one of the major factors of their system. But we, the Russians and the French, are convinced that the unconditional restoration of Germany is in itself a danger to the peace of Europe. And if today people dare speak of a third world conflict, we have understood long ago that war could not break out if not for imported motives. That is what is happening and what we oppose with all our might. All means of propaganda are put into action, and also all kinds of pressure used. They seek to divert our legitimate apprehensions.

The Partisans for Peace in France refuse to be taken in by this hocus-pocus. They have unmasked the impostors and condemned those who might be tempted to seek war as a means of safeguarding their personal privileges. We send fraternal greetings to the Partisans for Peace in the Soviet Union and express our heartiest wishes for the full success of their deliberations. French Partisans for Peace assure those in the Soviet Union of their complete solidarity and of their firm determination to continue with them the struggle for peace until justice and common sense have triumphed.

LET US UNITE FOR PEACE!

by Lazaro CARDENAS
Former President of the United States of Mexico

The call for unity in the struggle for peace, issued at the Paris World Peace Congress by the delegates of millions of men and women, was the conscious expression of the peoples' determination to rise above political, philosophical or religious differences so as to prevent a third world war.

The devastation caused by the second holocaust — destruction of thousands of cities and production centres, and the annihilation of innocent, defenceless populations — are not yet forgotten. The promises of autonomy made to the colonial countries have not been kept, the peaces treaties with the defeated nations are not yet signed. But already the peoples are once again the victims of propaganda for a new war, which would be still more perfected and disastrous than the last one.

The peoples are justly outraged, they feel betrayed when they see that the fruits of victory are snatched from them, when attempts are made to rob them once more of their homes in order to sacrifice them for the profit of international monopolies, while nothing is done to improve their difficult living conditions. People forget that Nazi and fascist military dictatorships have been defeated because they aimed at suppressing the fundamental human rights : freedom of association, the aspirations of the workers, and the independence of nations.

The most urgent task today is to rebuild the economic and social life of the peoples in agreement with the international Charters and Pacts which led to the foundation of the United Nations Organisation. This world body has the important mission to call for the fulfilment of its aims despite all partisan interests.

It is no less imperative to reduce the fiscal expenditures for war preparations. It is impossible to speed up reconstruction plans, to suppress misery, ignorance and disease, to improve the miserable conditions in which the masses of the people are left to live — it is impossible to achieve these tasks of collective utility if governmental and private resources are spent for war preparations.

Moreover, peace will not prevail in the world as long as atomic energy is used for destructive purposes and not for social progress, as long as this discovery is diverted from the path of universal science and progress, which should belong to all mankind.

These sentiments are not unfamiliar in America, which had to fight in its history for the elimination of the means of oppression, for the consolidation of its democratic system and for the integrity of its sovereignty. America has given proof of its ideological affinities when it participated in the fight against totalitarian dictatorships, when it spontaneously recognised the United Nations as the authority guaranteeing the solemn promise of international co-operation, justice and harmony, when it supported the frank and comprehensive diplomacy of the illustrious President Roosevelt, who was able to unite the peoples of North and Latin America in defence of a common cause.

Thus it is at the same time a mandate of vital defence of the nations and an elementary impulse of human fraternity that urge us to answer the call of the World Peace Congress, to affirm our solidarity with all groups struggling to prevent a third World War.

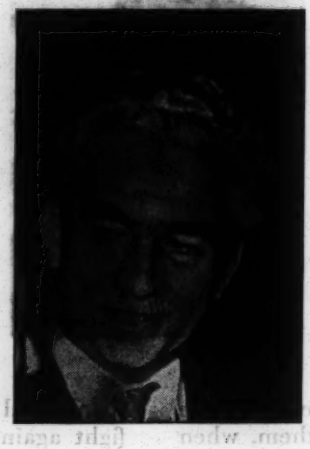
Unity of the forces of peace will be our answer to the provocateurs, so that justice, fraternity and civilisation prevail among all men in all countries.

Before the American Continental Congress

by Juan MARINELLO, senator

ONLY war-mongers' agents could deny that the peace camp is growing and developing every day. A simple analysis of recent international events shows that the war forces are being checked by the unity of the peoples. To a large extent these undeniable victories have resulted from the World Peace Congress in Paris and Prague.

The Paris Congress, moreover, was most timely. It was held at a moment when the war instigators attempted their boldest provocations. At a moment when people were filled with anguish, deliberately fostered among the great masses who hate and reject the idea of war, in Paris men and women from various countries, of divergent opinions and different creeds, shook hands. This common will to defend peace, while augmenting the strength of the Congress, also filled the hearts of all peoples with courage and determination. From the most remote parts of the world all eyes turned to the Congress ; its great influence made itself felt all over the world. Each national movement for peace was thus given a new impetus, the assurance that it was not isolated, the certitude that it was not only necessary but possible to check the criminal plots of the war-mongers.



The resolutions of the World Congress have been received with very great enthusiasm on the American Continent. This enthusiasm continues despite the difficulties which prevent the people in many American countries from expressing their agreement with the resolutions freely. The struggle which the peoples have undertaken, in order to put these resolutions into practice, is an indication of the development of action for peace. In Argentina and Brazil, to give only two examples, activities against war and the great mobilization to defend peace have not stopped a single day, despite persecution and even outlawing of the movement. In the countries where conditions are less difficult the movement has made considerable progress.

A Continental Peace Congress is called for September 5th in Mexico. The idea of this Congress is not new, but the contacts established at the Paris Assembly between the American leaders of the movement enabled them to intensify their action and to set a date for the Congress. A Committee, composed of the popular leaders in the different countries, is consistently at work organising this great event.

Partisans for Peace from the whole Continent will meet in Mexico to express the will of the Americas to add their contribution to the cause of peace. The Mexico Congress will be a real and practical undertaking ; it will benefit from the favorable circumstances created by the World Peace Congress. It will achieve solid unity in order to link the American movement with the world movement for peace, without neglecting the American interests.

The problem « America » is a vital one for the immediate future of the world. Twenty American peoples are already suffering from deteriorating economic conditions, caused by the manœuvres of war preparation. Imperialism, which is actively preparing for war, enslaves the peoples of America — to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the countries — in order to exploit the raw materials and manpower for their armed aggression.

But in the American countries, as elsewhere, the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for national liberation and for the improvement of the living standards of the masses of the people.

Anyone attempting to lessen the scope of this Congress by giving it a particular shade, or the slightest sectarian character would, in

fact, serve the war-mongers. It is perfectly true that in America, as on other continents, different political opinions and religious creeds confront each other. But it is not the task of the Partisans for Peace to solve the American problems in a specific way ; their task is to unite all Americans in a common effort to bar the way to a new barbaric war in which not only the most sacred democratic traditions would be wiped out but also all possibilities for liberation and progress.

The Continental Peace Congress will tell the war-mongers straight to their faces that the peoples of the continent are not ready to give up their wealth for a new war. Each country's products, — Venezuela's oil, Argentina's meat, Brazil's coffee, Cuba's sugar — should satisfy the needs of every country and contribute to the development of free and equitable exchange between all American countries. The incalculable riches of America must become a guarantee of progress on the continent, and contribute to the economic development of the whole world.

The people of the United States must be present at the Mexico Congress. The war-mongers who try to appropriate the economy of the continent in order to wage war against the peoples will be unable to achieve their plans without the workers, peasants, intellectuals and employees, the old and young of the United States. All the youth of America is in danger of being forced to shed its blood. That is why in America the path of the struggle against the war is the only one leading towards the realisation of democracy and progress. As long as the war danger persists, slavery, poverty and further retrogression of society will threaten America. The strengthening of peace is the first step towards a better life for each one of the American nations, as for any country.

The date chosen for the continental Congress in Mexico is, for several reasons, as timely as was the date of the World Peace Congress. Last April the prospects were gloomy and the war-mongers were actually proceeding with their sinister manœuvres. But the firm position of the democratic peoples, the growing conflict among the war-mongers, and aggravation of the economic crisis provoked by their egoism and greed ; the growth of the liberation movement among the colonial peoples ; the resounding defeat of imperialism in China ; and the outstanding success of the World Peace Congress are factors which have raised the all-important question of the struggle between the war camp and the peace camp to a new level. It is in this situation, bearing in mind the victories of the past, that the forthcoming Congress in Mexico will face the prospects of the future.

The peace forces must utilise these favourable circumstances to the greatest advantage. War can only be checked if our struggle becomes more determined and united every day. Today, people in all parts of the world are watching America, Mexico, in the hope that there the struggle against war will make forward strides. The experiences of the World Peace Congress, which are of undeniable value, must be applied in America. It is necessary that the war-mongers see clearly that the Paris Congress was an event supported by whole continents and peoples, and that in Mexico once again the fact is confirmed that the fight against the imperialist plans is not the exclusive concern and interest of one class, race or party. The Mexico Congress, by its unity, scope, fighting spirit and firmness, will continue and confirm the achievements of the World Congress in Paris.

America is faced with the prospects of great action and great responsibilities. America has often been called the land of liberty, democracy and progress. This is actually true as far as the feelings of the masses are concerned. But these sentiments must be put into practice, they must gain vigor and effectiveness to earn the respect of the world. And the world expects great deeds from the Mexico Congress, valour worthy of the glorious liberators of the American countries. There will be no war if America opposes it and the peoples bar the road to the merchants of death. The Mexico Congress will express this determination and fulfill it.

THE BUDAPEST FESTIVAL

A Peaceful Mobilisation of Youth

by GUY DE BOYSSON,

President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth
Vice-President of the World Peace Congress

THE Festival of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Students' Union, to be held from August 14th to 28th in Budapest, and the World Congress of Democratic Youth which will follow from September 2nd to 10th, are certainly among the most important international manifestations for Peace since the World Congress of Paris.

One can say without any exaggeration, that the success achieved in almost all countries in preparing for the Festival and Congress proves that the Peace forces are vigilant and ready to mobilise.

Actually it was not easy in the present situation to send 10.000 young people to Budapest from all corners of the world. Such an undertaking encountered all kinds of difficulties : measures taken against them by reactionary governments, enormous distances some of the delegates had to travel and limited finances, to say the least, at the disposal of Youth in most countries.

It is very significant that the young people coming to Budapest have been helped by a magnificent solidarity movement. Thus the youth of Greece, Spain and the colonial countries have been given the means of travelling to, and staying in, Budapest.

The efforts of Youth have also been actively supported by the democratic forces. Many manifestations were organised ; those celebrating events of the last war met with the greatest response. The success of the Youth Relay organised by the young people on their way to Budapest, as well as the moving celebrations at Ascq, Lyon and Vercors, prove how vivid is the memory of Nazi atrocities and how determined Youth is to prevent the horrors of a new war.

The W.F.D.Y. is fully aware of its great indebtedness to the World Peace Congress, particularly as far as preparations for the Festival and Congress are concerned. There can be no doubt that after the Paris Congress the mobilisation of youth for Peace has made considerable progress. That is why our Federation, as its Executive Committee has strongly emphasised, considers that one of its fundamental tasks, one might say its most important task, is to support, and actively participate in the world-wide movement of Partisans for Peace. The fact that our struggle is part of the common action of all democratic forces is obviously a decisive factor for the success of the World Federation of Democratic Youth itself.

THE PEOPLES OF THE NEAR EAST OPPOSE THE PLANS OF IMPERIALISM

by Antoine TABET, Architect (Lebanon)

AS the economic crisis in the United States becomes more acute, and the difficulties of Great Britain resulting from the implementation of the Marshall Plan increase, we see a sharp struggle for influence developing between the Western Powers in the Near Eastern countries. This struggle finds its expression in a greater pressure exerted upon the economic and political life of these countries, aiming towards their final domination and transformation into war bases for the imperialist Powers.

Since 1945 the markets of the Near East have been flooded with American goods, gradually eliminating British imports. Political influence has followed the same trends. A serious reaction of Britain to regain its lost positions makes itself felt, especially since the coup d'Etat in Syria.

Competition beetween the two imperialist powers recalls their western European policy in a striking way.

Just as Great Britain has supported the Five Power Pact in Europe, it is trying to establish and strengthen alliances with the Arab countries, by encouraging the Plans for a Greater Syria or the Fertile Crescent.

At the same time England is taking certain steps to revive the notorious Saadabad Pact (which included Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan), once the symbol of British grandeur, but which has long since become a field for American penetration.

The schemes of the United States are of a wider scope : they plan to group all Arab countries, together with Israel, Turkey, Greece and Iran, in a Mediterranean, or Middle Eastern Bloc. Such a bloc is to be the counterpart of the North Atlantic Pact, completing the chain of strategic bases encircling the Soviet Union and the Popular Democracies.

As for France, having been militarily eliminated from the Near East, it is treading in the footsteps of the United States, by supporting the regime of Husni Zaim in Syria, by encouraging the supporters of a National Christian Home in the Lebanon, and by posing as protector of the Holy Places in Palestine. France hopes to be able to play the role of an arbiter between the various antagonistic interests and thus strengthen the influence of the French congregations, banks and companies (once again considerably developed) on the economy of Syria and Lebanon. It should be added that for the past few years these enterprises have been largely supported by Anglo-American capital.

Obviously these antagonisms could only result in increased incidents between the different States, threatening to degenerate into armed conflict at the least provocation : concentration of Syrian troops at the Trans-Jordanian frontier, concentration of Iraqi troops at the Syrian-Lebanese frontier, incidents between Syria and Lebanon, difficulties in convening the political Committee of the Arab League — in which two hostile blocs confront each other. While all this is going on, the armament race between the different States becomes more and more frenzied.

What is the significance of all these provocations ? To what degree do they serve the war aims of Anglo-American imperialism ?

To answer these questions one need only watch the manoeuvres of the Foreign Office and State Department diplomats, chasing after one another from one Capital of the Near East to the other. Their visits have already resulted in a sudden rapprochement between Syria and Turkey, an exchange of military missions, American and French armament supplies to Syria, and American armament supplies to Israel. Closer co-operation between Egypt, Syria and Saudi

Arabia, in order to isolate Iraq and Trans-Jordan — armed by Great Britain — becomes more evident every day.

The U.S.A. also holds out to the Near Eastern countries its bait of "aid to undeveloped countries" in order to dominate them more completely.

At the present time British reaction is clearly expressed in London, where a conference of all accredited British diplomatic representatives in the Near East was convened.

Let us recall that a similar conference, held in 1945, was followed by the unfortunate developments in Palestine. As Britain fomented racial hatred between the Arab and Jewish peoples, the conflict between them became inevitable ; until then Arabs and Jews had lived in perfect understanding, each of them waging their own struggle against British colonialism, and often fighting side by side.

We have good reason to believe that the present Conference in London, attended by British Army and Air Force Chiefs-of-Staff, will pave the way for serious trouble making possible consolidation of the British strategic bases already existing in Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Egypt and Libya, eventually a further extension of British domination to new territories, and the creation of new military bases.

In the light of these events it is easy to understand why the Lausanne Conference, which could have found a solution for an enduring peace between the Arab States and Israel, achieved no concrete results whatsoever. The U.S.A. wants to use this conference for the establishment of the Mediterranean Bloc under its domination.

However, while all these contradictions and conflicts are developing, other conferences are taking place, which express the desire for more harmonious relations between the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, with a view towards applying a common policy in the Near East.

The common platform able to satisfy all greedy appetites could be no other than the anti-Communist slogan, that is, the struggle against the Near Eastern peoples' movements for liberation and national independence.

But no one is fooled any longer by Mr. Bevin's brandishing the Sword of Islam, the one Mussolini so piteously dropped in Libya, nor by Mr. Schuman's defence of Christendom, with the Cross of Jerusalem in his hands, nor by M. Acheson's efforts to discover Noah's Arc at the Turkish frontier of the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Near East are perfectly aware of the real significance of this crusade,

They see their economic conditions deteriorating every day, and they know what mass armaments must lead to. Already the crushing military expenditures overburden the State budgets and consequently taxation becomes more and more unbearable.

(*by Radouane*)

The people realise that terror and oppression are not intended only for Communists, but will affect every individual, every organisation still capable of struggling against the policy of submission to the imperialist war plans.

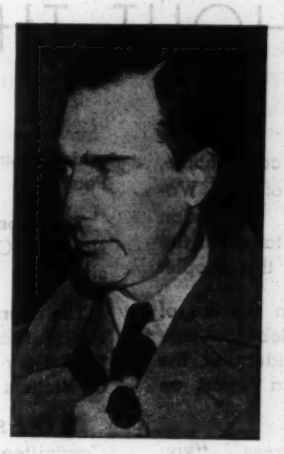
If this terror has prevented many peace-loving peoples from making their voices heard at the Pleyel Congress, these voices nevertheless are being raised more and more in our towns and villages. They are expressing themselves in many ways, in spite of the campaign of lies and slanders.

New voices for the defence of peace are being heard, along with those of the trade unions, the cultural and women's organisations. They are the voices of all fathers and mothers, all citizens, irrespective of political opinion, religion or race, who refuse to sacrifice their children and allow their country to be turned into a battlefield for the defence of the oil interests of their colonial exploiters.

These men and women become firmer in their determination as they realise that millions of other voices are raised for the defence of peace.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK

by Albert E. KAHN, journalist



I am writing this as I fly by plane back from Paris to New York. It is several hours since we passed over the neat, verdant and gracious contryside of France, and crossed its coastline whitely delineated by the foam of the incoming tide. Now, far below, through the intricate designs of clouds, is to be seen the vast blue span of the sea. And soon, miraculously soon — although not soon enough for me — I shall again be with my wife and my three sons.

And these events are not unrelated to the momentous Peace Congress from which I am returning.

For what, indeed, was the underlying consciousness of that unprecedented meeting of men and women from every part of the earth if not an awareness of the essential beauty and richness of the world, a determination to see that this beauty and richness are made secure for all men, a knowledge of the present closeness of all lands one to the other, and a longing for the happiness of human beings ?

Never before, never at any time in the history of our time or in any previous epoch, have the representatives of so many men and women come together to discuss and plan for the well-being of mankind. The fact that some 600.000.000 human beings were directly represented at the Congress of the Fighters for World Peace is a concept almost too immense for the mind to grasp : it will be many months, perhaps years, before the full import of this historic congregation is properly understood. Yet already this can be said : the Paris Congress crystallized the fact that the people of the world are resolved to put an end to human suffering and war, and that the people now have the strength to consummate that resolve.

For me, as for countless others, the Congress was both a revelation and an inspiration. It was a revelation of the power of the people who want freedom and peace ; it was an inspiration to fight for freedom and peace, fortified by the knowledge that one's allies are millionfold and victory is within one's grasp.

It was Thomas Paine, a famous American patriot, not unknown also to the people of Europe, who once said : "If there must be trouble let it be in my day, that my child may have peace." During the last years, the people have had more than their share of trouble. Now, after the ineffable havoc and agony of the war, we want peace for our children. Nor will we be deterred from securing peace by an infinitesimal group of creatures, masquerading as men, who prosper and grow fat on suffering and war.

Following the conclusion of the Congress in Paris, I traveled on April 26th to Marseilles to address a meeting organised by the local adherents of the Fighters for Peace. The meeting was held in a movie theatre, which was packed with several thousand people ; the aisles were filled with those for whom there were no seats ; and outside were additional thousands who were unable to get into the theatre. After I had finished speaking, I was presented with an inscribed medal from the people of Marseilles. A lovely young girl with long flowing hair then handed me a bouquet of beautiful roses. This was what she said :

"Dear friend of France, we offer you these roses. Take them to the United States. They will be testimony of our love for the mothers, the children and the workers of your great country. And tell them we will do everything to keep the peace. The children of France do not want ever again to know war."

I had no words with which to answer that lovely child, but speaking in my heart to the children of France, to the parents of France and of all lands, I silently replied : upon our honour, we in America will not fail the trust you place in us, and hand in hand we will walk with you along the paths of peace and toward the building of a new and beautiful world.

WOMENS ACTIVITIES FOR PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

HARDLY had the woman delegates come home, when the national organisations of the Women's International Democratic Federation started putting into practice the decisions taken at the Congress, and popularising them among the people.

IN OSLO, a large meeting was held on the 3rd of May, at which the famous singer Paul Robeson participated. Mrs. Sverdrup Lunden, President of the Norvegian Branch of the W.I.D.F. gave a report on the Congress.

The British Women had told the Congress : "you can count on us". They are carrying out their promise every day in developing actions for peace. From the day of their return they got down to work. The Peace Bus organised by the National Committee, for International Women's Day, started on July 16th and travelled through the whole country, after having received the blessings of the Dean of Canterbury.

♣

IN ITALY it is the women, above all the Italian Women's Union, who are foremost in organising activities against the Atlantic Pact. We remember that out of the 1000 Italian delegates to the Paris Congress, 240 were women. In the petition campaign against the Atlantic Pact one woman in Milan has collected 970 signatures by herself, another woman in Rome, 875, a third one in Vicence, 850, to give only a few examples. The Third National Congress of the Italian Women is being prepared through meetings in the whole country. The agenda will be : "For the future of our children, for Freedom and Progress, we say NO to war." This Congress will be a new stage in the Italian women's fight for peace.

At a big meeting **in BUDAPEST,** two women were chosen to report on the work of the World Congress and 12 women were elected to the National Committee.

The Democratic Union of Hungarian Women participated very actively in the National Congress for the Defence of Peace, held in July.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Mrs. Hodinova Spurna, President of the Czechoslovak Women's Council, was elected President of the National Committee, proof of how much the Czech people appreciate the active role which women play in the common cause of defending Peace.

The women of Finland are busily preparing their National Congress, to be held next September in Helsinki.

The German Women are more and more realising their responsibility in shaping the future of their country. They are now preparing for the "Day in favour of Victims of Fascism" on September 10th and 11th.

IN THE SOVIET UNION too, the Anti-fascist Women's Committee, under the leadership of Nina Popova, is taking an active part in the preparation of the Partisans for Peace Conference, which will take place August 25th to 27th.

♣

At the Congress which the **Union of French Women** held in July, the defence of Peace was the main topic. French women pledged to struggle against the war in Viet-Nam, against the Atlantic Pact, and to support Professor Joliot-Curie's declaration that science must not be allowed to serve the purposes of destruction, but must be used for constructive purposes. More women than ever before marched in the traditional July 14th parade, fervently reaffirming the oath they had taken in Budapest : "Never will the French Women give their sons for a war against the Soviet Union". The women of Quimper distributed leaflets among a batallion of parachutists sailing for Viet-Nam ; they appealed to the soldiers not to participate in the crimes which are being perpetrated against a people defending its freedom. In the Province of Var, where the question of the war is particularly topical, since it is from Toulon that troops leave for Viet-Nam, and to which the wounded and dead are returned, the women organised a two-week protest campaign and contacted all councillors and deputies. In the struggle against the Atlantic Pact the Committees of the Union of French Women were among the most active and alert in warning the women of the immense danger threatening their homes.

♣

IN AUSTRALIA, the first National Congress of Democratic Women, which was held in Sydney during the month of June, heard a report by Daphne Golland, the

Australian delegate to the World Peace Congress. Her report had a most stimulating effect on the Australian women. They approved the Manifesto of the Congress very enthusiastically and decided to devote the next issue of their Review to the problems of peace.

From **South Africa** we learn that the Johannesburg women are devoting all their efforts to forming a Women's Committee of co-operation with the National Committee.

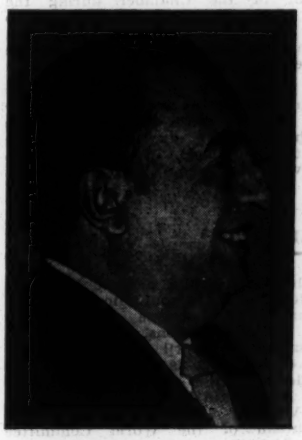
The Democratic Committee of **Japanese Women** is organising a large meeting for August 15th, for the defence of Peace, "in order to develop the struggle to safeguard our lives."

There are two parts of the world where the women are giving all their attention to two events of very great importance : the Continental American Congress for the Defence of Peace which will take place next September in Mexico, and the Asiatic Women's Conference to be held in Peiping during the month of December.

The impetus and enthusiasm with which women participate in the preparation of the National Congresses to be held prior to the Mexico Congress, are an indication of the great number of women to attend the Continental Congress, particularly from Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Cuba, Mexico, the United States and Canada. A Women's Conference will be held after the Congress.

The Asiatic Women had planned to hold their Congress in Calcutta ; but after Pandit Nehru refused to authorise it, they chose the city of Peiping, in the very heart of liberated China. Fraternal delegates from Africa, Europe and America will greet the Congress.

Never before has the danger been so imminent. Never before have the duties of women, of mothers, been so clear. From to-day on, everyone of us must give all in the struggle for peace. To-morrow may be too late. Never before were the lives of our children threatened as to-day. But our unity and the vigilant action of all forces for peace can still stop the warmongers.



THERE IS NO MERCY

Unpublished poem by PABLO NERUDA

I want the earth, the fire, the bread, the sugar,
[the flour
the sea, the books, the country for all men,
[that is why
I go wandering ; the traitor's judges are hunt-
[ing me ;
and his henchmen are trying, like trained
[monkeys
to wipe out my name.
I was with him, with the one who presides,
[at the entrance
of the mine, to the desert of the forgotten dawn
I was with him and I said to my miserable
[brothers
« You will not keep your tattered rags,
you will have no more breadless days, you
[will be treated
as true sons of our country. Now,
as for that pure marvel of the forest,
we will share its beauty, and the eyes
of the women will no longer cry over their
[children. »
When instead of a partaken love, in the night,
they condemned to hunger and martyrdom
the very one who listened to promises, the one
[who will recover
his powerful tree-like strength and tenderness.
I was no longer with the little puppet
but with that nameless man, with my people.
I want my country for my people. I want
daylight to shine all over the hair
of my country ablaze,
I want love of the day and of the plough,
I want to erase the line they draw
with hatred to deprive the people of bread
and, as for the one who diverted my country's
[destiny
to surrender it, in chains, like a jailor
to those who pay to bleed it,
I will neither praise him nor be silent about
[him,
I will leave his name nailed on the wall of
[dishonour.

This poem is from « Canto General ».

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

ALBANIA

Many lectures have been organised by the Albanian delegates, to explain and popularise the decisions of the Paris Congress. The meeting of Korca, addressed by Mr. Manol Konomi, and the one at Shkodra, addressed by Mr. Fiegrete Shehu, were particularly successful.

ALGERIA

The Permanent Committee has given wide publicity to the letter addressed by the World Peace Committee to the Four Power Conference. At present publication of the Review in Arabic is contemplated.

ARGENTINA

In Buenos Aires a meeting for the defence of peace has been broken up by the police on July 16th. Many people were arrested. A nation-wide protest movement is developing throughout Argentina. The Bureau of the World Committee has expressed its indignation to General Peron and has informed world public opinion of this assault against the Partisans for Peace.

The Appeal of the Argentinian Committee has lost none of its timeliness and vigor. It is signed by all members of the Committee and also by the Women's Union of Argentina, the Women's Cultural Association, the Friends of Peace, the Union of Young Patriots, the League of Human Rights and the Students' Movement for Peace. It has been widely publicised and millions of citizens have declared their agreement. This appeal reads in part :

« Peace is in danger. Let us unite to defend it ! Peace is the vital concern of all peoples of the world. For us in Argentina the struggle for peace must help us to develop peaceful relations with all nations, and to defend our right to live at last as a free and sovereign nation. »

The Argentinian Committee has undertaken to form commissions for peace among the different trades, such as the doctors, engineers, lawyers, journalists, writers, artists, workers and peasants, etc. Commitees for Peace have been established in boroughs, factories and other places of work. A review « The Partisan for Peace », and a book on the Paris Congress have been published. All this has been achieved in spite of government repression.

The Friends of Peace (a women's organisation) have published an appeal to the Catholic women. They have also designed a peace insignia and published a pamphlet containing women's speeches at the World Congress. Many women's commissions formed in the boroughs, villages and factories are affiliating to this movement. They are organising a poll on the problems of peace among the women of the country.

A Peace Cup and Peace Medals have been awarded at sport competitions organised by the Union of Young Patriots, which has also decided to launch a competition for the best essay on the subject of youth and defence of peace.

The co-ordinating commission of the peace movements is preparing a competition for the best poster ; the sculptors' association (Estimulo) and the art students will participate. The commission is also preparing composition of a peace song.

AUSTRALIA

A large meeting for peace was held on the 5th of August. A national congress is being organised.

AUSTRIA

A provisional Council for Peace was formed in June, including Mrs. Lina Loos, Prof. Hans Thirring, Ernst Fischer, national councillor and former minister, F. Th. Csokor, Prof. E. Rollett, Adelbert Muhr, writer.

A 10-point programme was formulated as a basis for the peace movement. « Different social systems » it declared, « can co-exist in the world without their political, economic and religious differences leading necessarily to war. We ask all those who sincerely desire peace to unite in a people's movement for peace, while maintaining their full political, religious and philosophical convictions. The common struggle for peace must rise above anything which can divide us. »

The argument that Austria is too small and too weak to make an important contribution to the struggle for peace is refuted as false and dangerous. The Austrian Partisans for Peace « pledge not to participate in any aggressive war, but to oppose it by organised resistance. »

In addition, the programme demands that all war propaganda be prosecuted and punished as a common crime ; it requests rapid withdrawal of all occupation troops ; ban of atomic arms, and gradual reduction of military expenditures in all countries.

The Council for Peace stresses the need for people of all political parties to collaborate in the movement for peace. It recommends the formation of subcommittees for peace in all localities, neighbourhoods, factories, etc. ; it urges that demonstrations be organised against war propaganda and for safeguarding peace. It publishes an Information Bulletin at Vienna VIII, Pfeilgasse 35.

Many demonstrations have already taken place during May, June and July ; among others, at the Vienna Cables and Metal Works (400 persons attending) at the Florisdorf Locomotive Manufacture (with 800 people), at the Rumpel, Swoboda, Neumann Factories, etc. A meeting was organised at the « Musikverein Hall », the biggest in Vienna. Committees for Peace were organised during these demonstrations.

BELGIUM

The Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace has decided to hold its first National Meeting on October 11th and 12th. It also organised a large public demonstration at the Brussels Circus. Caravans organised throughout all the provinces of Belgium will take part in this event. All countries have been invited to send delegations. It is expected that Caravans will come from England, France, Holland, Viet-Nam, and Central Africa. With the help of the French Fraternal Committee, the photograph of Joliot-Curie and an insignia « The Peace Franc » will be sold.

The Women's Union for Peace has organised regional and local delegations to speak to their parliamentary representatives urging their vote against the ratification of the Atlantic Pact. Leaflets describing the aims of the movement, and showing the dangers the Atlantic Pact implies for Belgium, have been distributed. Hundreds of telegrams have been sent to the presidents of the two Chambers. The message of the World Congress of Partisans for Peace has been published in the press and broadcast over the radio.

On the day the Chamber of Deputies ratified the Pact, women laid an immense wreath, with ribbons of national colours and black crape, on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Delegates from the peace organisations distributed leaflets on the floor of the Chamber during the session. Meanwhile delegations went to see the Presidents of the Chamber and the Senate, as well as leaders of the parliamentary groups.

The police had to interrupt trolley traffic in front of the Senate and Chamber because women were throwing leaflets from the platforms as they approached the National Palace. Needless to add, many were arrested. But they were quickly released.

BRAZIL

The bloody assaults against the Partisans for Peace are continuing, but they are unable to paralyse the struggle against war preparations. Following police assaults last April against the Conference of Intellectuals, it is now a large public demonstration for peace which was broken up. Again blood has been shed ; young Vincente Maloane was murdered. The Bureau of the World Committee expressed all its emotion and indignation, and has protested to the President of Brazil.

However the struggle for peace continues. The workers of the Mavelis Textile Factory published an appeal asking all workers to organise protest strikes to defend the theatened peace.

The Brazilian Preparatory Committee is busily preparing for the Mexico Congress. A delegation, including representatives of the most important democratic organisations, many artists, writers, journalists, as well as Mathias Olympio, senator, and Camar de Aquino and Campos Vergal, Members of Parliament, has been elected. It includes 18 delegates, with Mr. Mario Fabiano presiding. Mr. Fabiano was chairman of the tragic meeting of the First Brazilian Congress in April 1949.

BULGARIA

The delegates to the World Congress have asked all the press and radio to co-operate in popularising the Paris and Prague Congress. A great number of documents, articles and reports have been published.

CANADA

Five hundred thirty delegates and 2,500 observers attended the Canadian Peace Congress held on May 6th, 7th and 8th at Toronto. They represented about 150,000 Canadians, among them 52,000 trade unionists. The press had sent 11 delegates, cultural organisations 17, women's organisations 34, youth 38, and the trade unions 102. Fifty-four delegates represented Peace Councils and 37 cities and towns had responded to the appeal of organisers of the Congress. Among the speakers were : Rev. J.G. Perkins, Mrs. Mary Jennison, Mr. James Endicott, Commander Jones, Jean Pare and W.G. Doneleyko. Dr. Endicott, referring to the attacks of the war-mongering press, said : « I am a Christian missionary. For Christ there is neither East nor West. »

The Canadian Committee for Peace elected at the Congress consists of 45 members. Mr. James Endicott is President, and Mrs. Mary Jennison secretary.

The implementation of the resolutions of the Congress is foremost among the tasks the Committee set itself. One of the immediate aims is the adoption by all the Canadian people of the « Peace Pledge », and already thousands of signatures have been gathered.

The Congress Manifesto, adopted unanimously, as were the resolutions, demands that the United Nations Charter be respected. It opposes bloc politics, war propaganda and Canadian intervention in the affairs of other peoples, notably in China, Indonesia, etc. The Manifesto concludes as follows :

« The Canadian Peace Congress was founded with the aim of enlisting the support of all Canadians, regardless of race, political opinion, creed or national origin. Peace is rightly the responsibility of all Canadians. »

The Grand Council of the United Church (the most important Protestant Church in Canada) considered that it had no right to « prepare for war. » It rejected Mr. J. R. Mutchmor's motion which urged all Canadians to comply with the conditions of the Atlantic Pact. Rev. Harvey Campbell of Montreal denounced the dangerous character of this motion : « It would be a tragedy for the United Church to ask Canadians to prepare for war. This is not our affair and we do not have the right to tell the youth of Canada that they must be prepared to die in war. »

CHINA

The Chinese delegation to the World Congress proposed that all the organisations which it represented should make known the resolutions of Paris and Prague to the entire people. To insure the effective organisation of the peace movement in China, it also proposed to convene and maintain a Pan-Chinese Peace Congress which would remain in contact with the World Congress Committee and give moral and material support to all activities in favour of peace.

The following have agreed to support these proposals : the Chinese General Confederation of Labour, the Pan-Chinese Women's Democratic Union, Associations of youth, writers and intellectuals, the Association of Scientific Workers, peasant organisations, teachers' groups in Peking and Tien-Tsin, the Progressive Christians of China, the Journalists Association, etc.

COSTA RICA

Fifteen underground meetings were organised in order to make known the work and resolutions of the World Congress ; 2,000 leaflets containing the Congress Manifesto and announcing the Continental Congress of the Partisans for Peace in Mexico have been secretly distributed.

A national provisional committee was set up. It decided to hold its first national conference at the beginning of July. A campaign for signatures has been launched in spite of the repression.

CUBA

In view of the National Congress, an appeal was issued by 150 eminent personalities, including Ortiz, the famous anthropologist, Professors Roa, Lazo, Antuna, Entralgo, the writer Marinello, Mrs. Edith Garcia, the trade union leader Pena.

This appeal has rallied all democratic movements : youth, women's and peasants' organisations. It reads in part :

« Cuba is opposed to war as a means of solving international problems, firstly because it is written thus in our Constitution. Cuba declares its opposition to being incorporated in any military blocs or pacts which weaken U.N.O. Cuba repudiates atomic weapons and declares itself in favour of measures for disarmament. »

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Following a series of meetings on the work of the World Congress, a National Czechoslovak Committee was formed on July 7th in Prague. Presidents elected were : Mrs. Aneska Hodinova-Spurna, president of the Democratic League of Czechoslovak Women and vice-president of the National Assembly, Messrs. Novomeski, poet, Professor Mukarovsky, Rector of the University, Neuman and Plojhar, Ministers, Jan Drda, president of the Writers Union.

The Fourth International Film Festival was held at Marianske Lazne from July 23rd to August 7th. It was a festival of peace and of progressive film production. In addition to many actors, movie directors, technicians and production directors, representatives of administrative services of many countries (departments of cultural and commercial relations), journalists, writers, from the U.S.S.R., the Popular Democracies and western Europe, participated in this Festival.

FINLAND

As early as April 29th, 1,200 Partisans for Peace meeting at Helsinki sent a message to the Committee of the World Congress expressing their enthusiastic affiliation to the peace movement. Many similar gatherings followed.

A national committee was soon formed. It has sent a declaration to all newspapers and has also publicised the message addressed by the Committee of the World Congress to the Four Power Conference. The democratic press has printed these documents. A pamphlet containing the principal reports delivered at the Congress is in preparation. The resolutions of the Paris Congress have been sent to a great number of organisations and were published in several journals and reviews. Sale of the Peace Dove Picasso post card was most successful.

The Congress of the Finnish People's Democratic Union, held in Helsinki from June 28th to July 1st, discussed the question of the defence of peace. Three hundred four delegates representing 140,000 members participated. In his speech on the international situation Mr. Koulo, F.P.D.U. president, stated :

« We shall contribute to the strengthening of the general peace front by solving all problems with which we are faced. The Congress urges the Finnish people to oppose all political manœuvres which threaten our independence and to give the most effective support to the Partisans for Peace in their struggle for an enduring Peace. »

FRANCE

In the same spirit as those of Buffalo, peace caravans have continued to travel throughout the country, taking part in national demonstrations and regional gatherings organised to commemorate the sacrifices of combattants for French Liberation. The struggle for peace was stressed to millions of French people who gathered to watch the caravans. They are thus constantly warned of the danger of war and drawn into the activities of the Partisans for Peace.

During May, reports of the work of the World Congress were followed with interest by hundreds of thousands of people.

The Third National Congress of the Union of French Women which was held at Marseilles on the 4th and 5th of June discussed the reports of Mrs. Cotton and of Mrs. Françoise Leclercq. It ended with a meeting of more than 100,000 people who watched caravans from all parts of the country, composed of intellectuals, artists and delegates of all social classes. It was Mr. Aragon who brought greetings of the World Congress Bureau to this immense gathering.

The session of the National Committee of the French Intellectuals' Movement for Peace, held in Paris on the 9th of June, with many guests attending, voted a resolution which reads in part :

« The continued increase of military expenditures and reduced non-military budgets are driving our country into misery. The attacks against Joliot-Curie constitute an infringement of the scientist's dignity, the citizen's liberty and of the right of all intellectuals to work for peace...

« It is our duty to support every initiative enabling the French people to express their will for peace... We must organise and support protests against every attempt to curtail our liberties, and must fight for the defence of peace... »

At a ceremony commemorating the massacres of Oradour (the town where all inhabitants were massacred by the Nazis and all homes burnt), 10.000 delegates gathered in the ruins of the town. They had come in caravans, by train or by bus, from all parts of France. A very moving poem by Ara-

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE

gon, written for the occasion, was read. Mr. Joliot-Curie declared :

« We are more than ever convinced that it is necessary not only to protest and to defend ourselves, but also to act and take the offensive so that the assassins are punished and our ruins rebuilt. We must open the eyes of those who do not yet see the danger so as to enforce peace. »

A similar manifestation was organised on the Plateau of Lorette. Thousands of young people : students from Central and North Africa, from Madagascar and Viet-Nam, apprentices and girls from the mine districts, students from Paris, etc., gathered around the tombs of victims of three wars and renewed their oath to defend peace. Mr. Aragon and Mr. d'Arboussier presided at the ceremony.

At St. Assise a ceremony was held to commemorate the attempts of the French Resistance to paralyse the « Kriegsmarine » during German occupation. Caravans from Paris and Melun had come; Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Petit and Vigne participated.

The traditional July 14th Parade from the Bastille to Place de la Nation was watched and cheered by hundreds of thousands. They warmly applauded the representatives of the World Peace Congress, led by Melpo Axioti, Fernande Guyot, Gabriel d'Arboussier, Jean Laffitte, Desmond Buckle, Juan Marinello and Eskandary, as well as the delegates from Madagascar and Viet-Nam. Other groups enthusiastically greeted by the people of Paris include : 850 British democrats, 80 progressive Americans, Spanish, Belgian and Italian groups, groups of French friends of Democratic Greece, the Soviet Union, Poland, Roumania and Hungary. In all languages, slogans urging the abolition of the North Atlantic War Pact and expressing firm determination to fight for peace, were shouted.

Between July 24th and August 1st the Youth Relays, on their way to Budapest, came through France. Everywhere they were warmly received and cheered. Hundreds of thousands of Partisans for Peace brought them the encouragement of the French people. In the village of Ascq alone, which had suffered so terribly under Nazi occupation, 5.000 people waited to greet the Youth Relay. At Calais the British and Scotch were greeted with enthusiasm ; at Bezieux, the Dutch and the Belgians. Among the 50 odd receptions planned, the most important were those at Lens, in the suburbs of Paris (the police having refused authorisation to cross Paris), on the outskirts of Fontainebleau, at Lyon, in the Vercors and at the Italian frontier where the Italian youth joined the relays.

On the 31st of July tribute was paid to the memory of Jean Jaurès and the writer Jean Prévost by Partisans for Peace. The latter, held in the Vercors, called on youth to unite in the struggle for peace together with those of the Resistance. Several million people watched the caravans and relays on their way to the Vercors.

⁂

At the same time the struggle against the Atlantic Pact gathers momentum. Many protest strikes have taken place in factories. Numerous delegations have visited their Members of Parliament to protest. These protests come from democratic organisations and especially from youth and women's groups.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of August 5th delegations, as well as thousands of people, gathered in front of the American Embassy in Paris to express the determination of the French people not to participate in a war of aggression. They shouted : « Bradley Back to New York ! No War ! We Want Peace ! » They protested against the war parleys going on between the western generals ; despite police violence and numerous arrests, the crowd did not give in. Mr. Emmanuel d'Astier and Mr. Jouneau were received by General Bradley.

The French Committee In Support Of the World Congress is popularising all initiatives in favour of peace. At all manifestations it sells an insignia, « The Peace Franc » and a photograph of Mr. Joliot-Curie.

Regional meetings for peace have been held in many Departements : Gironde, Rhône, Drôme, Alpes-Maritimes, Basses-Pyrénées, Somme, etc. The resolutions specify local and regional activities to be undertaken in order to contribute to the success of the struggle for peace, on the basis of the World Congress Manifesto.

FRENCH CENTRAL AFRICA

At a preparatory meeting for the formation of a national committee, Gueye Abbas, Sarr Ibrahima, Dialo Abdoulaye and Doudou Gueye, who had attended the World Congress as African delegates, informed the population of Dakar of the work of the Congress.

At Yaounde (Cameroun) 1,200 people applauded the report of Mr. Ruben U. Nyobe, General Secretary of the Cameroun People's Union (a branch of the African Democratic Movement). On the following day a conference unanimously decided to constitute a Permanent Committee of Partisans for Peace in Cameroun.

GERMANY

A conference of delegates from all three Western Zones was held at Bonn on the 22nd of May ; Mr. von Hatzfeld presided. It was attended by the 31 delegates to the World Peace Congress who had been prevented from leaving for Paris, by 12 other personalities and three delegates from the Eastern Zone. Rev. Kleinschmidt gave a report on the work of the World Peace Congress, Mr. Pierre Villon having been prevented by the occupation authorities from accomplishing this task. to which he had been delegated by the World Congress. Mr. Heinrich Finck, the only member who had attended the Pleyel Congress, gave a supplementary report.

After discussion the Bonn Conference voted an appeal addressed to « the scientists, teachers, priests, doctors, engineers, architects, artists, writers, trade unionists, and to all workers, women, youth, to all those who are aware of their responsibilities and are ready to defend the great ideal of mankind : PEACE. This appeal states :

« We Germans owe an answer to all peace-loving peoples. Let us show them that we are determined to contribute our share in the world peace movement. »

« Germans of all classes and trades, irrespective of political opinion and creed, unite in the powerful movement for peace ! Form committees for the defence of peace everywhere ! Organise demonstrations and manifestations for peace ! Let the Manifesto of the World Peace Congress become the pledge of every German ! »

The collection of signatures has been organised and posters containing the Appeal have been printed. In several provinces demonstrations and meetings for peace have been organised and provisional local committees formed.

⁂

In the Eastern Zone a permanent committee is directing the activities. It was formed on May 9th at a joint meeting of the Preparatory Committee and the delegates who had attended the World Congress in Paris and Prague. Mrs. Anna Seghers and Johannes Becher and Arnold Zweig are joint chairmen. A working committee has been formed with Alexander Abusch as chairman, and has already published a pamphlet on the World Peace Congress.

In Berlin and all over Eastern Germany large public manifestations and meetings have taken place ; several millions of people have participated in these activities, especially university students, youth and women.

GREAT BRITAIN

Local committees for the defence of peace have sponsored many meetings organised after the Pleyel Congress. Everywhere, in London, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, Nottingham, etc., these meetings have met with great success. In addition to Mr. Zilliacus, always very active, Professor Bernal, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Mr. Pritt and others spoke at meetings. Foreign personalities participating in this campaign include : F. Joliot-Curie, Paul Robeson and the Abbé Boulier.

In one day, 550£ were collected at meetings in London.

All these activities by local and regional committees are developed with a view towards organising a National Congress, scheduled for October 22nd and 23rd, to be followed by a great popular demonstration.

On July 1st the Regional Committee of Yorkshire held its conference in Sheffield. Mrs. Nora Wooster, just back from the U.S.S.R., declared : « The Soviet peoples sincerely desire peace. » Rev. Boulier spoke on the movement in France and its development. The delegates protested to Parliament and to the American Embassy against the military air-manœuvres carried out more and more frequently over Yorkhire.

A novel kind of peace campaign was inaugurated when Peace Busses started their tour through Great Britain. The funds were raised through a public subscription. Well-known figures and active supporters of the peace movement thus travel through almost the whole country, adressing meetings on their way.

Another original idea was used at the « Army Day Parade » : London women had painted peace slogans on their aprons. When the Parade approached they suddenly opened their coats and, standing in the middle of the road, stopped the troops.

GREECE

Reports on the work of the World Congress were given to the people of Free Greece at the beginning of June by Yves Farge, Paul Eluard and Jean-Maurice Hermann. Mr. Kokalis, Minister of Public Health, presided.

In accordance with a decision taken on the 8th of March by the Provisional Committee, a Congress for Peace was held on June 23rd. Mrs. Roulou Koukoulou, delegate from the Democratic Union of Greek Women, gave a report on the Resolutions of the World Congress ; delegates from all popular, professional and scientific organisations attended. All delegates stressed the necessity of creating a liaison organisation.

The Permanent Committee which was elected has among its members representatives of the following organisations : the Union of Women, the Union of Democratic Journalists, the Anti-Fascist Federation of Slavo-Macedonian Women, the Slavo-Macedonian Liberation Front, the Trade Union Federation, the Youth Organisation (E.P.O.N.), the Left-Wing Democratic Youth, the Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives, the Democratic Union of Thracian Moslems, and even includes war prisoners, both officers and men. The Executive Bureau of the Committee includes Messrs. Kokalis, Partsalidou, Mavromati, Pyronska and Akritidis.

An appeal was addressed to the Greek people. It approves the decisions of the World Congress and declares :

« The Anglo-Americans do not want peace... The Monarcho-Fascists do not want peace... Let us organise our committees for the defence of peace everywhere, in villages and cities, in factories and all other enterprises. We must all struggle to impose peace, to end the massacre, so as to live as brothers in a country free and independent. »

HOLLAND

Almost everywhere the reports given of the work of the World Congress were followed by formation of local committees for the defence of peace.

The Preparatory Committee of the World Congress has been transformed into a Permanent Committee for the Defence of Peace, and is constantly being broadened.

HUNGARY

The sessions of the National Congress of Hungarian Defenders of Peace were held in Budapest on June 17th and 18th. The import of the World Congress decisions was emphasised by Mr. Geza Losonczy. Mr. Paul Eluard represented the French Committee and Mr. Jorge Amado the workers of Latin America. A resolution stated :

« Hungary will become a still more solid bastion of the invincible peace front. The political and economic forces of peace will continue to grow without let-up. »

The Congress elected a National Committee for Peace and ended with a grandiose demonstration of 100,000 people.

Defence of Peace is the main theme of the great, spectacular International Youth Festival.

INDIA

During its 23rd session, the Pan-Indian Trade Union Congress pledged its « full support of the Manifesto of the World Congress. » The resolution states :

« It is the task of the AITUC to take the initiative in co-ordinating, on the broadest possible scale, the forces in the country which are rising in defence of peace, against the Anglo-American imperialists who are aided by reactionary Indian elements. »

But the most characteristic feature of the struggle for peace in India is the terrible repression levelled against it.

Nevertheless, in spite of numerous arrests and executions, progressive movements have succeeded in starting a weekly magazine for the defence of peace, published in two languages.

In answer to the call issued in Paris on April 25th, the Bombay Sponsoring Committee for Peace and Culture called a conference for June 25th and 26th. The associations of progressive writers, of teachers, actors of the People's Theatre, as well as trade unions and organisations of youth and of women were to participate. The Conference was banned. So wsa that of Bhiwandi, which had been scheduled in its stead. A wide protest movement followed these dictatorial measures.

INDONESIA

In a letter dated July 1st, the General Secretary of the Front for Indonesian Independence informed the Bureau of the World Congress that millions of Indonesians, the immense majority of the people, are in agreement with the decisions taken at Paris. Their delegates had been unable to participate in the Congress, having been denied visas.

Despite the repression, concerted actions for the defence of peace have been begun.

ICELAND

More than 10,000 persons gathered to protest against the Atlantic Pact at Reyjkavik.

Following this demonstration, Mr. Bjarnson, leader of the Party of Socialist Unity in Iceland, stated :

« The main objective of the people of Iceland is the fight against the Atlantic Pact and American imperialism. The Reyjkavik demonstration is the greatest popular demonstration ever held in our country. »

ISRAEL

The Permanent Committee, formed at the beginning of July, elected Mrs. Jona Golan as Secretary.

ITALY

The convening of a National Congress of Youth for Peace, scheduled for June 12th in Rome, was banned by Minister Scelba. A wave of protests followed this arbitrary ban, and measures were taken to make June 12th a great day for peace. Approximately 150 speakers (members of Parliament, newspapermen, writers, trade union leaders, etc.), commemorated the third anniversary of the Republic « whose ideal is inseparable from that of peace », in provincial capitals and other important centres.

Everywhere the demonstrations assumed the character of a crusade for peace.

The same day, the province of Genoa held the second session of its Peace Congress, at which a message from Mr. Joliot-Curie was enthusiastically applauded.

The Co-ordinating Committee of peace organisations took advantage of the June 2nd demonstrations to accentuate the campaign for the national peace petition. In spite of the illegal ban of the petition, many signatures were collected during the great local demonstrations organised by the Youtn Alliance at which 600,000

Searching for noah's ark

According to the « New York Herald Tribune », an alpine expedition to Mount Ararat had been organised to search for the remains of Noah's Ark... on the Turco-Soviet border.

American, British and Dutch « scientists » were to take part. However, the Turkish Government denied them authorisation, despite their insistence ; the Turks pretended other « scholars » might claim the honour of joining such an expedition.

The « New York Herald Tribune » recalls that last February, when the question of this research came up for the first time, Moscow Radio declared :

« The Anglo-American Intelligence Services seem to lack imagination, if they can find no better pretext for exploring the territories adjacent to the Soviet frontier. »

Our friends in Turkey ask themselves what other scientific pretext has been given by the new expedition which finally obtained authorisation to explore Mount Ararat...

young people and millions of adults participated. Delegations from Ravenna, Rimini, Naples, the Marshlands and Umbria, brought 320,000 signatures. The province of Modena, with a population of 400,000, had collected 182,000 signatures. When receiving these lists, Senator Terracini assured the delegates that the motions and signatures would be submitted to the Parliament.

Forty thousand young people attended a demonstration in Rome on July 10th. Their slogans were : Youth will win the battle against those who want to drag us into war ! There will be no war if youth is determined to prevent it ! Mr. Pietro Nenni, member of the Bureau of the World Committee, greeted this demonstration in the name of the World Congress.

At the same time, the Union of Italian Women whole-heartedly supported the « people's petition ». This petition has been signed by many important artists and scientists. Groups of women in all parts of Italy have organised discussions with the population.

In Rome, despite police repression, women utilised all occasions to present their petition, for example, at the Painting Exhibition « Women and Peace », where well known artists signed. A diploma of « most active defender of peace » was given to a mother who had collected 875 signatures.

In all, more than ten million signatures have been collected in protest against the Atlantic War Pact.

JAPAN

The National Congress of Japanese Defenders of Peace (April 25th and 26th) strongly protested to the occupation authorities who had denied visas to the Japanese delegation and had prevented their attending the World Peace Congress (April 20th-25th). Considering the very short time at their disposal, it must be said that the 297 initiators of the Tokyo Congress have achieved a real success. In addition to the 28 delegates who had been elected to attend the Paris Congress, organisations and districts were represented by 1400 other delegates. There were intellectuals, workers, peasants, students, women, members of Mr. Abe Yoschihige's Liberal Party and of the Communist Party, members of the State Council and Government employees, Christians and Buddhists.

Mr. Oyama stated that « henceforth one will have to take into account the force of the people. They are capable of defeating war. » Mr. Abe Yoschihige emphasized the great moral force which is given us by our united struggle for peace. Mr. Naka Tima, giving the general report, stated :

« Before the last world conflagration opposition to war was considered as a 'dangerous' movement, and we were compelled to adopt an extremely reserved attitude in referring to peace. At a time when new war plans are being drawn up, encouraged by certains journalists, this Congress assumes great significance. »

The Congress decided to form a preparatory commission to organise the peace movement and develop friendly relations between Japan and all other nations. These decisions were greeted by unanimous applause, as was the definition of the eight fundamental principles for the defence of peace :

1. — To struggle for the safeguard of independence and peace, without fearing sacrifices.

2. — To oppose fascism and all propaganda leading to war.

3. — To oppose all pacts threatening to involve Japan in a new war.

4. — To favour education and culture for a lasting peace.

5. — To see to it that development of industry serves peace only.

6. — To safeguard Japan's independence by demanding the signing of a Peace Treaty.

7. — To unite the forces of all peace-loving people.

8. — To unite in order to achive the triumph of the movement for world peace.

At the May Day demonstration in Tokyo the 600,000 people assembled took up the peace slogans of the Congress Committee.

A great meeting organised by the Women's Democratic Committee on August 15th was held « to strengthen the struggle to defend peace and to safeguard our lives. »

LEBANON

A Permanent Committee is being formed. The magazine « Al Tariq » devoted a special number to the work of the World Congress.

LUXEMBURG

The National Movement of Defenders of Peace encourages and organises activities for peace in the Grand-Duchy. Professor Edmond Reuter, member of the Committee of the World Congress, spoke at demonstrations at some of which as many as 4,000 people attended. The Luxemburg movement sponsored a conference on May 30th, by the Abbé Boulier, which was greeted with unusual enthusiasm.

MOROCCO

In spite of police interference, the National Committee of Morocco solidly supported by the Moroccan General Confederation of Labour, is continuing the organisation of the peace movement. Local committees have been set up, in particular at Marakech and Rabat.

MEXICO

« Peace in the World ! Respect of Our Soverignty ! » These are the slogans which characterised the first important demonstration, that of 4,000 young people, workers and students who paraded on April 26th in Mexico City, in protest against the attitude of foreign troops landing at the port of Acapulco.

A series of demonstrations have since been held in connection with the preparation of the Continental Congress to take place on September 5th in Mexico City.

The Appeal, signed by the most eminent public figures, and by thousands of ordinary people, states :

« We are inspired and encouraged by the success of the World Congress. As to the war-mongers, their activity which is directed against the peoples of the whole world, is exerted more and more violently against the people of America. They unleash a frantic armaments race. They overburden the peoples of the American continent with taxation. They do not recognise the sovereignty of nations, establish aggressive blocs, aggravate economic conditions, and violate democratic rights.

« Unity of all, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, in the struggle for peace is the only road that leads to the freedom and greatness of America. »

The Organising Committee, which is very broad, includes leaders of the most important organisations of the American countries.

It has announced a Continental Exhibition for Peace, with the participation of noted artists : Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro, Portinari. On this occasion meetings, lectures and gatherings will be organised to popularise the problems raised at the Congress.

Everywhere the peoples of the Continent are manifesting their support. By July 20th, more than 100 million people had requested affiliation. In Argentina and Brazil (in spite of repression), in Cuba, Costa-Rica, Guatemala, Venezuela, etc... the National Committees are undertaking many activities in preparation for the Mexico Congress.

NORTHERN KOREA

The report of the work of the World Congress was presented to the population of Feng-Yang on June 20th by Mr. Han Ser Ya, leader of the Korean delegation, who made the following declaration :

« The people of Korea must advance side by side with the peace-loving peoples and denounce the treacherous plans of the American imperialists ; they must fight for the unity and independence of Korea, for their democratic development, for victory of the democratic camp and for the restoration of stable peace in the world. »

The Congress of the United Democratic Front of Korea, which held its session on June 25th, attended by 667 delegates from 71 organisations of the North and South, declares in its resolution :

« The chief aims of the Korean people should be to struggle for peace, to strengthen international co-operation, against the aggressive policy of the imperialist governments. »

More than 200,000 people attended the meeting for the defence of peace organised by the United Democratic Front a few days later at Fyeng-Yang.

NORWAY

A Norwegian Peace Committee has been formed. Its president is Mr. Peter Westade, its vice-president, Mrs. Sverdrup-Lunden and its secretary Mr. Tidemann Johanessen. A meeting at which Mr. Paul Robeson participated was very successful.

PANAMA

A Permanent Committee for Peace was formed in Panama as early as April 23rd. It has called upon the entire

population and all national and local organisations, to carry out the decisions of the World Congress.

POLAND

The work and achievements of the World Congress were widely discussed in Poland, and gave rise to various initiatives.

In the name of all Polish mothers, women workers of the Warsaw Textile industry sent an appeal to American mothers. They declare :

« Polish women participate actively in rebuilding our industry, our homes, our schools. We want to build a peaceful and happy future for our children... We are firmly convinced that you are with the millions who fight for peace. Bring up your children in the spirit of justice and of respect of the freedom of thought. Fight against the persecution of democrats... It is not enough to want peace, you have to fight for it. »

At conferences attended by representatives of the Government, political parties, trade unions, by scientists, artists, writers, shock-workers, etc., Polish delegates to Paris and Prague gave accounts of the work of the Congress. A motion, voted at the end of the Warsaw Conference states in part :

« It is necessary to organise departmental, regional and local committees for the defence of peace. Thus the energy and enthusiasm of the people, of all social groups, political and non-political, will be mobilised. They will be able to call upon all citizens, religious and non-religious, to fight for peace. »

At a meeting organised by the Kielce Departmental Committee, Rev. Skurski, priest of a local parish, underlined the fact that

« the Church, in accordance with the very principles of Christianity, has the duty above all to defend peace. »

The Polish Photographic Association has started a contest of photography and of films serving peace.

PORTUGAL

We have received a message from Lisbon in which the Portuguese Democractic and Progressive Youth informs us of its regret at not having been able to participate in the work of Paris and Prague. It denounces the « extremely severe police repression » launched against it by « the tyrannical Salazar regime, following orders of Anglo-saxon imperialists ». The declaration ends as follows :

« Portuguese youth does not want to abandon the young progressives locked up in fascist jails. That is why we are struggling for the rights of the disinherited and oppressed, for peace, for the right to work, to progress and to life. »

ROUMANIA

As early as May 6th a large meeting was held at the Atheneum of Bucarest at which delegates gave an account of the World Congress. Professor Savulesco, president of the Roumanian Academy, analysed the progress of the world peace movement and the tasks of Defenders of Peace in the Roumanian People's Republic. Professor Constantinesco-Yassy, vice-president of the National Assembly, then recommended forming a National Committe..

The Roumanian National Committee was set up on May 12th, with the assistance of participants of the World Congress. At its meeting of June 7th, it adopted a plan of activity. It elected an executive bureau and an editorial committee. The General Confederation of Labour, the Front of Labour, the Union of Working Class Youth, the Union of Democratic Women and all other organisations affiliated have pledged their full support in carrying out the plan of the Committee.

SPANIARDS ABROAD

A Spanish Commission for the Defence of Peace organised in Mexico under the sponsorship of President Giral, a member of the World Congress Committee, has received affiliations from numerous Spanish groups : local U.G.T. (General Union of Workers) groups, women, youth, Spaniards originating from different parts of Spain.

Many groups have been formed in France (at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Paris, Aubagne, etc.) uniting Spanish democrats of all political tendencies, who all pledge their full support to the World Congress. The group of the 18th arrondissement in Paris writes us as follows :

« We pledge to carry on our activities on the basis of the Manifesto to defeat plans of imperialist aggression and to destroy Franco's regime, one of the greatest dangers to peace. »

SPAIN

Underground leaflets have been published, enthusiastically affirming affiliation of the Spanish democrats to the World Congress. Copies of these leaflets were given to French, Belgian and Italian journalists on the 10th and 11th of July, when the « Tour de France » cyclists passed through Spain.

Underground Defence of Peace Committees have been formed, notably in the Basque country and in Catalonia.

SWEDEN

The Swedish delegates to the World Peace Congress inform us that shortly after their return to Stockholm an enthusiastic meeting was held.

Soon afterwards the Provisional Committee was broadened to become the Permanent Peace Committee. Thirty-six eminent figures of the intellectual world signed a manifesto urging that Sweden become a bastion for peace. The Manifesto reads in part :

« Powerful groups, even within our own country, are continuing to prepare public opinion for war and are conducting active war propaganda.

« No isolation is more dangerous than that which prevents defenders of peace from acting in common. »

In concluding the Manifesto calls upon the people to bridge the gap separating men of different political opinions. The committee printed several thousand copies of a pamphlet which includes the Manifesto. One hundred thousand peace stamps were issued.

SWITZERLAND

In Lausanne and other towns of Switzerland Mr. André Bonnard and the Reverend Barblan reported on the work of the World Congress.

SYRIA

The Plebiscite of June 25th, organised by Colonel Husni Zaim in his favour, became instead the occasion of an ardent struggle for peace. Tracts were widely distributed, denouncing the dictators in the pay of imperialism as a permanent threat to peace.

TRIESTE

Following the initiative of the Trieste Committee, many articles on peace problems were published in « Il Delo » and « Il Lavoratore ».

A press conference was given by the delegation ; ten meetings have been organised by the Union of Italian and Slovene Women ; a pamphlet on the World Congress has been issued ; speeches in defence of peace were made on May Day at trade union meetings and at election gatherings.

TUNISIA

The Tunisian Committee for the Defence of Peace has organised large meetings in the major centres and has given wide publicity to the message sent by the Peace Congress to the Four Power Conference. An Appeal to Unity in the struggle for national independence and peace, defines this struggle as follows :

1. — Abrogation of the Treaty of Protectorate and of the military and administrative apparatus of colonisation ; realisation of true and complete Tunisian sovereignty.

2. — Institution of a National Tunisian Constituent Assembly, elected by universal, secret, direct and equal suffrage.

3. — Formation of a real Tunisian Government, responsible to the people's elected representatives.

4. — Effective introduction of the Arab language as the only and official language in all administrations, and its compulsory teaching in all schools to all Tunisian men and women.

5. — A National Statute for the Civil Service.

6. — Abolition of the state of siege and establishment of all democratic liberties.

U.S.A.

It has been proposed to set up an organisation « to keep in contact with the Review, to send it articles and documents regularly, and to take charge of its distribution. »

An open letter to President Truman, expressing the profound desire of the American people for peace, was signed by more than 500 leading personalities, among them many clergymen. This letter declared :

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE

« Peace depends upon understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The peoples of both these nations want peace. »

Speaking of war preparations « during which the human race would be wiped out » the letter added :

« A further step is taken in the form of a military North-Atlantic alliance, which will be followed by a tremendous costly rearmament program of western Europe with a view towards war. Consequently, we urge Congress to reject the plans of a military North Atlantic alliance. »

The Congress of American Women has, at the beginning of May, collected more than 100,000 signatures to a Peace Petition submitted to Mr. Austin, American representative to the United Nations. The Congress stressed the necessity of a large mobilisation of the women, « to demand outlawing of the atomic bomb and utilisation of government resources for public health needs and for the well-being of the peoples. » They also demand abandoning of the Atlantic Pact.

The Peace Tour in which Mrs. Paul Robeson, Henry Wallace, Michael Giua, Italian Socialist, and Lester Hutchinson of the British Labour Party participated, reached 45,000 people in eleven states.

Leaders of the Congregational Church, assembled on June 29th at their sixth International Convention at Wellesley, Massachusetts, addressed a message to their affiliated churches in 37 nations condemning « those who encourage people to believe that war between Russia and her allies is inevitable or that such a conflict would be in the nature of a holy crusade. »

A Trade Union Conference for the Defence of Peace is in preparation. It will probably be held in Chicago. More than 1,000 trade unionists have already expressed their desire to participate. They represent locals of 38 national unions, both C.I.O. (Congress of Industrial Organisations) and A.F.L. (American Federation of Labour), as well as unaffiliated trade unions. The railroad workers of 23 states have also joined.

Means of resisting the war hysteria and measures necessary to insure a counter-offensive to the development of fascism in the United States were discussed by 1,300 leaders of workers' organisations of 35 states who met in New York on the 16th and 17th of July. The trial of the 12 Communists was described by the Conference as a typical expression of fascism in the U.S. The resolution states :

« American justice has become an anti-democratic weapon, but the resistance of the masses to fascist measures is developing. »

One of the reports given focused attention to police surveillance of those who visit Negroes, and of those who go to see Soviet films. Among the delegates were many former New Dealers, Negroes, clergymen, teachers and professors, and political figures.

U.S.S.R.

Maresseiev, Ilya Ehrenburg, A. Palladine, V. Kotchmassov and other delegates addressed large meetings in Moscow and were given an enthusiastic reception.

At the Zlatoust Steel Mills, the delegate Amosov, who is known throughout the Soviet Union as an outstanding smelter and innovator in the field of metallurgy, declared :

« Our peaceful work, particularly the work we accomplish in the metal industry, is one of the best ways to preserve peace. I am ready to smelt steel all my life for cars, tractors and other vehicles which will help the peaceful development of mankind. Iron and steel, in the hands of honest men, men who love their country, freedom and independence, are a valuable contribution to the work of the partisans for peace. I am convinced that the will and the unity of the partisans for peace are as strong as the Ural steel which is universally known for its strength. »

The Conference of Soviet Partisans for Peace, held in Moscow on July 5th, was chaired by the writer Tikhonov and addressed by the following speakers : Mr. Vavilov, representing the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. ; Mrs. Nina Popova, for the Soviet Anti-Fascist Women's Committee ; Mr. Chaporine, for the composers ; Mr. Sokolov, for the Council of Collective Farms ; Mr. Grekov, academician, representing the Committee of Slavs of the U.S.S.R. ; Mr. Teslak, in the name of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth ; and Mr. Fedine, speaking for the Soviet writers.

The speakers exposed the criminal plans of the war-instigators who organise military alliances and blocs and want to push the world towards a new war. They stressed the constant development of the international movement for the defence of peace.

Several speakers said : the Soviet delegates are listened to with great attention, for they tell of the constant struggle of the Soviet people for peace and for peaceful co-operation between nations. The forthcoming Congress of the Soviet Partisans for Peace will no doubt be an important contribution to the general struggle for peace. This Congress will decisively expose the false propaganda carried on by the imperialist circles against the Soviet Union, and will inspire millions of peace-loving men to an active and self-denying struggle for peace, progress and truth.

A Preparatory Committee was then elected, following the proposal of the writer Fedine. The alphabetical list of the members elected to this Committee follows :

Derjavine, academician ; Fadeyev, general secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers ; Goundorov, president of the Slavic Committee of the U.S.S.R. ; Grekov, academician, director of the Institute of History at the U.S.S.R. Academy; Guerassimov, cinema director ; Mr. Kairov, president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and Minister of Public Instruction ; Korneichuk, president of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers ; Kuznetzov, president of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions ; Mr. Mikhailov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Federation of Communist Leninist Youth of the U. S. S. R. ; Nessmeianov, academician, Rector of the University of Moscow ; Oparine, academician ; Palladine, president of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences ; Mrs. Nina Popova, president of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee ; Mr. Shostakovitch, composer ; Mr. Simonov, deputy general secretary of the Council of Soviet Writers ; Tikhonov, writer ; Vavilov, president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences ; Mrs. Yerchova of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth.

At its last meeting, the Preparatory Committee discussed organisational questions. It elected the academician Grekov as chairman and the writers Simonov and Korneichuk as vice-chairmen and decided to organise the Soviet Peace Congress on August 25th to 27th in the Trade Union Hall at Moscow.

The Soviet trade unions, organisations of women and youth, scientific associations, and the unions of writers, composers, painters, architects, co-operatives, etc., who have already adhered to the Congress, will send delegates.

URUGUAY

As soon as the delegates returned from the World Congress, a « Junta Nacional de Partidarios de la Paz » was formed, in which each of the 20 affiliated organisations is represented by one delegate, in addition to a number of eminent figures. The main aims of the « Junta » are organisation of a National Congress and participation of Uruguay at the Continental Congress of Mexico.

The delegates have spoken at several public meetings. The Committee has published the Manifesto of the Paris Congress and other propaganda material (posters, the Manifesto of the « Junta Nacional »). A book of 250 pages, containing the most important speeches of the World Congress and the main Resolutions, will be published soon.

The « Junta » is preparing a national meeting of the defenders of peace at which delegates to the Mexico Congress will be elected, and « parchments » (or notebooks) will be distributed. These « parchments » for peace will be signed by people of all trades and professions, in the factories, etc. At the end of August, or in September, a Peace Congress will be held, together with an Exhibition, at which every sector will contribute its ideas on the question of peace. The possibilities of the country's development in an era of peace will be displayed.

VENEZUELA

The Oil Workers' Trade Union, the La Paz Oil Workers Union and a group of citizens of Cumana have publicly declared their support for the Manifesto of the World Peace Congress. The Students of the Faculty of Medecine gave their adhesion to the National Committee of Caracas ; they declared that they « are fully aware that the war plans aim at liquidating the peoples' democratic movement, and pledge to unite their efforts in the struggle against the threats of a new war. »

YOUGOSLAVIA

A National Yougoslav Committee has been formed under the presidency of Mr. Jossip Vidmar, academician.

S. R.-401

CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALS

HARLEM HOSPITAL
136TH STREET AND LENOX AVENUE
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

March 7, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-40-37

At the request of Mr. George Streator I am getting in touch with you because Mr. Streator stated that you were not feeling well and that you needed a general check-up. If this is the case I would certainly advise you to do so and to do so at once.

The best qualified man for this type of study whom I would recommend is Dr. Ernst P. Boas, 1185 Park Avenue, New York City. His telephone number is SAcramento 2-6613. Dr. Boas is the leading American authority in Geriatrics and independently of that is a very fine person.

If you do not care to go to see Dr. Boas, I would suggest that you get in touch with Dr. L. Leiter, Chief of the Medical Service of Montefiore Hospital. Dr. Leiter took care of Mrs. DuBois when she was there.

I trust there is nothing seriously the matter with you.

If there is anything that I can do in this connection, do not hesitate to call upon me.

With kindest personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Louis T. Wright

LTW:mcm

Louis T. Wright, M. D.

(NATHANIEL WRIGHT)

PECULIAR TRAITS AMONG NEGROES

During recent years--and especially since the war--we have done much emphasizing of the things which those of us who appear to be different have in common. This is a sound practice which makes for unity and understanding. In emphasizing our similarities, however, differences often become the more apparent. These differences we must face.

This paper is a treatment of certain traits found among Negroes which differ from American norms. The paper tells of their cause and their results, and suggest something of their cure. Reading it should make one further convinced that we must work together for a more basic unity.

(Submitted by Nathaniel Wright, as a course requirement in the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, January 3, 1949)

It is the purpose of this paper (1) to illustrate the nature of social disorganization from the symptoms of maladjustment in the life of the American Negro and (2) to show how these symptoms are conditioned by certain traits in the larger American culture. If we are to accept the traditional definition of social disorganization in the sense of Thomas and Znaniecki as a "sort of atomization of the socii," it is obvious that the maladjustment of the Negro in American life is merely a symptom, in turn, of the disorganization, in some respect, of the larger American culture.[1] It is therefore in relation to the larger culture that some of our concepts must be defined. In every society, as Sumner has pointed out, there is "a strain of improvement and consistency."[2] For reasons of security, status, and social well-being alone, people living together will endeavor either consciously or unconsciously to hold similar opinions and to achieve the capacity for collective action.[3] The extent to which consensus is undermined in a society and common understandings are lost is a measure of that society's state of disorganization.[4]

Negro Americans are a definite part of the American scene. Brought to this country shortly after the founding of the Jamestown colony, Negroes are as American from the point of view of longevity as most other racial and ethnic strains in the United States today.[5] Their fortunes, however,

have varied somewhat from those which immigrant groups have normally enjoyed. They were brought to this country as slaves and their emancipation from their Southern owners has been the focal point of animosity and aggression resulting from the Civil War.[6] To support his rationalizations for his hatred of and consequent discrimination against the Negro, the full forces of the Southern man's laws, theology and philosophy have been brought to bear upon the Negro in such a way as to create a whole pattern of beliefs and taboos which are definitely prejudicial to the Negro's interests and well-being.[7] Americans generally have accepted the feeling held by the South that the Negro in this country is something of a source of difficulty.[8] When this feeling found expression in the assignment to the Negro of a disadvantageous position in the means of obtaining the basic satisfactions in life, a disruption in the functional relations of these two facets of American life followed.

Signs of the malintegration of the Negro into American life may be classified under two general headings: (1) ideological uncertainty and (2) psychological uncertainty. Ideologies are important in the maintenance of any organized society.[10] In this country particularly, ideology plays an especially unique role because of the American sense of rationality and moral consciousness. As Gunnar Myrdal recently wrote:[11]

> The "American Dilemma"...is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed"... and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living...which dominate (the American's) outlook.

The fact of the dilemma indicates the presence of ambiguity and uncertainty as to the Negro's role in American life. Toward practically all other groups which have come to this country, the "melting pot" principle of the American creed has been employed.[12] There is some indication that this attitude was employed in certain sections of the United States to some degree prior to the Civil War, but at present this is not so.[13] Negroes, no matter what their attainments may be, do not become "Americans" in the minds of most of their fellow citizens but are destined to remain "Negro Americans."[14] Paul E. Baker, in a study of ten national interracial agencies which were committed to the betterment of the lot of the Negro, concluded that only four of these agencies advocated the "melting pot" principle or amalgamation as a solution to the race problem.[15] The other organizations were either silent on the question of amalgamation or openly advocated a bi-racial policy. Recently a Boston philanthropist, who is known throughout the country as one of New England's leading liberals, asked the writer to purchase a ticket to an annual goodwill dinner, explaining that "This is one

time of the year when all of us sit down together just like we were equals." To most Americans the lot of the Negro is a real concern but their answers to the solution of the color problem are characterized by an ideological uncertainty.[16] The fact of this uncertainty places considerable pressure upon the Negro.[17] His status is always dependent upon the personal attitude of the white person with whom he is in contact at any particular time, and he becomes resentful of every attempt to imply for him a status of social inferiority. Whenever there is wide disagreement in a society as to goals or methods of achieving basic goals, a state of disorganization exists.[18]

Apprehension and anxiety result from the disruption of functional relations between people living together.[19] The state of mind which exists at such a time we may refer to as one of psychological uncertainty. This psychological uncertainty may find expression in feelings of uneasiness when members of different groups come together, or it may find expression in the heightening of suspicions against persons belonging to the out-groups. During the recent war, Howard Odum published a work entitled Race and Rumors of Race. In his introductory chapter he wrote:[20]

> This is part of the story of the crises of the South and of the Negro in the United States of America in the early 1940's--years of tension and of another prospective post-war tragic era. It is a part of the story, therefore, of a national crises as well. It is called Race and Rumors

of Race because the pressure and nature of the extraordinary crisis were reflected with such vivideness in the mass of race rumors that swept, floodlike, upon us in the major areas of white and Negro relationships in the South, and thence as reflected in the rising tide of rumors and tensions in the hinterland. They flooded even such cosmopolitan centers as the nation's capitol like flood waters suddenly released by a bomber's blast.

Rumors are always indicative of psychological uncertainty. They are means by which tensions are released and in turn the cause of further tensions. The circular process involved increases disorganizing tendencies.

Newspapers play a tremendous role in the molding of community sentiment. When sources of information become polluted, polluted opinions may be expected to result.[21]

A report by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations states:[22]

Throughout the country it is pointed out by both whites and Negroes that the policies of newspapers on racial matters have made relations more difficult, at times fostering new antagonisms and enmities and even precipitating riots by inflaming the public against Negroes.

The same report declares elsewhere:[23]

The frequent mention of Negroes in connection with crime by the white press has the following effects:

1. It plays upon the popular belief that Negroes are criminal
2. The constant recounting of crimes by Negroes, always naming the race of the offender, effects an association of Negroes with criminality.
3. It frequently involves reference to sex matters which provides a powerful stimulant to public interest.
4. It provides sensational and sometimes amusing material, and at the same time fixes the crimes upon a group with supposed criminal traits.

The beliefs handed down through the tradition concerning the weak moral character of Negroes and their emotional

nature are thus constantly and steadily held before the public. Police officers, judges, and other public officials are similarly affected, consciously or unconsciously, by these beliefs and by the constant mention of Negroes in relation to crime. Arrest on suspicion, conviction on scanty evidence, and severe punishments are the results. A vicious circle is thus created.

Signs of psychological insecurity may be seen in the interpersonal relationships between whites and Negroes. Myrdal observed that a common trait among Negroes was their lack of poise and inability to act in the free and easy way expected of most adults. He explains that this is the result of Southern caste etiquette and adds:[24]

> Even in the North, many Southern-born Negroes keep their eyes on the ground, shuffle their feet, wiggle their bodies, and talk in a roundabout manner. Even when they want to get away from the Southern caste etiquette, many Negroes lack poise in their conduct with whites out of a sense of insecurity...How a Negro is supposed to act before a white man varies with time, locality and the character of the white man.

Feelings of uneasiness, apprehension, anxiety--in short, feelings of psychological uncertainty are marks of maladjustment in the basic functional roles in a society.[25]

A result of the partial rejection by the dominant American culture of the Negro has been the development of a complex of deviant characteristics or behavior traits among Negroes themselves. Indication of these deviant tendencies may be seen readily in the Negro's cultus, family life, sartorial tastes, recreation, speech and in beliefs concerning his group.

Much study has been given to the Negro's religion with varying explanations being offered concerning his particular manifestations of religiosity.[26] Considerable capital has been made by certain Negro scholarship of the fact that of the American Churchgoers the percentage distribution for whites and Negroes is approximately the same, with the percentage of attendance of white men being slightly higher than that for Negro men.[27] The inference to be gathered from this fact, as well as the fact that the emotionalism of the Negro's religion is paralleled by a similar characteristic among rural and Southern revivalistic sects, is that Negro religion differs little from that of the whites. In many respects this is true.[28] However, the large scale maintenance largely among Negroes of cults deviant from the more orthodox Christian tradition is in no small measure a product of the prevailing custom of racial separation which restricts the normal participation of Negroes in many avenues of American life. As Fauset writes:[29]

> Because the American Negro's experience in other institutional or "secular" forms is limited, the one institution with which he is closely identified tends to act as a channel for various kinds of expression. Thus the Negro leader finds in the church a mechanism preeminently suited to the needs of leadership along numerous lines. It seems reasonable to suppose that many of these leadership expressions would not develop within the framework of the religious experience of the Negro if the outlets for expression in other institutionalized life in our culture were more normal.

This would seem to account in some degree for the appearance and success of such leaders of spark and glamor as Bishop "Daddy" Grace and Father Divine. The hero cult and the extreme emotionalism of some Negro religious groups are conditioned by the nature of the situation in which Negroes live, and these forms of religious expression find appeal among whites as well as Negroes.[30] However, whites in searching for rationalizations to justify the subordination of the Negro have seized upon the fact of certain religious practices among Negroes and ascribed them to his inferiority.[31] Conditions for a turn of the circular mechanism of the deviant behavior patterns are thus set.

Negro family life differs in some respects from the standard American pattern.[32] Various interpretations have been offered to explain the Negro's high frequency of desertion, illegitimacy, crime and mortality. Contrary to what might appear obvious, these tendencies may not be explained either as "instincts" of the Negro or as symptoms of disorganization. Johnson explains that the structure of the Negro family is largely the result of a practical adaptation to conditions of life which they could not change in the plantation economy. He writes:"In the basic rural pattern, under the old plantation economy of slavery, (illegitimacy and desertion) are not problems of disorganization as much as

they are an organization of life for efficient functioning under exacting conditions."[33] In a sense this is true when we take as our frame of reference the plantation economy from which the Negro has evolved. On the other hand, with respect to the larger American culture this would appear to be indicative of an absence of consensus--a signpost of disorganization. Many of the moral disorders in the Negro community, as also to a large extent the dominant role of the female and the tendencies to desertion and crime, are dependent upon the disorganized circumstances under which the Negro is forced to live. Woofter has shown that the immorality of Negroes in urban areas bears a definite relation to overcrowdedness.[34] Johnson has explained that the economic conditions to which Negroes are subjected grant a disproportionate amount of security to the female with respect to the husband.[35] This disproportionate security has allowed many women to remain free from the restrictions of a formal marriage contract. Common law marriages tend to be prevalent and consequently children born from this type of relationship add to the number of illegitimate children.[36] Negroes often have unpleasant associations with the legal agencies and consequently avoid them; "desertions" therefore, rather than divorces are more common. Johnson concludes:[37]

> Wherever there is exposure to the approved American standards, and an opportunity for effective participation in the general social life, change results. This can be

observed within rural areas themselves where schools are introduced, literacy is increased, and new standards of health are brought in. It can be observed likewise in the cities among the large numbers of Negroes who never shared this particular type of origin, or who are farther removed from it, and whose level of culture, as a result, is no different from that of their white neighbors.

Johnson's analysis has suggested the possibility of an integrative direction of the circular mechanism of behavioral reaction patterns. When people live together and share the same ideals, organization tends to take the place of disunity.[38]

In the Negro's clothing tastes, deviant characteristics may be seen. As Myrdal explains:[39]

A group which is kept so forcibly isolated as are the Negroes is bound to initiate a few such traits even though the bulk of the behavior patterns are those which are common to all Americans.

An illustration of this trait may be seen in the "zoot suit" fad which many Negroes have borrowed from white American youths.[40] The suits have broad-seated and narrow-cuffed trousers and a long coat. A wide brimmed "cat" hat is usually worn with the suit. The overcoat is normally of a form fitting style with high lapels. Shoes are extremely long, sharp pointed and of a bright yellow color. The wearing of black or purple mesh stockings by women belonging to certain elements in the Negro community is common. Usually the entire outfit will match the stockings in color. While persons of the "zoot-suit" variety are found in the white community, it is generally limited to youthful jazz fans.[41] Among Negroes the age limit seems not so apparent and the fad appears more widely accepted.

As with dress, semantics also vary.[42] Because of their relative isolation and certain unique problems which they encounter, Negroes have developed a few words of which the white American is not generally aware. Such words as "peola" and "high yaller" are common among Negroes. Many expressions, such as "joog" for "push" and others often heard in the Negro community may be shared by other groups. Negro dialect is a form of speech acquired originally in the South. Many Negroes speak a characteristic Negro dialect because of custom in the home or lack of opportunity to learn any other speech. There are others who use the characteristic dialect in order to promote solidarity among members of their group. For whatever reason these semantic deviants are employed, they serve to reeinforce white prejudice, particularly in the North, against the Negro.[43] A celebrated cartoon in a national Negro newspaper caricatures something of the Negro's attempt to put on airs which cannot cover up a basic deficiency in the use of the English language. Bootsie, "a fat sleep-eyed fellow in baggy pants," in one cartoon is about to depart from a sumptuous party, and greets his hostess with: "Bon soir, Mademoiselle Brown, the chitterlin's sho' was dee-vine!"[44]

Deviant standards of conduct in the Negro's recreaction may also be seen. Negro recreation and social life is characterized by its simplicity, sense of freedom and amiability

even in public places where white persons might be cold, formal and distant. Negroes find in their places of recreation much needed outlets for subdued emotions.[45] While some forms of recreation flourish more in Negro communities than in whites', one may not generalize and ascribe the prevalence there of certain vices to the result of moral depravity. The Negro communities for economic reasons are exploited more readily than other communities, and this accounts in no small measure for the prevalence of certain forms of vice there. On the other hand, Negroes do resort to deviant practices on their own which have symbolic meaning to them and stem from the conditions under which Negroes live. Woofter reports visiting a dance hall which had a reputation of good order at most times and which was the immediate scene of a public masquerade dance. He writes:[46]

> The costumes worn by most of the girls were very scant and easily rivaled those of bathing beauties. Much of the dancing was extremely lewd. There was much boisterousness and hilarity during the intermission. The boys slapped the girls on their bare legs, hugged some, petted others, and approached most of them in daring language.

In another club he reported that: "One man confessed that he landed a woman during the dancing that he had been trying to 'make' for over a year."[47]

In the Negroes beliefs concerning his own race, signs of mistrust and division are evident. Negroes frequently adopt prejudices against their own group that are a part of

the dominant culture. Few Negroes are completely free from the influence of white norms. For instance, most Negroes refer to kinky hair--found among many members of their group--as "bad" hair. One national Negro magazine is notorious for its advertisements of hair straightners, wigs and skin bleaches.[48] Negroes frecuently show signs of distrust of Negro professionals. "You just can't trust a Negro doctor," "Negro lawyers just can't seem to make the grade," "They will sell you down the river"--these and similar statements are heard continually in the Negro comunity and are leveled against Negro professionals generally. One stock joke among Negroes ends with the punch line: "A chicken ain't nothin' but a bird, and a Nigger ain't nothin'!" The authors of Deep South report the following:[49]

> ...the stigmas of the Negro group...are associated with physical appearance; it is the black Negro who is regarded as mean, ignorant, primitive and animal-like. The light colored Negro, however, is conceived of as "smarter", more intelligent, more "civilized" (more like the whites in behavior and ability). These beliefs are not restricted to either groups but are frecuently expressed by both Negroes and whites. Sometimes the comment of Negroes is very extreme, as in the case of two Negroes overheard discussing "blackness". One of them said: "A black Nigguh is the meanes' rascal God evah made! I mean it. A black Nigguh is jes' natchally mean. He always suspects you of trying to beat him out of somethin' or take somethin' from him." His companion corroborated his opinion. "...my grandmother wuz a little black woman, an' she wuz one of the evilest black women God evah made! Dat's de truth. He's right about dat. Dey really evil!"

In Charleston, S. C., there are three Negro Episcopal Churches; one historically has been patronized by light-skinned Negroes, one by dark-skinned Negroes and a third largely by Islanders who speak in a difficult dialect. Light-skinned women are preferred by Negro men. In a sense certain of these beliefs might be classified as integrative in that they indicate the Negro's graduation toward white norms.[50] Generally, however, we may consider them as symptomatic of and resultant from disruptive relations with the major culture in that they are signs of mistrust and division.

All deviant behavior, as in fact practically all behavior, according to Bales, appears to have on the motivational level three pre-conditions.[51] First, certain pre-disposing experience with the behavior in question--that is, familiarity with the chosen pattern of behavior--appears to be a primary pre-condition. Such prior experience would tend to provide the answer to the question as to why an individual or group of individuals acted in <u>one</u> particular way and not in another. Thus, a knowledge of the life history of the subject or the cultural matrix of a subject would tend to give important clues in an analysis of the etiology of deviant behavior. Second, there appears to be necessary a complex of more general or universal needs growing out of the socialization of the individual in his group. There is a need for acceptance and response from the group, a need for secure status and a position of

influence over other people, a need to control and predict behavior, and to avoid undue control by others, a need for identification with the major values of the group and to assist in determining those values; there is a need for satisfaction in living in the community and a need to be secure in the possession of things that lead to joy and satisfaction. These needs, briefly, appear to center around the subject's role in a culture, the subject's feeling of solidarity, status, security and relationship to authority. Where any of these relationships are unsatisfactory a pre-condition for deviant or different behavior exists.

Finally, there appears to be necessary a complex of more general or universal organically based drives such as those associated with hunger, avoidance of pain, anxiety, aggression and the like. Patterns of behavior are in part physiologically determined.

Using the hypothesis of Bales should then give insight into the etiology of those traits of the Negro which appear to be deviant from those of the larger culture, and should provide some clue as to the relationship of the deviant behavior to certain features of the larger American culture. Above we have examined peculiarly Negro characteristics in (A) cultus, (B) family life, (C) sartorial tastes, (D) recreation, (E) speech, and (F) in beliefs concerning their own group. We shall now examine these

behavioral tendencies in the light of the motivational paradigm provided by Bales.

(A) The turn to religion seems to be a basic human trait common to all people.[52] It appears in the Negro's religion with its emotionalism and hero type cult to fulfill certain basic social needs. The Negro preacher finds in the Negro Church a means of obtaining leadership and authority over other people.[53] In the Negro community the preacher holds a high position and plays a vital role. Negro congregations find in their ritualistic type services a means of promoting fellowship and solidarity.[54] Negro church sermons are often directed toward the creation of race price and solidarity. Certain cults, such as the Black Moors and the Black Jews give to the Negro a feeling of status that he would otherwise not have, in that he is emancipated from his identification with the stigmatized Negro Race.[55] For instance, among the Black Moors, Noble Drew Ali, the Prophet, issued membership cards which declared that the holders were Moors. It read in part:[56]

> This is your Nationality and Identification Card for the Moorish Science Temple of America, and Birthrights for the Moorish Americans, etc., we honor all the Divine Prophets, Jesus, Mohammed, Buddha and Confucius. May the blessings of the God or our Father Allah, be upon you that carry this card. I do hereby declare that you are a Moslem under the Divine laws of the Holy Koran of Mecca, Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom, and Justice. "I AM A CITIZEN OF THE USA."

Hundreds of Chicago Negroes who carried these cards believed that the mere sight of the card would be sufficient to restrain a white man bent on disturbing or harming the holder.[57] In the Father Divine Movement Negroes gain a sense of economic security.[58] Thus the Negro's religion appears to fulfill certain social needs.

No less important are the organic needs which the religion fulfills. In the Father Divine Movement Negroes are fed.[59] Where Negroes meet with frustrations in worshipping and in working with whites, in the Negro's religion he is freed from the slights and frustrations in mixed company.[60] His dissatisfaction with the disparity between Christian practices and beliefs ends as he enters the cults of the "Black Gods of the Metropolis." Here his racial and rationalistic urges find satisfaction.[61]

What appears to be the experience which has caused the Negro to adopt the particular channels of religious expression that he has is less easily isolated. According to Herskovits, "underlying the life of the American Negro is a deep religious bent that is but the manifestations here of a similar drive that, everywhere in Negro societies, makes the supernatural a major focus of interest."[62] The tenability of such an assumtion, however, appears to be dubious.[63] The shouting, jerking and convulsions of the Negro's church

meetings appear to be derived from the old camp meetings of the early South.[64] In the period of slavery Negroes found in the Christian religion a solace and means of release from their wretched lot which was nowhere else possible.[65] Further, the Negro church in the period of slavery gave the Negro an opportunity for self-expression, mutual support and escape which has made it the precursor, in a sense, of the modern nationalist and mutual benefit type of cult found in the larger cities.[66]

(B) The disorganization of the Negro's family life may be said to stem in part from certain social needs in the Negro's attempt to adjust to the main stream of American culture. A key to the understanding of much of the moral state of Negro family life may be found in an examination of the role that is played by the Negro woman.[67] Emotional considerations as well as the Negro's early history will be seen to be crucial. Johnson has explained that in the plantation economy it was almost always the Negro mammy who was able to approach the white master and make anything approximating demands. She was close to the children whom she reared and who, as a result of the close relationship involved, learned to, in a sense, love her in turn. On the other hand, a Negro male who was other than servile of obsequious was considered "uppity" and dangerous. The mammy's half-joking tones of authority came to be accepted and responded to by the whites.

Thus in the plantation economy the place of the female was disproportionately high with respect to her counterpart in the white community. Freed from slavery and placed in a condition where the white family norm, in which the male occupied the dominant role, was expected to be respected, the Negro by his history was ill-prepared to make the adjustment. Negro men found employment less readily available to them than Negro women and thus Negro women in freedom still maintained an advantage over the male. It is against this historic-social and present economic background that a realistic analysis of the deviant nature of the Negro's family life must be set.[68] When the Negro male attempted to occupy the role expected by white norms, past cultural and present economic forces operated against him. Frustration resulted in unwholesome relationships within the family.[69] Economic dependence upon the woman, common law relationships and a lack of a sense of responsibility for the support of the family often would appear to be the results. A further historic fact which appears to set a cultural background conducive to common law marriage, desertion and illegitimacy is the practice in the slave economy of mating the big men with productive women, for the purpose of increasing the size and quality of the slave community.[70] Slaves were not allowed to enter into binding and permanent marriage relationships because both partners, owned by the master, could be sold and moved elsewhere at any time.[71]

(C) A desire for recognition would appear to underlie much of the use of exhibitionist clothing by certain elements in the Negro community.[72] Big and powerful-appearing shoulders would appear to emphasize sex attractiveness. Certain deviant standards in clothing tastes might also be explained as a perversion of the accepted norms of the larger culture which largely rejects the Negro. Further, it may be pointed out that many Negroes have had to wear clothing discarded by the whites during at least a part of their life.[73] The newer styles and cuts of clothing would then seem to be easily identifiable in the Negro's mind with the higher status of the whites. New and exotic styles of the Negro's creation or adoption would appear to have the possibility of both gaining status and expressing aggression.

(D) Negro dialect is simply a modification of the speech of Southern whites which many non-Southerners like so well.[74] Its use by the Negro has been the cause of considerable prejudice against him, however. Negroes have learned their dialect from their Southern environment, or from their Southern-bred parents and friends. It is spoken for several reasons. As Myrdal writes:[75]

> Negroes seem to be proud of their dialect, and frequently speak it even when they know how to speak perfect English. Some upper class Negroes do this to retain prestige and a following among lower class Negroes. In the South a few educated Negroes do it to avoid appearing "uppity" in the eyes of the whites....The high-toned, pleading voice of

the Negro is also associated with his speech. This trait was, of course, developed by the demands of the caste etiquette.

Thus it appears that out of a sense of frustration in not being allowed to use the more acceptable speech of the larger American culture, the desire for solidarity with his own group and security in the presence of whites, dialect speech is resorted to. In relations both with Negroes and with whites anxieties are thus avoided. Further, as Myrdal writes again:[76]

> The struggle for status manifests itself frequently in speech which may become ostentatious. With education valued so highly, and with so little of it available to them, Negroes often try to exhibit an education which they do not have. In speech this takes the form of the misuse of big words. The trait is manifested not only in the pompous oratory of many Negroes but also in their everyday conversations. On other occasions the big words are used properly, but they are out of place in simple conversation. The correct but misplaced use of big words also originates in an attempt to gain status and is probably a survival of nineteenth century florid oratory.

Here again, anxiety might appear to be avoided as the Negro attempts to cover up the fact of educational deficiencies.

(E) The boisterousness and immorality of the Negro in his recreation finds its historical roots in the southern and slave economy. Speaking of an observed greater sex urge among Negroes, Malzberg writes:[77]

> The responsibility must be traced back to the sex traditions derived from slavery, when stable family relations were practically impossible for the Negro. Great value was certainly not attached to the virtue of the virtue of the female slave. The introduction of sexual looseness was thus established as a tradition and, in accordance with the principle of social lag, has been carried over into modern Negro society.

Further illustration of a lack of premium placed on the virtue of the Negro woman by white men, even to a certain extent in the South today, is indicated by Rollin Chambliss in the Preface to his master's thesis:[78]

> (The Negro's) moral codes were different from ours. I don't know that it ever occurred to any of us that a Negro girl was capable of virtue. White men had no hesitation in approaching Negro women. I do not know how often they met with refusal, but I do know that an intimate relationship between white men and Negro women was not uncommon... The better whites were much opposed to this intimacy, though white boys talked freely with one another of their experiences.

From the above description, it would appear that a precedent might be set for a deviant pattern of behavior by Negro males. The loose relationship between white men and Negro girls to them would be seen as a product of the authoritative role of the white with respect to the Negro. To express a sense of authority or to fulfill craving for authority Negro men might resort to a sort of boisterousness and freedom with Negro women as reported above by Woofter.[79] Sex needs would at the same time be met. A sense of status would appear to result from the feeling of identification with a role traditionally played by the white man. There would be a sense of security in having the love and other satisfactions which the female companion might provide.

(F) In gravitating toward white norms Negroes acquire attitudes which are disadvantageous to their own

group. Negroes want to be identified as Americans idiologically and so tend to adopt beliefs which are widespread or popular in the larger American culture. It is difficult, even when on guard, for Negroes therefore not to adopt prejudices against their own group. Charles S. Johnson writes:[80]

> Along with the advantageous social position of the mulatto there has been a pronounced disadvantage for blacks in the ideololgical heritage of society generally. The concept of blackness has held, in the popular mind, an unfavorable connotation. "Black is evil", "black as sin", "black as the devil", are phrases which suggest the emotional and aesthetic implications of this association. The evil and ugliness of blackness have long been contrasted in popular thinking with the goodness and purity of whiteness. Whether with respect to men or things this color association has been deeply meaningful; it is an inescapable element of the cultural heritage.

Negroes find a means of identity with the larger culture as they acquire these and other beliefs which are contrary to his own best interests. A striking instance of this activity was cited above. Bunche has cited an example of this same tendency in the writing of a Negro author who stated: "The Negro masses look on the white man as chosen to rule and on the ballot as a means to that end."[81] Uncle Toms have won considerable favor with the whites both in slavery times and after in promoting such beliefs. As the Negro conforms to those beliefs which are popular in the larger culture he is freed from the anxieties which might accompany a questioning of the major cultural pattern.

From the foregoing description and analysis, several condluding observations might be made:

(1) It appears that the disorganization in the life of the American Negro reflects a similar state in the larger culture and cannot be dissociated from it. The larger American culture contains disorganizing features in both beliefs and practice. Thus, when Negroes gravitate toward the norms of the larger culture, a lessening of disorganization does not necessarily follow.

(2) It appears that in another sense the deviant traits of the American Negro have not come about in a vacuum. Historic cultural and present organic and social factors are crucial to an understanding of the etiology of the deviant behavior. Thus it is seen that conditions under which the Negro existed in slavery as well as the exigencies under which he is forced to live today often give clues concerning the meaning of the Negro's particular ways of thinking and acting.

(3) It may be inferred, since much of the disorganization in the life of the American Negro has been conditioned by the pattern of racial dichotomy in which he has been isolated from the major values and thus meets with frequent frustrations, that movements designed to lessen the Negro's isolation both in the ideology and activities of American life would tend to lessen the frequency of the deviant behavior in that group.

FOOTNOTES

1. American Sociological Review, vol. 5, 1940, John F. Cuber, "Some Aspects of Institutional Disorganization," p. 483.

2. Op. cit., Article by Louis Wirth, "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization." p. 475.

3. Op. cit., p. 473. See also De Tocqueville, Alexis, Democracy in America, vol. I, p. 398, translated by Henry Reeve, N. Y., 1899.

4. Op. cit, p. 473.

5. Johnson, Julia, Selected Articles on the Negro Problem, N. Y., H. W. Wilson Co., 1921, p. 28

6. Op. cit., pp. 32-34.

7. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, N. Y., Harpers, 1944, pp. 101-106.

8. Op. cit., pp. 88-89.

9. Amer. Soc. Rev., vol. 5, Aug. 1940, p. 475.

10. Op. cit., p. 472. See also Faris, Robert E. L., Social Disorganization, N. Y. Ronald Press Co., 1948, Ch. 2.

11. Myrdal, op. cit., p. xlvii.

12. See Stonequist, E., The Marginal Man, N. Y., Scribners, 1937, p.173

13. Klineberg, Otto, Characteristics of the American Negro, N. Y., Harpers, 1944, pp. 266-267.

14. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

15. Baker, Paul E., Negro-White Adjustment, N. Y. Association Press, 1934, pp. 255-256.

16. Ibid.

17. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 606-618.

18. Amer. Soc. Rev., vol. 5, Aug. 1940, pp. 472-473.

19. Faris, op. cit., pp. 19-27.

20. Odum, Howard, Race and Rumors of Race, Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Car. Press, 1943, p. 3.

21. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1922, p. 520.

22. Op. cit., p. 521.

23. Op. cit., p. 526.

24. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 964.

25. See Faris, op. cit., Ch. 2.

26. Fauset, Arthur, Black Gods of the Metropolis, Phil., Univ. of Penn. Press, 1944, pp. 123-126.

27. Op. cit., pp. 96-101.

28. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 935-938.

29. Fauset, op. cit., p. 107.

30. Op. cit., pp. 64, 104-106.

31. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 937.

32. Op. cit., p. 931, pp. 933-934. See also Johnson, Charles, A Preface to Racial Understanding, N. Y., Friendship Press, 1936, pp. 55-64.

33. Johnson, op. cit., p. 59.

34. Woofter, T. J., Negro Problems in Cities, N. Y., Doubleday, 1928, pp. 93-95.

35. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

36. Op. cit., pp. 59-60.

37. Op. cit., p. 64.

38. Faris, op. cit., see Ch. 1. See also Amer. Soc. Rev., vol 5, Aug. 1940, p. 473.

39. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 692.

40. Op. cit., p. 963.

41. Ibid.

42. Op. cit., pp. 965-966.

43. Op. cit. p. 966.

44. Ottley, Roi, New World A-Coming, Literary Classics, Inc. N. Y., 1943, p. 282.

45. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 982-986. See also Woofter, op. cit., Chapts. XVI-XVII.

46. Woofter, op. cit., p. 272.

47. Op. cit., p. 273.

48. Ebony Magazine

49. Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941. pp. 40-41.

50. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1382, quotation from Johnson, C. S. Growing up in the Black Belt, 1941.

51. Lecture notes in this course, Social Relations 186a, Harvard University, delivered by Dr. Robert F. Bales.

52. Brown, Lawrence G., Social Pathology, Personal and Social Disorganization, N. Y., Crofts, 1942, p. 482.

53. Fauset. op. cit., pp. 98, 107.

54. Op. cit., pp. 108-109.

55. Op. cit., pp. 42-43.

56. Op. cit., p. 42.

57. Ibid.

58. Op. cit., pp. 53, 55, 63.

59. Op. cit., p. 59.

60. Op. cit., pp. 107, 121.

61. Op. cit., pp. 107-109, 121.
62. Op. cit., P. 4.
63. Johnson, op. cit., p. 100.
64. Ibid.
65. Op. cit., pp. 100-101.
66. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 859-863.
67. Johnson, op. cit., p. 59.
68. Op. cit., pp. 58-61.
69. Op. cit., p. 63.
70. Op. cit., pp. 57-60.
71. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 931.
72. Op. cit., p. 962.
73. Op. cit., p. 963.
74. Op. cit., p. 964.
75. Op. cit., pp. 965-966.
76. Op. cit., p. 963.
77. Klineberg. op. cit., p. 391.
78. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1195
79. See above, p. 11.
80. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1382.
81. Op. cit., p. 1326.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, Paul E., Negro-White Adjustment, N. Y., Association Press, 1934.

Benedict, R. Race Science and Politics, N. Y., Modern Age Books, 1940.

Brown, L. G., Social Pathology, N. Y., Crofts, 1942.

Carter, E. C., Community Conflict, N. Y., The Inquiry Press, 1925.

The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1922.

Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner and M. P. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941.

Dollard, J., Frustration and Aggression, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1935.

Faris, R. E. D., Social Disorganization, N. Y., Ronald Press, 1948.

Fauset, A. H., Black Gods of the Metropolis, Phil., Univ. of Penn. Press, 1944.

Johnson, Julia E., Selected Articles on the Negro Problem, N. Y., H. W. Wilson Co., 1921.

Johnson, C. S., A Preface to Racial Relations, N. Y., Friendship Press, 1936.

Klineberg, Otto, Characteristics of the American Negro, N. Y., Harpers, 1944.

MacIver, Civilization and Group Relationships, N. Y., Harpers, 1945.

MacIver, Unity and Difference in American Life, N. Y., Harpers, 1947.

Moton, R. R., What A Negro Thinks, N. Y., Doubleday, 1939.

Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, N. Y., Harpers, 1944.

Odum, H. W., Race and Rumors of Race, Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. Press, 1943.

Odum, H. W., Social and Mental Traits of the Negro, N. Y., Columbia Univ. Press, 1910.

Oldham, J. H., Christianity and the Race Problem, N. Y., Association Press, 1924.

Ottley, R., 'New World A-Coming', Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1943.

Royce, Josiah, Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems, N. Y., Macmillan, 1908.

Woofter, J. T., Negro Problems in Cities, N. Y., Doubleday, 1928.

Young, K., et. al., Social Attitudes, N. Y., Holt, 1931.

[WYSOCKI]

23-40-59

September 20, 1949

Mr. Adam Wysocki
Warsaw, Poland
Baluckiego 19-9

My dear Mr. Wysocki:

I reached New York at noon, Friday, September 16. I hasten to write and tell you how much I enjoyed the opportunity of seeing Warsaw and of knowing of the magnificent recovery that Poland is making.

I am going to try to let my world know more about it. Will you please present my best regards and thanks to the Cultus Ministerium which kindly entertained me, and to your wife and other friends.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Young Progressives of America

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NEW YORK

CO-CHAIRMEN
Alvin Jones, La.
Christine Walker, Mich.

TREASURER
Elsie Willcox, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Seymour Linfield, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
Horace Alexander, Cal.
Bob Biederman, Ia.
Louis Burnham, Ala.
Rev. Edw. Carroll, N. Y.
Rev. John Darr, Jr., N. Y.
Lydia D'Fonseca, Cal.
Arthur Gilbert, N. Y.
John Gojack, Ind.
Neyland Hester, Tenn.
F. J. Hutchings, Jr., Ga.
Everett Jones, N. Y.
Herbert Kurzer, N. Y.
Jack Lencl, Ohio
Alfredo Montoya, N. Mex.
George McCrary, Ill.
Archie O'Neill, W. Va.
Ed Romanorski, Ill.
William Smith, Ia.
Edw. Smogard, Jr., Minn.
Robert Stone, N. Y.
Douglas Takesian, Mich.
Clyde Trudeau, Conn.
Walter Wallace, N. Y.
Margaret Bush Wilson, Mo.

Feb. 16, 1949

35-3-347

WEB Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As a distinguished educator, you realize the imp ications of a Jim Crow and discriminatory University system. By denying higher education education to thousands of otherwise elegible young Negroes, Catholics, Jews, and other minority groups, the majority is discriminated against.

At At a National Student Conference of Young Progressives of America, in Detroit, and attended by delegates from more than fifty colleges throughout the Northern and Southern States. we went on record as unequivically opposed to Jim Crow and discrimination in education. Every one of our more than one hundred campus chapters has pledged itself to expose Jim Crow in all schools, and to work for democratic college admissions.

45-3-90

That is why I am writing this letter to you. Your views of the effect of all forms of discrimination will greatly influence the student community. 50,000 copies of the next edition of our newspaper will soon be read by at least double that number of people, including students and young workers. Will you please write a short article of 100 - 200 words commenting on segregation and discrimination in education? The copy deadline for the next issue is February 23rd.

I want to thank you sincerely for any cooperation you may extend to u.

Yours truly,
Walter Wallace
Walter Wallace
Secretary,
Student Division

Young Progressives of America

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NEW YORK

CO-CHAIRMEN
Alvin Jones, La.
Christine Walker, Mich.

TREASURER
Elsie Willcox, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Seymour Linfield, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
Horace Alexander, Cal.
Bob Biederman, Ia.
Louis Burnham, Ala.
Rev. Edw. Carroll, N. Y.
Rev. John Darr, Jr., N. Y.
Lydia D'Fonseca, Cal.
Arthur Gilbert, N. Y.
John Gojack, Ind.
Neyland Hester, Tenn.
F. J. Hutchings, Jr., Ga.
Everett Jones, N. Y.
Herbert Kurzer, N. Y.
Jack Lencl, Ohio
Alfredo Montoya, N. Mex.
George McCrary, Ill.
Archie O'Neill, W. Va.
Ed Romanorski, Ill.
William Smith, Ia.
Edw. Smogard, Jr., Minn.
Robert Stone, N. Y.
Douglas Takesian, Mich.
Clyde Trudeau, Conn.
Walter Wallace, N. Y.
Margaret Bush Wilson, Mo.

February 22 1949

Dr. W.E. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I want to thank you for lending your name to the long list of notable Americans who sponsor the nationwide April 12 "Salute to F.D.R." rallies of the Young Progressives.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Seymour Linfield
for
PAUL DRAPER

PD/t

[YPA - National]

Young Progressives of America

19 WEST 45th STREET • NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

November 14, 1949

23-42-15

CO-CHAIRMEN
Alvin Jones, La.
Christine Walker, Mich.

TREASURER
Elsie Willcox, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Seymour Linfield, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
Horace Alexander, Cal.
Bob Biederman, Ia.
Louis Burnham, Ala.
Rev. Edw. Carroll, N. Y.
Rev. John Darr, Jr., N. Y.
Lydia D'Fonseca, Cal.
Arthur Gilbert, N. Y.
John Gojack, Ind.
Neyland Hester, Tenn.
F. J. Hutchings, Jr., Ga.
Everett Jones, N. Y.
Herbert Kurzer, N. Y.
Jack Lencl, Ohio
Alfredo Montoya, N. Mex.
George McCrary, Ill.
Archie O'Neill, W. Va.
Ed Romanorski, Ill.
William Smith, Ia.
Edw. Smogard, Jr., Minn.
Robert Stone, N. Y.
Douglas Takeslan, Mich.
Clyde Trudeau, Conn.
Walter Wallace, N. Y.
Margaret Bush Wilson, Mo.

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois:
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Over eight hundred young people, Negro and white, from all sections of the country, will attend and participate in the Second National Convention of the YPA of America which will be ehdl in Cleveland, Ohio, November 24-27. May I take this opportunity, at the suggestion of Mrs. Louise Patterson, to cordially invite you, as an outstanding leader of the Negro people, to address this Convention on Friday evening, November 25th.

This largest and most significant gathering of American young people since the Founding Convention of the YPA in July, 1948, will seek to chart the direction of the progressive organization of young Americans for the coming year. As you will see from the enclosed Call, we have singled out Peace, Jobs and Civil Liberties for particular attention as being among the most pressing needs of all young people today. A program for Teen-Agers, Sports, Culture, Recreation and Education will be discussed with a view to planning activities for the YPA during the coming year.

One of the main efforts of the YP A is the building of Negro-white unity and the fight against Jim Crow. Consequently, a major part of the Convention will be devoted to Civil Liberties and the needs of young Negroes. We expect that approximately one-third of the delegates will be young Negro workers, housewives, and students. We address this invitation to you in recognition of your leadership of the Negro people and the high regard which all decent young people, Negro and white, hold for you. It is our belief that no better contribution can be made at this Convention, to the building of a fighting unity of young Americans, than the one you can make by addressing our Convention on the topic of "American Youth and the Fight for Freedom."

23-42-1K

Our entire organization would welcome your acceptance of our invitation and would be deeply enriched by it. Inasmuch as the time remaining before the Convention is so short, may I take the liberty of telephoning you on Wednesday, November 16, to arrange a meeting at which we may discuss the Convention and our invitation further.

With very best regards.

Very truly yours,

Seymour Linfield

Seymour Linfield
Executive Director

SL/ww/ah

NO

[YOUNG PROGRESSIVES of AMERICA, Kensington

Req for Info. 1949

517 McDonald Ave
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.
March , 1949

23-7-53

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am a member of the Kensington Club of the Young Progressives of America and am writing this letter in referenc to a very controversial issue which was raised at our last meeting. I am writing to you becaus it pertains to a subject to which you have given much study and for which you have long been

a consistent fighter. Namely the question of discrimination and chauvinism.

The controversy was started by a poem entitled "Undimmed By Human Tears" which was printed in our club newspaper and is herewith enclosed.

It was the feeling of some of us that the last line of the poem ("and ye shall know only my skin is black my heart and soul are white") was of a discriminatory nature and negated the complete value of the poem itself. This was argued on the ground that the word white used as it was,

was chauvinistic and indicated that all pure and good things were white. On the other hand many of the club members claimed that this was merely a matter of interpretation and objected to this criticism on the grounds that those who thought the line was discriminatory were to sensitive about the problem and read a meaning into it which it could not have.

Because of the nature of this controversy and the many basic issues which are involved I would

appreciate any opinion you might have on this particular subject.

Thanking you in advance for any inconvenience that this might incur.

Yours truly
Seymour Toffler
Member Young
Progressives of America

ENC

UNDIMMED BY HUMAN TEAR by DAVID S.LEVITT

Only brothers know the shames to which
I fall,
Only God can hear my people's muted call
And know the mis'ry and the pain that
me await;
Only He can understand the evilness
of hate.
And whom but parent can tell the hurt
within the eye of child,
And taste the salt of tear on cheek and
lip that do not smile,
And feel the thundering fear within
each pounding breast,
And know their lust for love that lie
(in them, their mind)supressed
And though I strive against these wrongs
to make them right
I, alone, cannot open your eyes and
make you see the light.
And as I know the path my young must
lead,
You ask me why within the womb I plant
the seed ?
For tomorrow, when the child begot of
me shall learn,
He shall teach as I did aft my fathers
turn.
Then shall ye learn to love me
And accept me for me as is right,
And ye shall know only my skin is black,
my heart and soul are white.

Lea Pandy - [YPA - Illinois, U. of]

YPA
U. of Illinois
March 12, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, 10, N.Y.

23-42-36

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

A number of weeks ago I wrote to Dr. Hunton asking if he knew whether you would be available to speak here sometime in March. A short time later we were told that a member of the New York office of YPA was in the process of contacting you for the same reason. Since no word has come from either source, I am taking this opportunity to write directly to you. My only hope is that some arrangement can still be made.

The Young Progressives together with an increasing number of other campus organizations are sponsoring a Negro History Week to be held at the University during the week of April 18-24. The week has been approved by the University and it is growing into a large-scale program. However, our plans to have the week centered around a noted speaker have not materialized as yet.

In discussing possible speakers with other groups, you were the unanimous first choice by all. If this is the first you have heard about the matter, I apologize for the apparent haste. You will understand the necessity for this haste I am sure, since the program is less than six weeks off.

The speaker, as I explained, will be the main event of the week. Other events will be a play, a film, several broadcasts, and various displays and exhibits all designed to show the contribution of the Negro to the American culture.

I don't know what else I can tell you at this time except that I hope you can possibly arrange to appear here to speak. Will you

please inform us as soon as possible whether you will be available during the projected week.

Very Sincerely,

Leonard Levine

Leonard Levine
Chairman
YPA Speakers Bureau

23-42-37

Box 56, Univ. Station
Urbana, Illinois

[Young Prog. of Amer. U. of Ill.]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mr. Leonard Levine
University of Illinois
Box 56, University Station
Urbana, Illinois

My dear Mr. Levine:

I have your letter of March 12, concerning a talk at the University of Illinois April 18--24. May I say that I cannot undertake many lectures: I have already had in February and March more than I ought to have taken. It is not only a matter of strength but it takes time from my main work of writing.

I am now serving without salary and therefore, when I do go on lecture tours, I have to charge more than your organization could afford. If there were three lectures as suggested in one of the letters which I received, something might be worked out. For three lectures in Illinois, I would have to charge $350 which would include travel. If the organizations involved could afford this I should be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Young Prog. of Am. U. of Ill]

912 S. Foley
Champaign, Ill.
March 30, 1949.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 W. 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

23-42-25

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. Levine turned over your letter to me for further action. I have been in contact with a representative of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College and she has informed me that both groups would like your services for April 19 and 20. They will write to you later to complete the arrangements.

Our group here at the University of Illinois would like to have you deliver a public lecture on the evening of April 21. I realized this involves a very strenuous schedule for you and I hope you won't mind. Mr. Levine probably outlined to you the background for your lecture here. A number of groups representing various social, cultural, religious and political organizations on campus are pooling resources and energies to organize a Negro History Week during April 18--24. This will embrace exhibits, radio programs , films, sermons, etc. to discuss the status of the negro in and contributions to American society. We feel that your lecture will be the highlight of such a week. We are now hard at work on the necessary arrangements for the talk.

I should appreciate your furnishing us with any necessary information for advance publicity releases, mats for pictures in the school paper, etc. And will you need any money in advance?

We are looking forward to your visit with us and will do all to insure a pleasant, comfortable and most successful stay in Illinois.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Siminoff

Paul Siminoff
YPA rep. to Negro History
Week Committee.

[Young Prog. of Am. U. of Ill.]

Lee pend

NAACP

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Leonard Levine
Box 56, University Station
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Levine:

I have just written to Paul Siminoff and am enclosing a copy of the letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Copies Sent to Mrs. Lewis + Miss Ames Secty

[ENC]

23-42-34

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Paul Siminoff
912 S. Foley
Champaign, Illinois

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of March 30, I beg to say that it is probable that I shall attend the World Peace Congress in Paris, which opens April 20. That would mean that I would have to leave the United States, April 19.

I do not see how I could arrange the lectures which you have in mind before that date.

If you have any suggestions I shall be glad to hear them, but I am afraid that we will have to call the lectures off. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-25

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Sent by Phone Apr. 7-1949
11:16-Am

Mr. Paul Siminoff
912 - S. Foley
Champaign, Ill

Cannot accept lecture - Going to Paris -

W. E. B. Du Bois
MU 3-7894

Sch/

Reg for Int'l

[YOUNG PROGRESSIVES of MICHIGAN]

116 N. 5th. Ave.
Ann Arbor, Mich.
Jan. 19, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York, 3, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

23-7-51

The student Division of the Young Progressives of Michigan is planning a campaign to end quota systems in Michigan schools and colleges and to secure the passage of a Fair Education Practices Bill.

We are in need of facts and statistics on the subject pertaining to the state of Michigan as a whole and to such specific schools as the U. of Mich., Mich. State, and Wayne U.

Would you please advise me of any sources of such material that you may know of and the best way of securing it.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred Millstein
Mich. Student Director,
YPA

[YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF MICHIGAN]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 25, 1949

23-7-52

Mr. Alfred Millstein
116 N. 5th Avenue
Ann Arbor Michigan

My dear Mr. Millstein:

In answer to your letter of January 19, concerning Michigan schools, I would advise you to write to Mrs. Esther Cooper Jackson, c/o Mr. Jack Raskin, Civil Rights Congress 424 Reid Bldg. 138 Cadillac Square, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Y.P.A, U. of Ch.]

6145 S. Drexel Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois
December 15, 1949

28-44-51

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is our understanding that you will be giving a lecture in Chicago on February 8. If possible we should like very much to have you address a public meeting at the University of Chicago while you are in town. Would you be so kind as to write us what arrangements might be made?

Very sincerely yours,

Sidney J. Socolar

Sidney J. Socolar
Chmn., Negro Rights Committee
Young Progressives of America
University of Chicago Chapter

23-44-52

December 19, 1949

Mr. Sidney J. Socolar
6145 S. Drexel Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of December 15, may I say that I could speak to your group February 9, 1950.

The charge would be $100.

It is possible also that February 16, will be free, although I have not yet heard from another group which has asked for that date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[ZUEV]

September 20, 1949

Mr. V. I. Zuev
VOKS, Bolschaya
Gruzinskaya 17
Moscow, Russia

23-40-58

My dear Mr. Zuev:

I reached New York, September 16, at noon. I spent September 4, 5, and 6 in Warsaw; the 7, 8, and 9, in Prague, and left on the morning of the 9 for Paris. In Paris, I stayed from the 10th until the morning of the 15th, leaving that night and arriving here, Friday, 16, at noon.

As I look back upon this trip, I want to express to you and to the officers of Voks, and of the Peace Congress, my deep appreciation of the opportunity given me to see something of the great Soviet Union. The impressions upon me have been deep and I am going to try to tell my world here something of what your country is seeking to do.

I was most hospitably entertained in Warsaw and Prague and have come back with a great sense of appreciation of your kindness and devotion. I shall write you further after I am settled in my work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

594 University Place, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 23, 1949

23-5-4

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing copies of excerpts from Talmadge's campaign speech, in which his platform was outlined. Variations on this theme were played throughout the campaign. The other data enclosed is upon Schley County. Eugene Talmadge carried this county in the governors' election of 1932, 34, 40, 42, and 46. Herman Talmadge carried it in 1948.

Hope to hear about your trip some day.

Greetings from the family.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie T. Hamilton

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

[ENC]

SCHLEY COUNTY Third Congressional District
2 Unit Votes

Population Characteristics	
A. Total Population (1930 census)	
1. Number	5,347
2. Density	34.7
3. Per cent change, 1920-30	2.0
4. Per cent urban	0.0
5. Per cent rural non-farm	16.2
B. Negro Population	
1. Per cent of total population	62.1
2. Per cent urban	0.0
3. Per cent change 1920-30	7.1
C. Population 5 - 19 Years of Age	
1. Number of whites	707
2. Number of Negroes	1,439
D. Largest Town in County	
1. Name	Ellaville (County Seat)
2. Population	764
Educational Characteristics	
A. Expenditures per Pupil Enrolled	
1. Per white pupil enrolled	23.72
2. Per Negro pupil enrolled	4.22
3. Ratio: Negro/white expend.	17.8
B. Per cent Age 7 - 13 in School	
1. Whites	94.4
2. Negroes	91.3
C. Rosenwald Schools	
1. Number of Schools	0
2. Number of Classrooms	0
3. Number of classrooms per 1,000 Negroes ages 5 - 19	No Rosenwald school
D. Number of One-Teacher Schools	
1. Per 1,000 whites age 5-19	1.41
2. Per 1,000 Negroes age 5-19	6.25
3. Ratio: white/Negro one-teacher schools	22.6
E. Average Value of Schools	
1. White schools	4,043
2. Negro schools	605
3. Valuation ratio: White schools/Negro schools	6.68
Literacy Characteristics	
A. Per Cent Illiterates	
1. Total population	6.9
2. Native-white population	0.7
3. Negro population	11.1
B. Subscribers per 100 Persons	
1. Fifteen national magazines	3.42
2. Daily newspapers	4.13

Economic Characteristics (Next page)

A. Retail Trade Center			
1. Name			Americus
2. Population			8,760
3. Location in relation to county			1
B. Distribution of the Gainfully Occupied			
1. Per cent of all males in agriculture			82.5
2. Per cent of all males in trade			2.7
3. Per cent of all Negro males in agriculture			87.8
4. Per cent Negro females are of total females			84.0
C. Farm Ownership and Tenancy			
1. Per cent of farm operators who are tenants			75.9
2. Per cent of white farm operators who are full owners			41.6
3. Per cent of Negro farm operators who are full owners			7.9
D. Other Farm Characteristics			
1. Per cent farm acreage in dominant type of farm			78.6
2. Per cent of land harvested in major crops			
a. First crop	Cotton	43.3	
b. Second crop	Corn	42.8	
c. Third crop			
d. Fourth crop			
e. Fifth crop			
f. Sixth crop			
3. Average size of farm			105.9
4. Per cent of farms mortgaged			29.8

Other Characteristics

A. Wealth and Buying Power	
1. Population per individual income tax return	445
B. Lynchings	
1. Number, 1900 - 1931	4
2. Lynching rate	74.81

Bibliography Reference

— Source — Johnson, C. S. — Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties. (1941)

Data 1946

Per cent Negro population	60.3
Number Negroes voting age	1722
Total voting age	2869
Total votes cast 1942	455

Just prior to the 1946 state primary election, registrars are reported to have disqualified about 50 per cent of 200 Negroes registered.

EXCERPTS FROM TALMADGE SPEECH
OPENING GOVERNOR'S CAMPAIGN
DOUGLAS, GEORGIA
July 10, 1948

23C-45

State's Rights

The important issue since reconstruction days now faces Georgia and the Southland. Not since Reconstruction Days have the southern states been threatened with oppressive legislation from the national government.

The so-called Civil Right's or anti-segregation program would destroy every vestige of states' rights. It would destroy the individual liberty of our people. It would destroy our segregation laws and our way of life. The FEPC would send a swarm of secret police into the State of Georgia to tell every employer whom them must hire and fire in every position. This program would destroy vestige of segregation between the races of our state and in the nation.

Segregation is best for the white man and it is best for the colored man.

If elected governor, I will do all within my power to help defeat the passage of this oppressive, communistic, anti-Southern legislation. If elected governor, the pattern of segregation shall be maintained at all hazards in accordance with the law.

Voters

Not since reconstruction have we had a horde of uninformed and easily bought bloc voters marching to the ballot box with a marked ballot in hand to cast their ballot for candidates as directed by Communist organizations.

We, in Georgia, fought for a democratic white primary. We knew that the Democratic White Primary would maintain the traditions and heritages of the South as we know them. The federal courts have reversed their ruling of more than a hundred years and have now stated that we cannot have an all white primary.

We now have laws on our statute books which would eliminate much of the evil conditions today if enforced in all the counties. The county board of registrars should inquire into the qualifications in accordance with the law, of the people whose names appear on the registration books. We must strengthen our qualification laws to eliminate the hazard of uninformed bloc voters who vote as told. Our voters must cast their ballot in accordance with their own judgment and not in accordance with orders passed down to them by some Communist organization. Representative democracy will be destroyed if we permit a continuance of bloc voting.

To restore the elective franchise of the state to people who do their own thinking and vote in accordance with their own convictions and judgment, I shall devote every ounce of my energy.

Mass.

May 10, 1949

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Paris, France

35-3-328

To the Editor

Sir:

Since the statement by Paul Robeson in Paris has aroused comment, I would like to make my attitude clear.

I hope you may find space to publish the following statement:

"I agree with Paul Robeson absolutely, that Negroes should never willingly fight in an unjust war. I do not share his honest hope that all will not. A certain sheep-like disposition, inevitably born of slavery, will, I am afraid, lead many of them to join America in any enterprise, provided the whites will grant them equal right to do wrong."

(Signed) W. E. B. Du Bois

COPY

[May 10, 1949]

35-3-147

To the Editor:

I agree with Paul Robeson absolutely, that Negroes should never willingly fight in an unjust war. I do not share his honest hope that all will not. A certain sheep-like disposition, inevitably born of slavery, will, I am afraid, lead many of them to join America in any enterprise, provided the whites will grant them equal right to do wrong.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Card sent June 17, 1948

Dear Sir:

23-41-20

On May 7 I wrote you concerning a proposed syndicated column. To date I have had no reply from your office. If you have had time to give consideration to the matter, I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

6 a 90

200

2035

189

1846

Jun 9

4

Mon 2"

20

4

50

50

50

50

50

250

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

January 5, 1949

Please take note that my address hereafter will be 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York. The telephone number is MUrray Hill 3-7894.

Very sincerely yours

W. E. B. Du Bois

230-2

Magazine Article

August 17, 1941

I have received the enclosed cablegram from the Union of Soviet Republics. Unless the State Department objects I shall fly Saturday.

I hope not only to attend this Congress but to see something of Russia, Poland and Checksoslovakia. Would you feel like commissioning me to an article or articles for your publication? I can be reached at this address even after I sail.

~~Very sincerely~~ V. T. Y.

W. E. B. Du Bois (caps)

23-9-68

Sent to attached list.

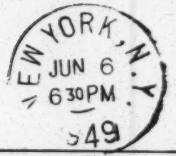
Aug 1949 [ENC]

COPY COPY

WILLIAM DU BOIS 409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE NEW YORK

AT INITIATIVE OF PUBLIC TRADE UNION AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS OF UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ALL UNION PEACE CONFERENCE BEING CONVENED MOSCOW AUGUST TWENTY FIFTH STOP ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE INVITES YOU AN ACTIVE CHAMPION FOR PEACE BE GUEST AT CONFERENCE STOP YOUR PRESENCE AT ALL UNION CONFERENCE OF PEACE SUPPORTERS WILL BE NEW PROOF COMMON ASPIRATIONS PEOPLES USSR AND USA ENSURE DURABLE AND LASTING PEACE THROUGHOUT WORLD STOP PLEASE INFORM US YOUR CONSENT AND DATE YOUR POSSIBLE ARRIVAL AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS TEN KROPOTKIN STREET MOSCOW STOP RESPECTFULLY YOURS ACADEMICIAN GREKOV CHAIRMAN ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE ALL UNION CONFERENCE PEACE SUPPORTERS.

23-40-57



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

23-50-6

DR W E DU BOIS

23 W 26 ST

N · Y CITY

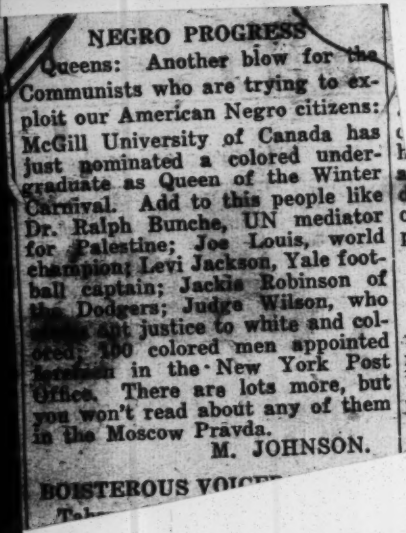
NEW YORK, N.Y. AUG 22 12 — M 1949

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

DR W. E. DU BOIS

23 WEST 26ST

N. YC1X



NEGRO PROGRESS

Queens: Another blow for the Communists who are trying to exploit our American Negro citizens: McGill University of Canada has just nominated a colored undergraduate as Queen of the Winter Carnival. Add to this people like Dr. Ralph Bunche, UN mediator for Palestine; Joe Louis, world champion; Levi Jackson, Yale football captain; Jackie Robinson of the Dodgers; Judge Wilson, who [illegible] out justice to white and colored; 100 colored men appointed [illegible] in the New York Post Office. There are lots more, but you won't read about any of them in the Moscow Pravda.

M. JOHNSON.

BOISTEROUS VOICE

PAUL ROBESON

WONT LIKE

THIS

HE MUST BE

AN UNCLE

TOM

JUST A LOT OF FASCIST

23-50-9

Russia 'Still Remote From Communism'

How much communism is there in the economic structure of the Soviet Union? Is Soviet society now really passing from socialism to communism, as it is claimed in Moscow?

In answering these questions in Sunday's New York Times Magazine, Isaac Deutscher reveals that coercion, inequalities, a class society, and want still exist in Russia.

Don't miss this informative article

Sunday in The New York Times Magazine

LIES I SUPPOSE YOU WILL SAY

HOMOSAPO

OPEN UP, IT'S THE LAW

...ve everybody slap-happy, get you a copy of "What is the Law." It costs 15c and is put out by the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination. (718 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington, D. C.)

While civil rights argument...

This little book tells you all the states that have civil rights laws giving you a right to use owners of restaurants, theaters, etc., when they bar you because of your color or race. It tells you just what to do. It also tells you about FEPC and what Unions have committees against discrimination and a lot else.

Ignorance of the law excuses none. Don't be ignorant.

AND IN CLOSING

23a-9

William Lewis Dies; Football Star of 1892-'93

Played Center for Harvard; Negro's Honors Made Him Subject of Dispute

BOSTON, Jan. 1 (AP).—William H. Lewis, eighty, Boston Negro lawyer who played center on the Harvard University football teams of 1892 and 1893, died today.

Was Center of Controversy

Mr. Lewis was the center of a succession of controversies because of his designation to various honors in spite of his race. The most important was his admission in 1911 to membership in the American Bar Association, which led to a bitter dispute within that organiaztion.

When the executive committee of the association undertook to cancel his admission, along with those of two other Negroes, the result was a prolonged dispute, with Attorney General George A. Wickerham leading the fight in behalf of Mr. Lewis. The controversy was settled the next year when the admissions were allowed to stand, but rules were adopted by the association providing that henceforth nominations for membership should state the race of the nominees.

Not until 1943 was another Negro admitted to membership by the American Bar Association.

Mr. Lewis already had been the subject of a similar dispute, in 1911, when he was nominated by President William Howard Taft to be an Assistant Attorney General, then the highest judicial post to which a Negro ever had been appointed. The nomination was held up by the Senate Judiciary Committee for several weeks before it was approved and the Senate confirmed it. At that time Mr. Lewis had been an assistant United States attorney in Boston.

The son of a Methodist minister in Virginia, Mr. Lewis worked his way through Amherst, from which he was graduated in 1892, and Harvard Law School, from which he was graduated in 1895. He was a football star in both schools and was varsity center at Harvard in 1892 and 1893. For several years thereafter he was a defensive coach at Harvard.

23a-9

SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 1949.

W. H. LEWIS IS DEAD; BOSTON LAWYER, 80

Former Harvard Football Star, Son of Ex-Slaves, Served in Federal Legal Posts

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BOSTON, Jan. 1 — William H. Lewis, one of Boston's leading criminal lawyers and a one-time football star at Harvard, died today at the age of 80. In recent months he had suffered several heart attacks.

Mr. Lewis, the son of former Negro slaves, was born in Berkeley, Va., and came to New England in his youth. Recently he won the last of a long series of court room victories, acquittal for a defendant accused of bribing a Revere city official.

The son of the Rev. Ashley Lewis, a Baptist clergyman. Mr. Lewis attended the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute and then served as an errand boy in Congress. With money earned by working in hotels and restaurants he enrolled at Amherst College in 1888. He distinguished himself as a scholar and athlete and was elected football captain and class orator.

In 1892 he entered Harvard Law School and under the eligibility rules of the day played for Harvard, starring at center. He was acting captain for one game in 1893 and Walter Camp, some years afterward, placed him on an all time All-America team. Later Mr. Lewis served as Harvard line coach for a time.

In 1899 he was elected to the Cambridge city council and three years later to the State Legislature. In 1903 his friend, President Theodore Roosevelt, appointed him to be assistant United States Attorney for Boston. He served until 1906 and a year later was made assistant United States Attorney for New England, serving until 1911, when President Taft named him an assistant attorney general. His appointment was approved despite some Congressional opposition.

In 1913 Mr. Lewis turned to private practice of law and soon became known as one of the most eloquent pleaders before the Massachusetts bar. He figured in scores of celebrated cases.

Suviving are a son, William H., Jr., of Dedham, Mass., and a daughter, Mrs. Pierre Becken of Paris.

MAURICE EVANS

MAN AND SUPERMAN

NEW YORK CITY CENTER

131 West 55th Street, between 6th and 7th Avenues

2 Weeks Only, Beg. Monday Evening, May 16

EVENINGS — MONDAY THROUGH SATURDAY

MATINEES WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY NO PERFORMANCE SUNDAY

W E B DUBOIS
20 W 40 ST
NEW YORK N Y

MAURICE EVANS
in
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY OF THE SEXES
MAN and SUPERMAN

Two Weeks Only
Starting MONDAY, MAY 16
EVENINGS: MONDAY THROUGH SATURDAY
MATINEES: WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY
NO PERFORMANCE SUNDAY

Return Postage Guaranteed

NEW YORK CITY CENTER
131 WEST 55th STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Sec. 562, P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N. Y.
PERMIT No. 4030

MAURICE EVANS in the SHAVIAN COMEDY "MAN and SUPERMAN"

Which Established A GBS-EVANS Broadway Long-Run Record Last Year

Only New York Appearance This Season

PRICES

EVENINGS
Monday thru Saturday at 8:40
No Performance Sunday

Entire Orchestra	$3.00
1st Balcony (1st 3 rows)	3.00
1st Balcony (next 10 rows)	2.40
Balance of 1st Balcony	1.80
2nd Balcony A to E (1st 5 rows)	1.80
2nd Balcony F to H (next 3 rows)	1.50
Balance of 2nd Balcony	1.20

MATINEES
Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40

Entire Orchestra	$2.40
1st Balcony (1st 13 rows)	2.40
Balance of 1st Balcony	1.80
2nd Balcony A to E (1st 5 rows)	1.80
2nd Balcony F to H (next 3 rows)	1.50
Balance of 2nd balcony	1.20

ALL PRICES INCLUDE FEDERAL TAX

MAIL ORDERS NOW — BOX OFFICE OPENS MONDAY, MAY 9

MAIL ORDER APPLICATION

New York City Center
131 West 55 Street New York 19, N. Y.

Enclosed find $..... payment in full for the following tickets:

No. of Tickets	Mat.	Eve.	Date	Location	Price	Total

DO NOT WRITE HERE

CASH CK. MO.
MAILED
ORCH.
BALCONY
2ND BALC.

Please make checks or money orders payable to N. Y. CITY CENTER

Name.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

491 Self-Addressed Stamped Envelope Must Be Enclosed For Return Of Tickets.

Toys - Fireworks - Greetings
FATHER BROWNS' CO.
Phone G-2644

Пятьдесят	Пять
Сорок	Четыре
Тридцать	Три
Двадцать	Два
Десять	Один

Четыреста	
Триста	
Двести	
Сто	

ТЫСЯЧИ · СОТНИ · ДЕСЯТКИ · РУБЛИ

ВЗЫСКАНО НАЛИЧНЫМИ РУБЛЕЙ:

Бесплатно или в кредит по требованию №.....

Гражданский

АЭРОФЛОТ

INTOURIST
Translation Office

Пасс. Дю-Буа

БИЛЕТ № 871312 Б

ОТ АЭРОПОРТА Москва-Внуково

ДО АЭРОПОРТА Варшава

ЧЕРЕЗ Минск

ЦЕНА 455 + 5 РУБ.

(правильность взысканной суммы проверяется по линии отреза сетки)

САМОЛЕТ _____ МЕСТО ____ РЕЙС № 113

ВРЕМЯ ВЫЛЕТА 3. IX-49 г. в 9 ч. 45

(дата, часы, мин.)

ВЕС ~~Багажа~~ - ручная

2.9.49 г. Кристи

ДЗС-413

Билет годен только на рейс, на который он выдан. Передача билета другому лицу запрещается.

По прибытии в аэропорт пассажир обязан зарегистрировать свой билет, отметить в билете номер места в самолете, оформить багаж или ручную кладь.

Явка в аэропорт к 7 ч. 45 м

Регистрация билетов, оформление ручной клади и багажа прекращается за 30 минут до вылета самолета.

В случае неявки пассажира к этому сроку, билет теряет силу и стоимость его не возвращается.

Дети в возрасте до 12 лет перевозятся только при взрослом пассажире. ~~Один ребенок до 5 лет перевозится бесплатно.~~

Пассажиру разрешается провоз при себе ручной клади весом до 5 кг бесплатно.

Не разрешается перевозить взрывчатые, отравляющие и легковоспламеняющиеся вещества.

Выход на летное поле для посадки на самолет разрешается только в сопровождении дежурного по аэровокзалу.

Перевозка подчиняется правилам Конвенции от 12 Октября 1929 г.

А 29/XI 1947. Гознак. Москва. Зак. 4041.

P.B. ORBIS
ODDZIAŁ POLONIA
KASA LOTNICZA

Pasażerów obowiązuje przybycie na lotnisko na 60 min. przed odlotem

Passengers are obliged to arrive at the airport 60 min. before departures

P.B.P. „OREIS"
OPŁATA SKARBOWA
1%=zł. 160
poz. Nr.

BILET PODRÓŻY BILLET DE PASSAGE	SER. BC Nr PL. 9560
BILET POWROTNY BILLET DE RETOUR	80-2-28
WAŻNY DO DNIA: VALABLE JUSQU'AU:	7.9.1949

23C-43

POLSKIE LINIE LOTNICZE »LOT«

CZŁONEK MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO ZRZESZENIA PRZEWOŹNIKÓW POWIETRZNYCH
MEMBRE DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DU TRANSPORT AÉRIEN I. A. T. A.

Nazwisko podróżnego: Nom du passager:	Du Bois BURGHARDT
Godzina i miejsce odjazdu autobusu: Service automobile: Heure et lieu de départ:	6.30 Hôtel Bristol

Nazwa przewożącego jest wymieniona w bilecie podróży
Le nom du transporteur est indiqué sur le billet de passage

Znajdujący się wewnątrz bilet jest ważny tylko łącznie z okładką
Le billet ci-inclus n'est valable que s'il est présenté avec la couverture

Seria BC
Nr Pl. 9560
do / à
Waga / Poids kg 3

Seria BC
Nr Pl. 9560
do / à
Waga / Poids kg 1

Seria BC
Nr Pl. 9560
do / à
Waga / Poids kg 4

Seria BC
Nr Pl. 9560
do / à
Waga / Poids kg 2

NAZWA PRZEWOŹNIKA(ÓW) / NOM DU OU DES TRANSPORTEURS: PRAHA

Bilet podróży / Billet de passage E

Ser. BC Nr PL. 9560

Nazwisko podróżnego / Nom du voyageur: BURGHART

Z / De: WARSZAWA

Do / A: PRAHA 210

Data lotu / Date du vol.: 29 Odlot (godz.) / Départ (h.)

Liniami / Via ligne: Nr Nr Nr Nr

Przewidziane miejsce zatrzymania — patrz rozkłady lotów odnośnych przewoźących / Pour les arrêts prévus - voir les horaires des transporteurs respectifs

Wypełnia przewoźący — Réservé aux Transporteurs

CENA / PRIX: 1600

R

Miejsce wystawienia / Lieu d'émission: W-wa

Data wystawienia / Date d'émission: 6.9.46

— Dla 3. Towarzystwa tranzytowego
— Pour la 3-ème Compagnie transitaire

Agentura — Agencja
Oddział w Warszawie
P. Lotnicze — spółdz. „LOT"
BIURO MIEJSKIE
OKĘCIE

WYPEŁNIA PRZEWOŹNY / À REMPLIR PAR LE TRANSPORTEUR

Kwit bagażowy do biletu podróży / Bulletin de bagages pour le billet de passage: APLATA SKARBOWA

Ser. BC Nr PL. 9560

Nazwa przewoźącego (ych) / Nom du ou des transporteurs: patrz bilet / voir billet de passage

Z / De: WARSZAWA

Do / A: PRAHA

Waga pakunków / Poids des bagages: 28 kg

Wolne od opłaty / Franchise: 20 kg

Nadwyżka / Excédent: 8 kg

Ilość pakunków / Nombre de colis: 2

Opłata za nadwyżkę do / Prix payé pour l'excédent jusqu'à: kg 160

ponad / au delà de: kg 120

Ogółem opłacono za nadwyżkę / Total payé pour l'excédent: 1280

Miejsce wystawienia / Lieu d'émission: Warszawa

Data / Date: 7-9-46

230-43

To the Delegate
of the
All-Union Congress
Partisans of Peace
Moscow
1949

W. E. B. Du Bois

Hotel
National
Room 219

Regulations Concerning the Use of Agency Tickets

1. The coupons contained within these covers represent officially recognized travel-tickets of the travel companies whose stamps they bear.

2. The registration of baggage is effected on the same conditions as those applying to baggage with ordinary tickets. Travellers are required to be present at the customs, tax, finance and any other administrative formalities.

3. The Tourist Office acts solely as the agent of the travel companies and assumes no liabilities arising out of the travel contract.

4. The validity of the tickets begins on and includes the date marked on the cover by the issuing office's stamp. Unstamped tickets are not valid.

5. Tickets are valid only within the period indicated thereon. The journey may be started on any date within this period of validity, but must be terminated by midnight of the last day of validity.

6. The travel companies reserve the right, in case of alterations of the cost of fare to admit holders of tickets only on payment of the corresponding difference.

7. Coupons without cover are not valid. The coupons may only be withdrawn by the control officials. Travellers are urged to see to it that the control officials detach and withdraw only the coupons for sections covered. Control organs are instructed to return to the traveller any coupon and control coupon withdrawn by mistake after having made an appropriate note thereon.

8. Requests for refund should be addressed in writing to the branch of the Tourist Office which has sold the tickets.

Non-utilization of tickets must be duly certified by an official.

Тип. ВЮ „Международная книга" З. 1601

[1949]

4127

A3C-43

USSR COMPANY FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL TO THE SOVIET UNION

INTOURIST

МЕСТО ВЫДАЧИ:
Lieu de délivrance:
Place of issue:

INTOURIST
Travel Bureau
Moscow

ДЕНЬ ВЫДАЧИ:
Date de délivrance:
Date of issue:

ЦЕНА
PRIX
PRICE

Правила пользования купонными книжками

1. Содержащиеся в этой книжке билеты являются официально допущенными проездными документами транспортных предприятий, штампы которых они носят.

2. Для отправки багажа действительны те же правила, что и для отправки по билетам обычного железнодорожного сообщения.

При выполнении таможенных, налоговых, финансовых и других административных формальностей, а также при отправке багажа присутствие пассажиров обязательно.

3. Бюро Путешествий является лишь представителем транспортных организаций и не несет никакой ответственности, вытекающей из соглашения по перевозке.

4. Срок действия билетов начинается со дня (этот день включается), указанного компостером на обложке и на билетах на месте их выдачи.

Некомпостированные билеты считаются недействительными.

5. Каждый билет может быть использован только в течение обозначенного на нем срока. Поездка по маршруту, на который действителен данный билет, может быть начата в любой день в течение этого срока, но должна окончиться не позднее полуночи последнего дня действия билета.

6. Транспортные предприятия сохраняют за собой право, при изменениях стоимости проезда, допускать пользование билетами только при оплате разницы в стоимости проезда.

7. Билеты без обложки недействительны. Билеты могут отрываться только лицами служебного персонала.

Служебному персоналу указывается на необходимость возвращения пассажирам неправильно оторванных билетов и контрольных корешков с внесением на них соответствующей отметки.

8. Рекламации о возврате должны направляться в письменном виде в Бюро Путешествий, которое выдало книжки.

Если билет неиспользован, то это должно быть подтверждено на билете лицом служебного персонала.

Règlement concernant l'usage des livrets de coupons.

1. Les billets contenus dans ce livret sont des cartes de voyage, officiellement admises par les Compagnies de Transport, dont ils portent le timbre.

2. L'expédition des bagages est effectuée aux mêmes conditions, que celles établies pour les bagages expédiés contre présentation des billets ordinaires délivrés pour le transport ferroviaire.

La présence des voyageurs est obligatoire pour l'accomplissement des formalités de douane, du prélèvement des contributions, des formalités d'ordre financier, administratif et autres, ainsi qu'au moment de l'expédition des bagages.

3. Le Bureau de Voyage agit uniquement en qualité de représentant des organisations de transport, n'assumant aucune responsabilité découlant du contrat de transport.

4. La validité des billets de chemin de fer entre en vigueur à partir du jour (ce jour inclus) indiqué par le composteur sur la couverture du livret et sur les billets mêmes, au moment de leur délivraison.

Les billets non-compostés ne sont pas valables.

5. Chaque billet n'est valable que durant le terme y indiqué. Le voyage entrepris d'après l'itinéraire durant lequel le dit billet est en vigueur peut être commencé à chaque date voulue de la période en question, mais doit être terminé pas plus tard qu'a minuit du dernier jour de la validité du billet.

6. Dans le cas où les prix du parcours auraient subi quelque modification, les Compagnies de Transport se réservent le droit d'accepter les billets uniquement contre paiement de la différence du prix advenue dans la valeur du trajet.

7. Les billets sans couverture ne sont pas valables. Ils ne peuvent être détachés que par le service de contrôle.

Le personnel de contrôle est averti de la nécessité de retourner aux voyageurs les billets qui auraient été arrachés par erreur, ainsi que les souches de contrôle les munissant d'une note s'y rapportant.

8. Les réclamations concernant les restitutions doivent être adressées par écrit au Bureau de Voyage où avaient été issus les livrets.

La non-utilisation d'un billet doit être dûment certifiée par le service de contrôle sur le billet même.

23C-43

Novodevichy Monastyr
(New Maidens Convent
Cathedral of Our Lady of
Smolensk

[1949]

23C-43

Praha - Zlatá ulička.

[1949?]

4023

FOTO J. SVEC PRAHA XI

Novodevichy monastyr

[1949?]

23C-43

PRAG - Teinkirche
PRAHA - Týnský chrâm

[1949?].

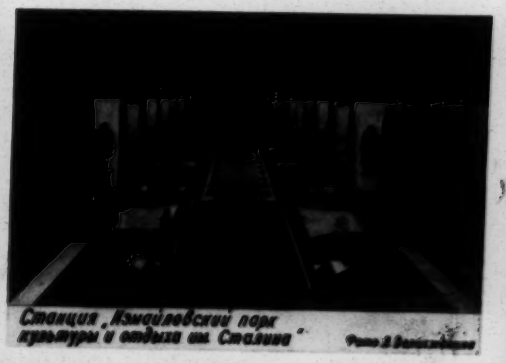
6022 G Z

Станция „Белорусская"

Станция „Победа"

Станция „Арбатская"

Станция „Сталинская"



Станция „Измайловский парк культуры и отдыха им. Сталина"

[1949?]

230-43

COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE

SALLE RICHELIEU

CAFÉ DE LA RÉGENCE

PLACE DU THÉATRE-FRANÇAIS
PARIS-Ier

le rendez-vous des artistes

*

1718

RESTAURANT
SALON DE THÉ
PATISSERIE
OPÉRA 32-34

*

"le plus ancien café de Paris"

"POUR UN HOMME" PARFUM DE CARON

230-43

MERCIER FRÈRES

MAISON FONDÉE EN 1828

ANCIEN MODERNE

AMEUBLEMENT DÉCORATION

100, Faub. SAINT-ANTOINE — PARIS (XIIe)

R U Y B L A S

(ANALYSE)

ACTE I. — Don Salluste, disgrâcié, se prépare à quitter la cour de Madrid, aidé de son valet Ruy Blas, qui pour la première fois le sert au palais en livrée. Don Salluste a fait venir son cousin, don César de Bazan, rentré depuis peu à Madrid après des années d'aventures. Il voudrait l'employer à se venger de la reine, auteur de sa disgrâce. Mais don César refuse de se prêter à ses vues. Tandis que don Salluste s'absente un moment, Ruy Blas reconnait en don César un de ses compagnons de misère; il lui raconte qu'il s'est fait laquais et qu'il est amoureux de la reine. Don Salluste a surpris la confidence. Après s'être débarrassé du véritable don César en le faisant arrêter, il fait passer Ruy Blas pour son cousin, le présente à la cour et lui ordonne de plaire à la reine. Il lui dicte deux billets : l'un est une demande de rendez-vous; dans l'autre Ruy Blas se reconnait laquais de don Salluste.

ACTE II. — La reine délaissée et que l'ennui dévore, songe à une lettre d'amour, à un morceau de dentelle, qu'elle a trouvés dans son parc. Elle reçoit un billet du roi. Ce billet est écrit de la même main que la lettre du parc : il a été dicté par le roi au messager qui l'apporte et qui n'est autre que Ruy Blas. La reine reconnait dans le faux Don César l'auteur de la lettre qui l'a intriguée et émue.

ACTE III. — La faveur de la reine a fait Ruy Blas premier ministre. Ce laquais a une âme généreuse. Il veut relever l'Espagne. Nous le voyons, au cours d'un conseil, dicter sa volonté à ses ministres qui dilapident le bien public. La reine, cachée der-

RUZÉ
Blondell
FOURRURES
A. REICHERT. Suc.
11, PLACE DE LA MADELEINE

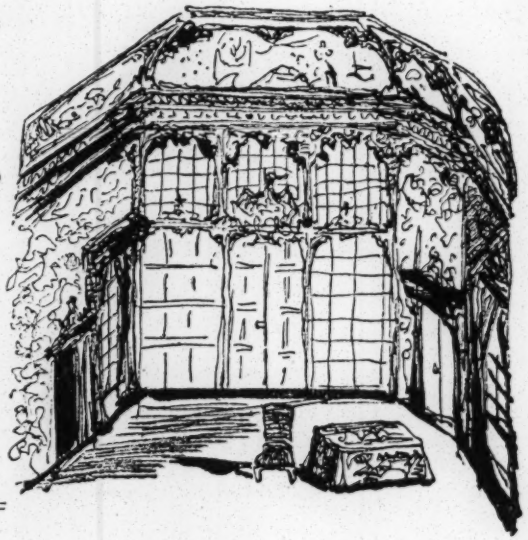
rière une tapisserie, l'a entendu et vient lui avouer qu'elle l'aime à son tour. Mais don Salluste reparaît et oblige Ruy Blas à aller l'attendre dans sa maison secrète du faubourg ; s'il n'obéit pas, il montrera à la reine le billet où Ruy Blas se reconnaît son valet. Don Salluste envoie ensuite à la reine l'autre billet de Ruy Blas lui fixant un rendez-vous.

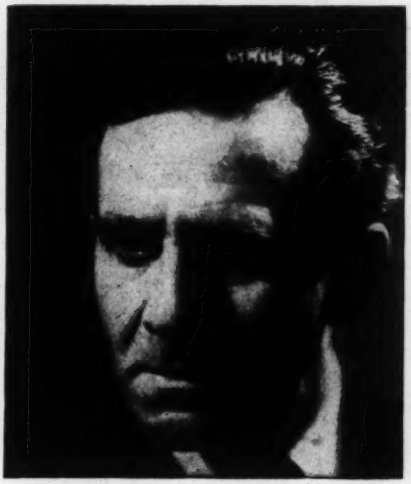
A l'ACTE IV, le retour du véritable don César de Bazan forme un intermède comique, fertile en toutes sortes d'imbroglios.

Cependant, à l'acte V, la reine arrive chez Ruy Blas. Celui-ci la supplie de fuir. Mais Don Salluste paraît et pose ses conditions : la reine quittera la cour avec son amant, ou le lendemain son aventure sera connue de tout Madrid. Ruy Blas est las de mentir : il avoue à la reine qu'il n'est qu'un valet de Don Salluste, perce celui-ci de l'épée qu'il lui a arrachée, et s'empoisonne sous les yeux de la reine qui lui crie son pardon.

CROQUIS
A LA PLUME
DE
VICTOR HUGO
POUR LE
DÉCOR
DU
1er ACTE

(*Manuscrit de* Ruy Blas *conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale*)





M. YONNEL
(Photo Harcourt)

Mlle Louise CONTE
(Photo Piaz)

230-43

VICTOR HUGO

PAR

DEVERIA

M. Paul-Emile DEIBER
(Photo Harcourt)

Mlle Thérèse MARNEY
(Photo Harcourt)

Mlle Hélène BELLANGER
(Photo Harcourt)

M. Georges CHAMARAT
(Photo Lipnitzki)

Prix du Programme : 50 francs.

R U Y B L A S

DRAME EN CINQ ACTES, EN VERS, DE

VICTOR HUGO

*

DON SALLUSTE	MM.	YONNEL
DON GURITAN		CHAMBREUIL
DON CÉSAR DE BAZAN		Jean MEYER
UN LAQUAIS		Robert MANUEL
MONTAZGO		LE GOFF
MANUEL ARIAS		Michel VADET
RUY BLAS		Paul-Emile DEIBER
COMTE D'ALBE		Pierre GALLON
COVADENGA		Georges VITRAY
UN ALCADE		Louis EYMOND
SANTA CRUZ		Georges CHAMARAT
GUDIEL		MARCO-BÉHAR
UBILLA		Henri MARCHAND
PRIEGO		André FALCON
UN ALGUAZIL		Jean PIAT
CAMPOREAL		François VIBERT
MARQUIS DEL BASTO		Georges POULOT
UN ALGUAZIL		Jean-Louis JEMMA
LA CAMERERA MAYOR	Mmes	Louise CONTE
LA REINE		Thérèse MARNEY
CASILDA		Hélène BELLANGER
UNE DUÈGNE		Denise GENCE

MM. DRANCOURT, *un Huissier* - J.-L. LE GOFF, *un Alguazil*

*

Mise en scène de M. Pierre DUX

*

" RUY BLAS " FUT CRÉÉ LE 8 NOVEMBRE 1838

AU THÉATRE DE LA RENAISSANCE

Matinée du Dimanche 11 Septembre 1949 — 793e Représentation

A LA COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE

PROCHAINS SPECTACLES

SALLE RICHELIEU

*

Dimanche 11 Septembre

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

L'AVARE
ON NE SAURAIT PENSER A TOUT

Lundi 12 Septembre

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

LES FEMMES SAVANTES
LES PRÉCIEUSES RIDICULES

Mardi 13 Septembre

En Soirée, à 21 h. :

LE PAIN DE MÉNAGE
LES ESPAGNOLS EN DANEMARK

Mercredi 14 Septembre

En Soirée, à 21 h. :

BRITANNICUS
LES BOULINGRIN

SALLE LUXEMBOURG

*

Dimanche 11 Septembre

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

ASMODÉE

Lundi 12 Septembre

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

LA REINE MORTE

Mardi 13 Septembre

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

LE ROI

Mercredi 14 Septembre

En Soirée à 20 h. :

CYRANO DE BERGERAC

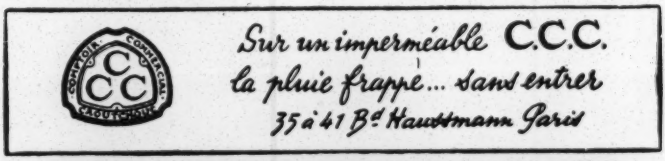
Jeudi 15 Septembre

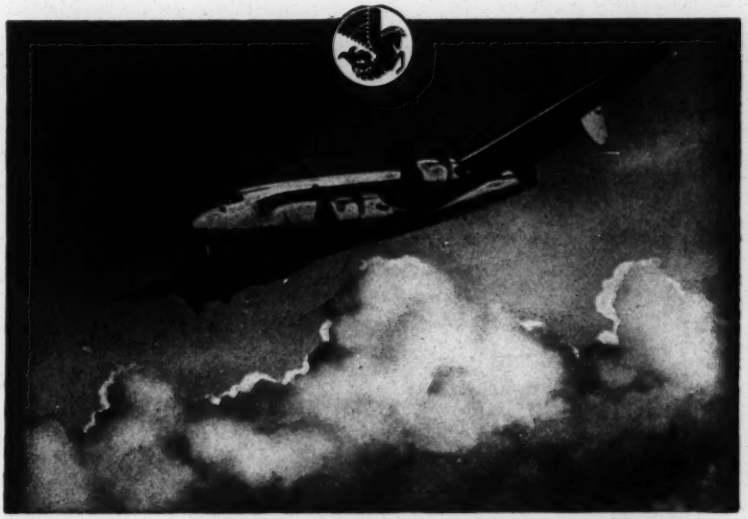
En Matinée, à 14 h. 30 :

ANDROMAQUE
UN CAPRICE

En Soirée, à 20 h. 45 :

LES TEMPS DIFFICILES





Quel que soit le but de votre voyage...

Avez-vous une affaire à traiter quelque part en Europe, en Amérique, en Afrique ou en Asie ? Par Air France, vous serez rapidement sur place, et votre voyage sera une véritable détente.

Vous pouvez aussi profiter davantage de vos vacances, même si vous disposez de peu de temps. Par Air France vous serez en quelques heures dans le pays que vous rêvez de connaître.

Pub. Yves Alexandre

AIR FRANCE

P34

119, CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES, BAL. 50-29 ET TOUTES AGENCES DE VOYAGE

de PARIS

LE TRAIN VOUS CONDUIRA *partout* EN FRANCE

A TOUTE HEURE AVEC CONFORT
RAPIDITÉ ET RÉGULARITÉ

S.N.C.F.

UNE ORGANISATION
MONDIALE AU SERVICE
DE L'HEURE EXACTE

CYMA

LA QUALITE DE RENOMMEE UNIVERSELLE

Vous jouerez avec le Soleil... sans danger !

Elizabeth Arden

Ses produits

Essentiels pour l'Eté

GELÉE ANTISOLAIRE ● CRÈME ANTISOLAIRE ● LOTION PROTECTA
HUILE SUN TAN ● MAQUILLAGE VELVA ● CRÈME DE HUIT HEURES

7, PLACE VENDOME, PARIS — BIARRITZ — CANNES — MONTE-CARLO

[1949?]

IN THE FAIRYLAND OF THE GOLDEN ISLANDS

"Happy, I was happy once, and that was at Hyères".

R. L. STEVENSON
(letter from Vaillima)

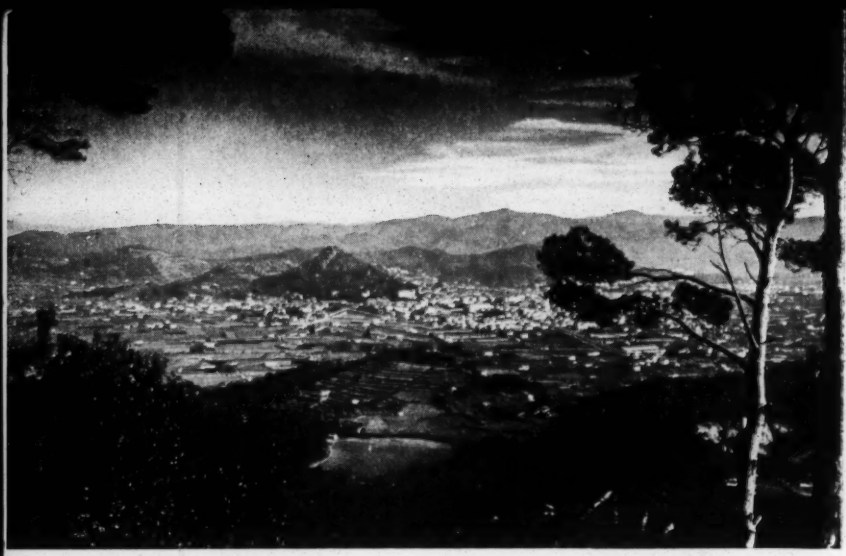
SYNDICAT D'INITIATIVE D'HYÈRES (VAR)

MAISON DU TOURISME

Avenue de Belgique
TÉLÉPHONE : 0.85

HYÈRES
(VAR)

French Riviera



R. L. Stevenson lived during the years 1883 and 1884 in Hyères in the villa « La Solitude » where his souvenir is kept. From there he wrote to Edmond Gosse : « That spot, our garden and our view are sub-celestial. I sing daily with my Bunyan, that great bard, I dwell already next door to Heaven. If you could see my roses and my olives, and my view over a plain, and my view of certain mountains as graceful as Apollo, as severe as Zeus, you would not think the phrase exaggerated ».

Since Stevenson, the panorama as well as the peaceful and poetical charm of Hyères have not changed. This old fashioned provincial town, which has always been popular with the British, has become a pleasure resort with facilities for many sports. There are tennis courts, croquet-lawns, an 18 hole golf course, a Casino and every kind of hotel, from good « pensions » to reasonable « de luxe » hotels, also numerous villas and flats.

Hyères is the most southern resort on the French Riviera. It is well sheltered by a range of mountains : the chain of the Maures with numerous walks amongst olive and pine woods ; the town faces due South and is situated 2 ½ miles from the sea.

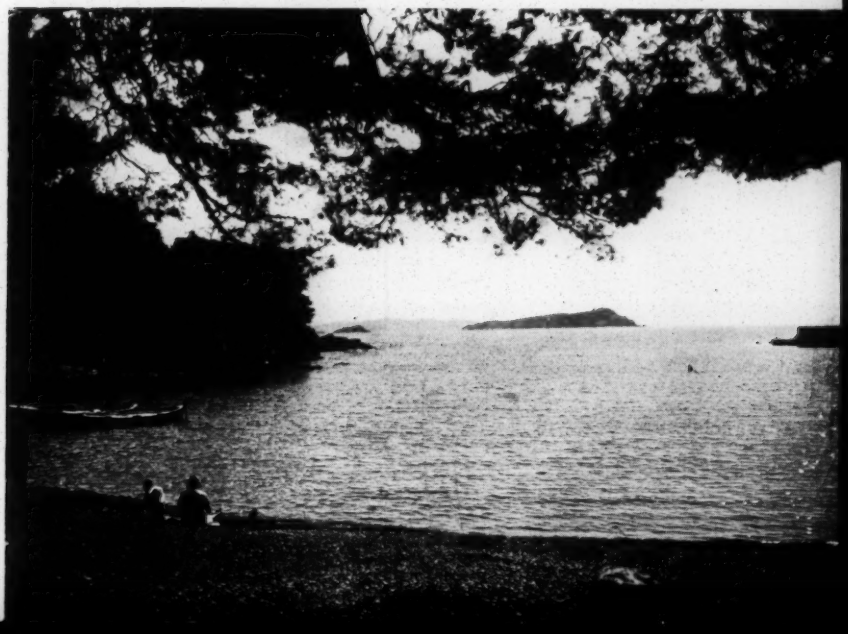
Hyères further offers :

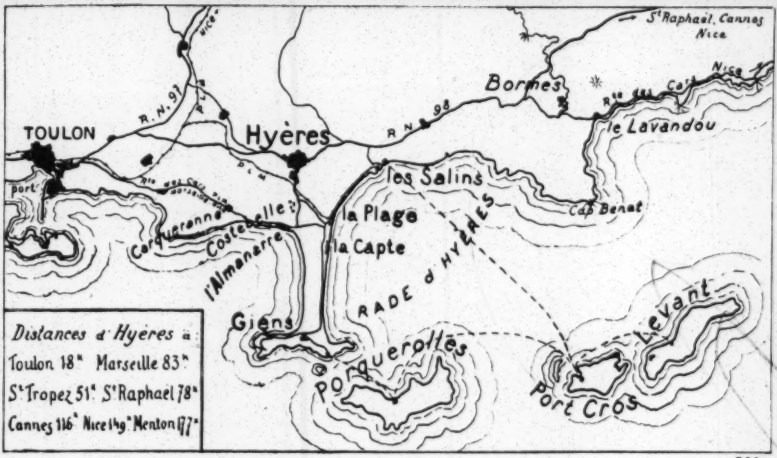
Palm-trees, African and balsamic flora ;

The Costebelle hills, where Queen Victoria stayed, covered with pine and mimosa trees ;

Its plains where the orange trees bloom ; its sandy shores with pine groves, suitable for camping, beautiful bays and beaches gently sloping down to the blue sea ;

Its fine Roadstead with the « Golden Islands » : Porquerolles, Port-Cros, the Levant and the Giens peninsula.





AUTUMN is like Spring for out-door excursions,

WINTER is enjoyed with Summer sports ;

SPRING is mild, ideal in nature's beauty ;

SUMMER is caressed at the same time by the sunshine and a refreshing sea breeze.

ALL THE YEAR ROUND, HYERES is lovely and inviting.

[1949]

C. G. T.
F. S. M.

Le Bureau Confédéral et l'Union des Syndicats Ouvriers de la R. P.

VOUS INVITENT A PARTICIPER A LA **GRANDE MANIFESTATION** QU'ILS ORGANISENT **A L'OCCASION DU 1er MAI** ET A PRENDRE PLACE A LA TRIBUNE OFFICIELLE, PLACE DE LA BASTILLE.

Станция метрополитена „Завод имени Сталина"

23C-43

MOC

Дом Совета Министров СССР

23C-43

Улица Горького

23C-43

Театральный п

Станция метрополитена „Маяковская"

23C-43

Станция метрополитена „Элект

Красная площадь. Мавзолей Ленина

23C-43

Комбинат газеты „Правда"

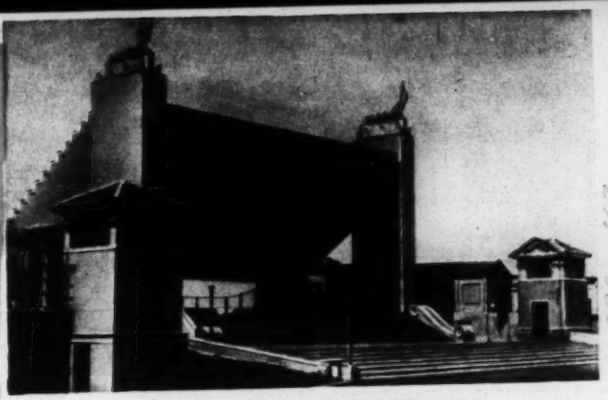
23C-43

Станция метрополитена „Ново-

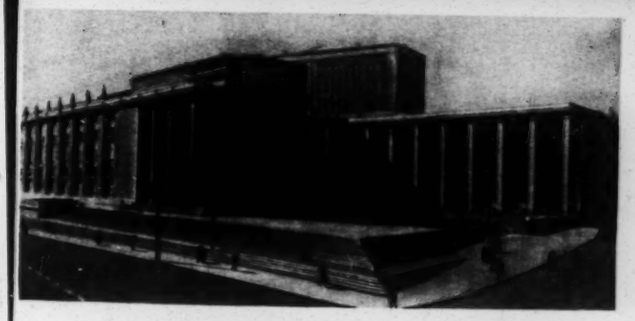
23С-43

[1949]

СКВА



Вход на водную станцию „Динамо"



Государственная Библиотека им. В. И. Ленина

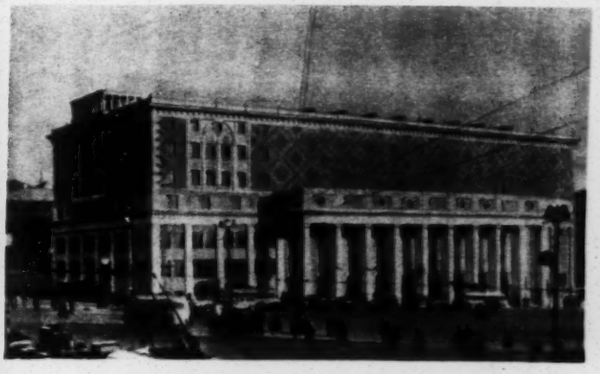
...проезд

Дом Московского Совета

Центральный театр Красной Армии

...ектрозаводская"

Большой Каменный мост



Концертный зал им. П. И. Чайковского

...ово-Кузнецкая"

Станция метрополитена „Динамо"

Гостиница „Москва"

23-43-13

Russia [U.S.S.R]

Форма № 1.

СССР
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ФИНАНСОВ

ВАЛЮТНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ

2 сентября 1949.
действительно по
2 октября 1949.

Москва, ул. Куйбышева, 9. Тел. К 5-00-42.

РАЗРЕШЕНИЕ № 000504

Гр. ВИЛЬЯМУ ДЮ БУА,

уезжающ ему за границу, разрешается вывоз с собой, без права покупки валюты в банке, американских долларов 550 (пятьсот пятьдесят) наличными.

НАСТОЯЩЕЕ РАЗРЕШЕНИЕ НА ГРАНИЦЕ ДОЛЖНО БЫТЬ ОТОБРАНО

ВАЛЮТНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ МИНИСТЕРСТВА ФИНАНСОВ СССР

(Петросян) (Васильев)

1

Гознак. Москва. 1948. Зак. 5146.

[1949?]

Carl Murphy, Afro-American 628 N. Eutaw Baltimore Md

Ted Thackery, Compass - 164 Duane St.

Editor New York Post - 75 West

" Herald-Tribune - 230 W. 41

" N.Y. Times - 229 W. 43

" Reader's Digest - Fulton Oursler

Collier's Magazine 250 Park Ave.

Mr. Henry Luce ¢ Life 9 Rockefeller Plaza

Editor Harper's Magazine - 49 E. 33

Cecil Belfrage - Natl Guardian - 17 Murray

23-9-69

[1949?]

Articles

Letters to Mr. Carl Murphy -
Afro- American -

Ed Thacker - Compass -

Edita " - New York Post

" " Herald Tribune.

" " New York Times -

" " Readers Digest

" " Mr. Henry Luce -

" " Colliers Magazine -

" " Harper's Magazine -

23-9-70

Wealth
&
SLAVES

ENERGY &
INITIATIV

NO SOCIALSM

DESPISING
NIGGERS

DEMOCRACY
as Freedom

MAJORITY
as Tyranny

~~BROOKS~~

~~Jacket~~ - TIE
CIGARETTES

~~KNOX~~

Hat - Gloves
~~Umbrella~~

~~Bank~~

Coat @ 4 Tm

The offensive
10th
PRIVILEGE
Growth - Wealth
Mongrel
ator.
Wealth
English
INTELLIGENCE

Tyranny of Rich
Corporations

Democracy via
Individualism

Carlyle's
Ideas

Tragedy of
Freedom

Ignorance of
Language
& Culture

1807 Legal Slavery
1787
Laws

23a-1

[1949 ?]

ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AEROLINIE

PRAHA

ČLEN IATA - MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION

LETENKA A ZAVAZADLOVÝ LÍSTEK
PASSENGER AND BAGGAGE CHECK

FORM 0642 **204702**

ČSA

DOBA A MÍSTO ODJEZDU AUTOBUSU
TIME AND PLACE OF COACH SERVICE DEPARTURE

COUPON 1

DOBA - TIME	MÍSTO - FROM
12.50	CSA - Kotva

COUPON 2

DOBA - TIME	MÍSTO - FROM
	CONVOCATION : Station des Invalides à 7..h PM.

DRŽITEL LETENKY JE POVINEN PŘEZKOUŠETI ÚDAJE V LETENCE A SEZNÁMITI SE S DOPRAVNÍMI PODMÍNKAMI UVNITŘ LETENKY
EACH PASSENGER SHOULD CAREFULLY EXAMINE THIS TICKET PARTICULARLY THE CONDITIONS HEREIN ENCLOSED

K ODBAVENÍ NA LETIŠTI PRO ZAHRANIČNÍ TRATE JE NUTNO SE DOSTAVITI 30 MINUT PŘED ODLETEM
PASSENGERS NOT USING ČSA BUS-SERVICE HAVE TO REPORT 30 MINUTES BEFORE DEPARTURE

PODMÍNKY PŘEPRAVNÍ SMLOUVY

1. Doprava prováděná na základě této letenky je podrobena pravidlům o odpovědnosti, stanoveným Úmluvou o sjednocení některých pravidel o mezinárodní letecké dopravě, podepsanou ve Varšavě dne 12. října 1929, je-li tato doprava »mezinárodní« ve smyslu zmíněné úmluvy. Kromě toho tato doprava je podrobena níže uvedeným ustanovením a podmínkám a dopravním podmínkám, tarifům, pravidlům, předpisům a letovým řádům (ne však pokud jde o doby odletu a příletu) dopravce, které se tímto stávají její součástí a které jsou k disposici a nahlédnutí ve všech kancelářích dopravce a na letištích, z nichž provozuje pravidelnou dopravu. Tato doprava je podrobena rovněž donucovacím zákonům, vládním nařízením, pravidlům, předpisům a požadavkům. Pro účely výše uvedené úmluvy je povoleno na letenkových útržících užívati zkratek jména dopravce, plné jméno a jeho zkratka musí však býti uvedeny v letových řádech dopravce, adresa dopravce je v místě odletu, které je uvedeno vedle zkratky dopravcova jména na útržku(-cích) letenky. Stanovené zastávky, které mohou být dopravcem v případě nutnosti změněny, jsou místa, která jsou jiná než místa odletu a určení cestujícího, uvedená v útrzích této letenky a v každém jiném lístku vydaném se zřetelem k ní a/nebo uvedená v letových řádech dopravce(-ů) jako pravidelné zastávky na cestě cestujícího.

2. Pokud to neodporuje platným zákonným předpisům, dopravce, jeho zaměstnanci nebo zástupci nebudou odpovědni vůči cestujícímu, jeho dědicům, právním nástupcům, příbuzným nebo jejich splnomocněncům za smrt nebo poškození na těle jeho osoby, ztrátu, poškození nebo opoždění jeho zavazadel nebo osobních věcí, vzniklých při dopravě nebo jiných službách a výkonech prováděných dopravcem, ať již byly či nebyly způsobeny nebo zaviněny jednáním, opomenutím nebo chybou dopravce, jeho zaměstnanců a zástupců nebo jinak.

a) V každém případě, kdy cestujícímu byla nabídnuta volba sazeb podle hodnoty, odpovědnost dopravce za ztrátu nebo poškození zavazadla a osobních věcí jiných než zavazadla, nebo za zpoždění při jejich dodání, je omezena na jejich prohlášenou hodnotu (nebo na jejich obecnou cenu, je-li tato nižší než hodnota deklarovaná), která nebude úhrnem přesahovati částku 5000 Kčs (nebo jejich protihodnotu) za jednoho cestujícího, nebyla-li předem udána vyšší hodnota a nebyly-li příslušné poplatky zaplaceny podle sazeb (tarifů) dopravce, nerozhoduje při tom, zda ztráta, škoda nebo zdržení bylo způsobeno nebo zaviněno jednáním, opomenutím nebo chybou dopravce, jeho zaměstnanců nebo zástupců, nebo jakýmkoliv jiným způsobem.

b) Takto dopravované zavazadlo bude vydáno jeho držiteli proti odevzdání dopravci adresního (reklamačního) útržku, vydaného se zřetelem na toto zavazadlo.

3. Jakmile tato letenka je úředně uvedena v platnost, platí pro dopravu z letiště místa odletu na letiště místa určení pro cestu v ní předepsanou a platí jeden rok od data nastoupení cesty, nestanoví-li předpisy dopravce jinak. Každý kupon letenky bude přijat pro cestu v den, pro který bylo zajištěno místo v letadle, je-li kupon letenky vystaven bez určení data, místo v letadle bude zajištěno na žádost cestujícího v mezích možnosti (volných míst). Místo a datum vystavení jsou uvedeny na kuponech letenky.

4. Časy odletů a příletů, uvedené v letových řádech nebo jinde, udávají přibližné časy a nejsou součástí dopravní smlouvy; tyto časy jsou bez záruky. Letové řády podléhají změnám bez předchozího oznámení. Dopravce si vyhrazuje právo, v souhlase se svými tarify, dáti se zastoupiti bez oznámení jinými dopravci nebo letadlem nebo zrušiti, ukončiti, odložiti nebo zdržeti kteréhokoliv let nebo další právo letu nebo reservace míst zcela nebo částečně a rozhodnouti, zda z jakéhokoliv důvodu časy odletu nebo příletu mají býti změněny a zda kterýkoliv odlet nebo přistání mají býti provedeny v určitou dobu nebo na určitém místě, a to bez jakékoliv odpovědnosti, ať na to, že za nepoužitou část letenky vrátí, v souhlase s tarify a předpisy dopravce, jízdné a dopravné za zavazadlo. Nepřejímá se odpovědnost za zaručení spojení. Je-li obava, že by letadlo bylo přetíženo, o osobách a předmětech, které budou dopraveny, rozhodnou orgány, pověřené dopravcem dohledem na nakládání letadel.

5. Dopravce nebude odpovědan za ztrátu nebo výdaje vzniklé cestujícímu tím, že cestující nedodržel úřední cestovní předpisy a nemá platné úřední doklady pro odjezd a vstup a jiná zákonem předepsaná osvědčení. Cestující se musí dostaviti na letiště v dobu dopravcem stanovenou, nebo není-li tato určena, tak včas před odletem, aby bylo možno provésti úřední a jiné formality a odbavení zavazadel.

6. Žádný zástupce nebo zaměstnanec není oprávněn měniti nebo upravovati jakýmkoliv způsobem kterékoliv z ustanovení nebo kteroukoliv z podmínek této smlouvy nebo vyhýbati se jejich plnění.

7. Doprava, která má býti provedena postupně několika dopravci, považuje se stranami za jediný výkon. Avšak při prodeji letenky nebo při odbavování zavazadel pro tuto dopravu na tratích jiných dopravců odbavující společnost jedná pouze jako zástupce a ani tato, ani súčastněný dopravce nebudou odpovědní za poškození na těle, ztrátu, škodu nebo zpoždění, které nezpůsobili vlastním opomenutím (nedbalostí) nebo které se nepřihodily na jejich vlastních tratích nebo při výkonu jejich vlastních služeb.

8. Nesúkonnost nebo neplatnost kteréhokoliv paragrafu, podmínky nebo ustanovení v letence obsažených nebo na ně se vztahujících nemá vlivu na platnost ani nesrušuje kterýkoliv jiný paragraf nebo ustanovení zde obsažené.

9. Výraz »dopravce«, jehož je zde používáno, značí společnost, jež vystavila tuto letenku, jakož i společnosti, které jsou v připojených útrzích označeny a uvedeny jako dopravci, a zahrnuje jednatele, úředníky i zástupce těchto společností.

23a-1

ČSA

№ 204702

ČSA

№ 204702

ČSA

№ 204702

ČSA

№ 204702

ČSA

№ 204702

ČSA

№ 204702

23a-1

CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT

1. Carriage/Transportation under this Passenger Ticket and Baggage Check, hereinafter called »ticket«, is subject to the rules relating to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to International Carriage/Transportation by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, if such carriage/transportation is »international carriage/transportation« as defined by said Convention. Insofar as there is no inconsistency with the said rules, carriage/transportation hereunder or other services operated by the Carrier in respect of which any liability may attach to the Carrier, including the custody of baggage on land or water, is also subject to the terms and conditions herein set forth and to the conditions of carriage, tariffs, rules, regulations and timetables (but not the times of departure and arrival stated therein) of the Carrier which are hereby made part hereof (copies of which are available for inspection at any of the offices of the Carrier and at airports from which it operates regular services). Carriage/Transportation hereunder is also subject to applicable laws as to liability and otherwise, governmental regulations, demands, orders and requirements. For the purposes of the said Convention, it is agreed that the name of the Carrier may be abbreviated on the ticket coupons, the full name and its abbreviation being set forth in the Carrier s tariffs or timetables and that the address of the Carrier(s) shall be the airport at the place of departure shown opposite the first abbreviation of the Carrier's name in the ticket flight coupon(s). The agreed stopping places, which may be altered by the Carrier in case of necessity, are those places, other than the passenger's place of departure and of destination, set forth in the passenger coupon of this ticket and any other conjunction ticket issued herewith, and/or shown in the timetables of the Carrier(s) as scheduled stopping places on the passenger's route.

2. If, and to the extent that it is not in conflict with the law to be applied, the Carrier shall be under no liability to the passenger, his heirs, legal representatives or their respective assignees for death or injury to his person, or loss, damage or delay to his baggage or personal property arising out of the carriage/transportation or any other services or operations of the Carrier, whether or not caused or occasioned by the act, neglect or default of the Carrier, or otherwise.

(a) In any event, the passenger having been offered a choice of rates according to value, the liability of the Carrier for loss of or damage to baggage and to personal property other than baggage, or for delay in the delivery thereof, is limited to its declared value (or to its actual value if less than the declared value), which is agreed to be not more, in the aggregate, than $100,00 United States Currency (or its equivalent) per passenger, unless a higher valuation is declared in advance and additional charges paid therefor pursuant to the tariffs of the Carrier; notwithstanding that any loss, damage or delay may have been caused or occasioned by the act, neglect or fault of the Carrier, or in any other manner.

(b) Baggage transported hereunder will be delivered to the bearer hereof upon the return to the Carrier of the baggage (claim) tag(s) issued in connection with such baggage.

3. When officially validated, this ticket is good for carriage/transportation from the airport at the place of departure to the airport at the place of destination via the route shown herein, and is valid for one year from date of initial flight except as otherwise provided in the tariffs of the Carrier. Each flight coupon will be accepted for passage on the date and flight for which accommodations are reserved; when flight coupons are issued on an »open date« basis, accommodations will be reserved upon application, subject to availability of space. The place and date of issue are set forth on the flight coupons.

4. The times of departure and arrival shown in timetables or elsewhere furnish only indications of approximate times and form no part of the contract of carriage/transportation; and no such times are guaranteed. Schedules are subject to change without notice. The Carrier reserves the right, in accordance with its tariffs, without notice to substitute alternate carriers or aircraft, or to cancel or terminate, postpone or delay any flight or the further right of passage or reservation of traffic accommodations in whole or in part; and to decide if for any reason the times of departure or arrival should be modified and if any departure or landing should be made at any particular time or place, without any liability except to refund, in accordance with the tariffs and regulations of the Carrier, the fare and baggage charge for any unused portion of the ticket. No responsibility for making connections is accepted. If there is any question of an aircraft being overloaded, the persons authorized by the Carrier to supervise loading shall decide which passengers or articles shall be carried.

5. The Carrier shall not be liable for loss or expenses arising from the failure of the passenger to comply with government travel requirements and to possess valid government exit and entry documents and other certificates required by law; and the passenger must arrive at the airport by the time fixed by the Carrier, or if no time is fixed, sufficiently in advance of the flight departure to permit the completion of governmental and other formalities and the checking of baggage.

6. No agent or employee has authority to alter, modify or waive in any manner any of the provisions or conditions of this contract.

7. Carriage/Transportation to be performed hereunder by several successive Carriers is hereby regarded by the parties as a single operation. However, in selling this ticket or checking baggage for carriage/transportation over the lines of others, the Issuing Company acts only as agent and neither the Issuing Company nor any Carrier involved shall be liable for any injury, loss, damage or delay not occasioned by its own negligence or not occurring on its own lines or in its own services.

8. The illegality or nonvalidity of any paragraph, clause or provision contained or referred to in this ticket shall not affect or invalidate any other paragraph or provision hereof.

9. The term »Carrier« as used herein means the Company issuing this ticket and the company(ies) named or designated as Carrier in the attached flight coupon(s), and for the purposes of the exemption from and limitation of the liability provisions set forth herein or contained in the aforesaid Convention, shall be deemed to include the agents, servants, and representatives of any such company(ies).

23a-1

VYDALY ISSUED BY

ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AEROLINIE

PODLE PŘIPOJENÝCH DOPRAVNÍCH PODMÍNEK
SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT HEREIN ENCLOSED

LETENKA A ZAVAZADLOVÝ LÍSTEK
KUPON PRO CESTUJÍCÍHO
PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

FORM 0642 204702

PŘÍPOJOVÉ LETENKY CONJUNCTION TICKET(S) Form Číslo - No.

JÍZDNÉ - FARE US $ 129-

Protihodnota - Equivalent Am't Pd $ 129-00

ZÁKL. TARIF FARE BASIS

CELKOVÝ LET (Podrobnosti o přestupních letištích) COMPLETE ROUTING (This Ticket and Conjunction Tickets)

DAŇ - TAX

CELKEM - TOTAL $ 129-

Způsob placení - Form of Payment CASH

Platnost končí - Expiring Date

MÍSTO A DATUM VYDÁNÍ PLACE AND DATE OF ISSUE
Not good unless officially validated
Prague 7 9 49

PODPIS SIGNATURE C.S.A.

ZAVAZADLA BAGGAGE: Počet Pcs. / Váha Wt.

VYMĚNĚNO ZA Form: a číslo IN EXCHANGE FOR Form and No.

ze dne Originally Issued

Z FROM	DO TO	Dopravce Via Carrier	Trať a číslo Flight No.	Datum Date	Odlet Time
PRAGUE	PARIS	CSA	551	9-9	1410
PARIS	NEW YORK	AF	003	15 SEP	0910

Použito do označ. místa Used to Point indicated

Potvrzení o obnově platnosti letenky, zrušené označením v tomto sloupci Endorsement below revalidates ticket cancelled by indication in this column

ZNÁNO Z - REVALIDATED FROM: KYM - BY:

NEPŘENOSNÉ - NOT TRANSFERABLE

CESTUJÍCÍ NAME(S) OF PASSENGER(S) MR. W.E.B. DUBOIS

Národnost Nationality US / USA

Počet No. Pass. ONE

Doprava provedená podle tohoto zavazadlového a zavazadlového lístku, nadále zvaného »letenka«, podléhá pravidlům vztahujícím se na ručení, ustanovené konvencí pro sjednocení určitých pravidel týkajících se mezinárodní dopravy letecké, podepsané ve Varšavě 12. října 1929, jedná-li se o dopravu »mezinárodní«, tak jak je definováno řečenou konvencí.
Carriage under this Passenger and Baggage Ticket, hereinafter called »ticket«, is subject to the rules relating to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw on October 12, 1929, if such carriage is »international carriage« as defined by said Convention.

Grafia, Plzeň

[1949?]

plants the seed and retreats thereafter to the sidelines.

Woman's "psychology" and her kind of life aid her physical make-up. It is her "weakness," her caution and patience, which are also her strength. Woman's "weakness," indeed, is man's greatest invention, and women don't bother to dispel this illusion. Why should they?

THOMAS SUGRUE, in his autobiography "Stranger in the Earth," points out that "it takes little more than a year now to convert a luxury into a necessity, by the standards of modern advertising"; the result is that the American woman does less and less, lives longer and longer, while her husband, a drone, "a social eunuch," his insurance paid up, dies of a heart attack before he's 50.

From my experience I should say that the American male of the middle-income brackets overworks himself and that his wife underworks herself. As a leading woman's magazine puts it, "Of all the labor-saving devices ever invented for women, none has ever been so popular as a devoted male."

Our men die earlier probably because it is they who face most of the strain of earning a living, the high pressure and the competition. It might be that we could get men to live as long or longer than the female by making woman the wage-earner.

In that case the man would remain at home and take care of the house and the children. Many men and women will find this a charming idea, but only a small number of men could endure this role. It would cripple the male animal, built for the display of energy, especially the male animal in America, made even more energy-displaying by social pressure and our high standard of living.

IT is high time that women considered these facts. Women live longer than men; women are better able to stand the struggle of life, yet it is men who are put under the heavier competitive strain. Men make the best husbands and fathers, and they are nice and useful things for a woman to have around—but they don't last long enough. Women ought to ponder these things and then figure out ways to make men wear better.

What kind of ways? Well, I have suggested in the past that women really should give up their seats to men in buses. The chief cause of death in men is heart disease. For cardiac hygiene it is better to sit than stand. Hence, if men sit and women stand, more couples will celebrate their silver and golden wedding anniversaries.

Women point out to me that there is one thing wrong with any measure of this sort—it might help men's hearts but would ruin their egos. Women have to let men go on believing they are the stronger sex.

All right—here is a more practical suggestion. A woman should look at her standard of living and the amount of work her husband has to do in order to maintain it. She might then consider the effect on his life span of the great pressure under which her husband works. Are the standard of living and the size of the prospective estate sufficient compensation for a longer period of being a "woman alone"?

EVERY wife should sit down and go over her husband's budget of energy expenditure. Is he aging successfully? How does he spend his time and force? Is he in good shape physically and emotionally? Has he been checked for those things recently? Emotional factors play an important part in physical illness generally, and the heart is an organ whose health is much affected by emotional stresses and strains.

Gerontology (the science of aging) has made such progress that effective programs of preventing premature aging can be set up. Or where declines have set in, it is possible to reverse some changes by a "de-aging" schedule.

In general, my advice to women is this: the next time you meet a man be kind to him; perhaps his longevity is showing and needs some mending.

There is another factor for wives to consider in connection with putting all of the earning-a-living strain on their husbands. Women, the stronger sex, are relieved of the strain and grow still stronger—but also rather bored. Middle-income wives live suspended in midair, and thereby both the community and themselves suffer a great loss. For them to go to work, either in business or at home, is often the best way out of boredom.

LET us turn to the effects of the greater longevity of women. I could demonstrate one of these effects if I could take each reader on an evening tour of the lobbies of large apartment hotels in my neighborhood. Most of the people sitting around are women, who have plenty of money and time but no male companionship, no interests or activities, no plan as to how to spend the rest of their lives. Many such women have told me that their greater longevity is a gift of dubious value.

The major problem of middle and late maturity, as I have seen it at close range for a number of years, is pretty much this problem of the woman alone. Consider the statistics:

In 1945, about 32.9 per cent of married women had been widowed by age 60, according to the Federal Bureau of the Census. In 1947 about 55 per cent of all women at ages 60-64 were widows, as estimated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The average wife will be a widow eight years during her lifetime, assuming no remarriage. That is because (1) a wife will live four years longer than her husband (1945 mortality data) just on the basis of their being the same age at time of marriage; (2) actually, on the average, the bride is four years younger than the bridegroom.

IN 1947, 7.9 per cent of the women in the civilian population had never been married. This is approximately one out of each thirteen. In the same year 55.1 per cent of all women at ages 65 and over were widows. One per cent were divorced and another 1.9 per cent were "semi-detached" or separated from spouses for long periods. When you group together widowed, divorced, separated and permanently single women you get two-thirds of women over 65—all living without husbands. You now see the problem of growing older as I have learned to see it in the past fifteen years.

This woman alone: who will support her? How can she earn a living? Where, with whom, and how can she live? How can she get male companionship—on a life partnership basis preferably, but for shorter periods if no more than that is possible. How can she find an outlet for unsatisfied maternal impulses (even though she be a mother and grandmother)?

These are all serious problems. One approach is to have men live as long as their wives. We've talked about that. The other approach is for husbands and wives to have the same marital span if they can't have the same life span. The scientific solution would be that men should marry women eight years their senior.

THIS notion, however, has met with what I might term a certain degree of unenthusiasm on the part of a sex which shall remain unnamed. It is ironic, speaking vital-statistically, that men as they get older should have such a terrific yen to mate with women anywhere from fifteen to thirty years their junior. Biologically, however, it may make sense, since woman's reproductive period ends much sooner than man's.

There is nothing wrong with December-May marriages except their duration. The wife will be without that particular partner for a period which is definitely calculable, using that previously mentioned formula: husband's age minus wife's age plus 4. Of course, widows can remarry. Some do. Many more do not.

Apart from any theoretical balancing of ages in marriage, the fact remains that for some time to come, more and more women will grow older and more older women will be alone. This leads me to some remarks I should like to address to the married women.

MARRIAGE is an important objective to women. It establishes them in the social scale just as a man is "placed" by his job. The "happily" married woman has found her niche; made the grade. A critical neighbor might call her smug. Sometimes the happier, the smugger. It is ironic, again speaking vital-statistically, that the more successful the marriage is in its deepest emotional sense, the less prepared the survivor is for life alone.

Married people soon forget what life is like for the non-married. Few husbands and wives inquire how the non-married manage their social life. Over your knitting, you muse to hubby: "Gerard, I believe we should have Mildred up next Saturday night." You may not ask Mildred for another six months. Not that you should. Mildred's social welfare, her unattached state, is not your problem. *You* are your problem. Yet, by assuming without question that all of Mildred's spare time is being taken care of, you not only miss helping her but develop no resources or plans for your own A-Day (Alone-Day) in case it should ever arrive.

As a practical person trying to help the older woman with her problems I again and again run smack into this fact that married people rarely invite the non-married to their gatherings. (The mateless male is supposed to fare better socially than the mateless female, but this is not as true as is commonly believed.) A "woman alone" can have a normal life only with people. But married couples rarely invite the single person, and if they do, they will have only one or two despite a fairly large gathering.

Then what shall the non-attached woman do?

THAT is a big question, but here goes.

Most single people do not regularly have groups up to their home, and it is only with marriage that our introduction to a formal social life starts. Though the non-attached group is a sizable one in our society, it is difficult for it to do something for itself.

A few months ago, I scouted around privately to find out why it is that married couples do not invite more of those living alone. Many of those questioned told me that a person living alone is not geared to inviting the married couple back. Hence, there is not much percentage in cultivating the unattached. Others explained that the married couple is invited because doing so simplifies your social shopping—you get two birds with one stone, even though it is rare that both birds be equally appetizing and nourishing.

MRS FLORENCE BROOKS said: "Women regard marriage as proof of their success. Women also do the inviting. That's why those who have made the grade seek out others who have made the grade—the married invite the married." Another woman told me: "When I invite a married couple, I'm sure my husband will have a man to talk to. John won't have to be bored by Mildred for several hours." (Men, in their wives' presence, have been known to find it hard to locate interesting topics of conversation with women.)

Mrs. Cherie Foster, a little more honest than most, stated: "A wife might be worried about her marital security. So she wouldn't like to have an unattached charmer up for fear her husband might get interested in said charmer." But let wifie ask up a gal with whom said vulnerable husband would prove a marital Rock of Gibraltar! Then hubby protests against the dull and dismal prospect, and even wifie herself might find such a guest hard to take.

Mrs. Alice Randall told me—and this is strictly confidential between author and reader: "I do not invite unattached women because it seems to me—I don't like to say this—but you know, Perry and I are so happy, and these unattached women just envy the beautiful happiness we have. They sit there in our living room, so sad and distracted that they have nothing of this. Frankly, it bothers me to be surrounded by such hungry, devouring eyes."

Mrs. Randall sounds like the millionaire into whose study a beggar broke with a sorrowful tale. Finally, the millionaire, tearful and distraught, kicked the beggar downstairs, saying: "Can't you see how you are breaking my heart!"

MARRIED couples should make non-attached men and women part of their social life according to the ratio of non-attached to married in the population at large, roughly 33 per cent. For every four married persons (two couples), you would have two non-attached.

Every married person reading this comfortably at the breakfast table might realize that he cannot be absolutely certain that his status will not change. He might tell himself, "There, but for the grace of God, mortality tables and divorce statistics, go I."

Shifting now from the contentedly married to the unattached woman who is dissatisfied with her state, I would say that her problem is how to live alone and not show it. My rule is that she start wherever she is. She disregards the kind of apartment or room she has, not blithely, of course, but she disregards it, as she does the small size or the unsatisfactory nature of her social group. (A bore may be the unwitting link between you and the person who is "It.") She starts by inviting up a small group of people. She might make it two-thirds married and one-third single.

"Some of my best friends are married people," she might say, "and I do not think a single person should discriminate against them."

At whatever gathering she attends she will enter the single man in her address book. Though she handle him with care, it should be principally as an important ingredient in her social life and only secondly as a romantic possibility. We know it is less of a problem to find women for gatherings than it is to find men.

NEXT, a woman should work hard at whatever interests she has or has had. If she hasn't any or none are currently suitable, she should discover new ones. If these interests happen to be predominantly those which men also favor, so much the better. If she can learn to love golf, why, that's fine. One woman client of mine with intellectual interests took a course in Japanese and in calculus at a university; she was the only woman in these classes.

Switching to a job which brings one in contact with men is a help. One older woman got a job in a travel agency; another got a similar one at the travel and transportation desk at a big hotel; a third sold a service which involved calling on men in their offices.

This is where you will protest, "But most men are married, and seldom is a single 35-plus man suited emotionally for marriage." The scarcity of men who are both available and desirable is, I must admit, the occupational hazard of the 30-plus, unattached woman.

Some women recommend eating alone in restaurants frequented mostly by men, and have a list of choice vacation spots and cruises popular with men. Such women sedulously avoid depending on another woman for companionship.

BUT how women can meet men easily without seeming "easy" is a problem that can't be completely solved by any woman herself who lives alone. Enterprising as any person may be in trying to solve private problems, for certain of these the community (individuals acting together) must provide the facilities. Towns and cities were created by people acting together and only people acting together can provide solutions for the problems in human relationships caused by "the urban sacrifice."

One way for older men and women to meet easily is the recreation center or club. In June, 1948, Philadelphia had forty-three such clubs; New York had twenty-eight; Chicago, twenty-two; Cleveland, fifteen; Detroit, fifteen; Milwaukee, twelve.

Such centers currently are designed for the lower-income group of the 60-plus population. This is fine, of course, but the adult recreation center idea needs to be supplemented in two ways: there should be similar facilities for the age group 35-50 with low incomes. Equally important are recreation centers for both the 35-50 and 60-plus groups which will be on a fee basis and would be made attractive to the middle and upper income group.

MEETING a somewhat similar need is the Association for Successful Aging in New York City, which is likely to serve as a model for similar groups in other communities. The association, founded in the fall of 1947, now consists of upward of sixty members ranging in age from 28 to 85 who have ten dinner meetings a year, at which they are addressed by various authorities in the field of later maturity.

The association is divided up into committees concerned with different ways of promoting successful aging in the community. The association is also designed to aid its members in planning for their own successful aging: i. e., to fill the second forty years of life with as many satisfying, happy and useful experiences as the first forty. Last year, a member who is a university professor gave a small group of members a course in creative writing; another member, director of a school of handicrafts, this year will provide a course in arts and crafts for his fellow members.

PLEASE don't leave this article with the feeling that I believe all husbandless women are tragic creatures, or even wistful ones. There are lots of women who prefer to be alone. They are quite self-sufficient. Some lead lives that are more useful and interesting, more full, than the lives of most married women. Candid non-attached women will usually admit that their lives have sundry drawbacks. But these, they feel, are offset by the freedom and independence which living alone provides. A person who refuses to admit deprivation is not deprived.

For such women there is no problem, but for most women the prospect or reality of living alone is a very serious problem. Women are here to stay, and more women every day are here to stay longer. And that means here to stay part of the time alone. It is a serious problem for women and one which they cannot very well unload on men's shoulders since the poor, dear stronger sex simply doesn't stick around long enough.

plants the seed and retreats thereafter to the sidelines.

Woman's "psychology" and her kind of life aid her physical make-up. It is her "weakness," her caution and patience, which are also her strength. Woman's "weakness," indeed, is man's greatest invention, and women don't bother to dispel this illusion. Why should they?

THOMAS SUGRUE, in his autobiography "Stranger in the Earth," points out that "it takes little more than a year now to convert a luxury into a necessity, by the standards of modern advertising"; the result is that the American woman does less and less, lives longer and longer, while her husband, a drone, "a social eunuch," his insurance paid up, dies of a heart attack before he's 50.

From my experience I should say that the American male of the middle-income brackets overworks himself and that his wife underworks herself. As a leading woman's magazine puts it, "Of all the labor-saving devices ever invented for women, none has ever been so popular as a devoted male."

Our men die earlier probably because it is they who face most of the strain of earning a living, the high pressure and the competition. It might be that we could get men to live as long or longer than the female by making woman the wage-earner.

In that case the man would remain at home and take care of the house and the children. Many men and women will find this a charming idea, but only a small number of men could endure this role. It would cripple the male animal, built for the display of energy, especially the male animal in America, made even more energy-displaying by social pressure and our high standard of living.

IT is high time that women considered these facts. Women live longer than men; women are better able to stand the struggle of life, yet it is men who are put under the heavier competitive strain. Men make the best husbands and fathers, and they are nice and useful things for a woman to have around—but they don't last long enough. Women ought to ponder these things and then figure out ways to make men wear better.

What kind of ways? Well, I have suggested in the past that women really should give up their seats to men in buses. The chief cause of death in men is heart disease. For cardiac hygiene it is better to sit than stand. Hence, if men sit and women stand, more couples will celebrate their silver and golden wedding anniversaries.

Women point out to me that there is one thing wrong with any measure of this sort—it might help men's hearts but would ruin their egos. Women have to let men go on believing they are the stronger sex.

All right—here is a more practical suggestion. A woman should look at her standard of living and the amount of work her husband has to do in order to maintain it. She might then consider the effect on his life span of the great pressure under which her husband works. Are the standard of living and the size of the prospective estate sufficient compensation for a longer period of being a "woman alone"?

EVERY wife should sit down and go over her husband's budget of energy expenditure. Is he aging successfully? How does he spend his time and force? Is he in good shape physically and emotionally? Has he been checked for those things recently? Emotional factors play an important part in physical illness generally, and the heart is an organ whose health is much affected by emotional stresses and strains.

Gerontology (the science of aging) has made such progress that effective programs of preventing premature aging can be set up. Or where declines have set in, it is possible to reverse some changes by a "de-aging" schedule.

In general, my advice to women is this: the next time you meet a man be kind to him; perhaps his longevity is showing and needs some mending.

There is another factor for wives to consider in connection with putting all of the earning-a-living strain on their husbands. Women, the stronger sex, are relieved of the strain and grow still stronger—but also rather bored. Middle-income wives live suspended in midair, and thereby both the community and themselves suffer a great loss. For them to go to work, either in business or at home, is often the best way out of boredom.

LET us turn to the effects of the greater longevity of women. I could demonstrate one of these effects if I could take each reader on an evening tour of the lobbies of large apartment hotels in my neighborhood. Most of the people sitting around are women, who have plenty of money and time but no male companionship, no interests or activities, no plan as to how to spend the rest of their lives. Many such women have told me that their greater longevity is a gift of dubious value.

The major problem of middle and late maturity, as I have seen it at close range for a number of years, is pretty much this problem of the woman alone. Consider the statistics:

In 1945, about 32.9 per cent of married women had been widowed by age 60, according to the Federal Bureau of the Census. In 1947 about 55 per cent of all women at ages 60-64 were widows, as estimated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The average wife will be a widow eight years during her lifetime, assuming no remarriage. That is because (1) a wife will live four years longer than her husband (1945 mortality data) just on the basis of their being the same age at time of marriage; (2) actually, on the average, the bride is four years younger than the bridegroom.

IN 1947, 7.9 per cent of the women in the civilian population had never been married. This is approximately one out of each thirteen. In the same year 55.1 per cent of all women at ages 65 and over were widows. One per cent were divorced and another 1.9 per cent were "semi-detached" or separated from spouses for long periods. When you group together widowed, divorced, separated and permanently single women you get two-thirds of women over 65—all living without husbands. You now see the problem of growing older as I have learned to see it in the past fifteen years.

This woman alone: who will support her? How can she earn a living? Where, with whom, and how can she live? How can she get male companionship—on a life partnership basis preferably, but for shorter periods if no more than that is possible. How can she find an outlet for unsatisfied maternal impulses (even though she be a mother and grandmother)?

These are all serious problems. One approach is to have men live as long as their wives. We've talked about that. The other approach is for husbands and wives to have the same marital span if they can't have the same life span. The scientific solution would be that men should marry women eight years their senior.

THIS notion, however, has met with what I might term a certain degree of unenthusiasm on the part of a sex which shall remain unnamed. It is ironic, speaking vital-statistically, that men as they get older should have such a terrific yen to mate with women anywhere from fifteen to thirty years their junior. Biologically, however, it may make sense, since woman's reproductive period ends much sooner than man's.

There is nothing wrong with December-May marriages except their duration. The wife will be without that particular partner for a period which is definitely calculable, using that previously mentioned formula: husband's age minus wife's age plus 4. Of course, widows can remarry. Some do. Many more do not.

Apart from any theoretical balancing of ages in marriage, the fact remains that for some time to come, more and more women will grow older and more older women will be alone. This leads me to some remarks I should like to address to the married women.

MARRIAGE is an important objective to women. It establishes them in the social scale just as a man is "placed" by his job. The "happily" married woman has found her niche; made the grade. A critical neighbor might call her smug. Sometimes the happier, the smugger. It is ironic, again speaking vital-statistically, that the more successful the marriage is in its deepest emotional sense, the less prepared the survivor is for life alone.

Married people soon forget what life is like for the non-married. Few husbands and wives inquire how the non-married manage their social life. Over your knitting, you muse to hubby: "Gerard, I believe we should have Mildred up next Saturday night." You may not ask Mildred for another six months. Not that you should. Mildred's social welfare, her unattached state, is not your problem. *You* are your problem. Yet, by assuming without question that all of Mildred's spare time is being taken care of, you not only miss helping her but develop no resources or plans for your own A-Day (Alone-Day) in case it should ever arrive.

As a practical person trying to help the older woman with her problems I again and again run smack into this fact that married people rarely invite the non-married to their gatherings. (The mateless male is supposed to fare better socially than the mateless female, but this is not as true as is commonly believed.) A "woman alone" can have a normal life only with people. But married couples rarely invite the single person, and if they do, they will have only one or two despite a fairly large gathering.

Then what shall the non-attached woman do?

THAT is a big question, but here goes.

Most single people do not regularly have groups up to their home, and it is only with marriage that our introduction to a formal social life starts. Though the non-attached group is a sizable one in our society, it is difficult for it to do something for itself.

A few months ago, I scouted around privately to find out why it is that married couples do not invite more of those living alone. Many of those questioned told me that a person living alone is not geared to inviting the married couple back. Hence, there is not much percentage in cultivating the unattached. Others explained that the married couple is invited because doing so simplifies your social shopping—you get two birds with one stone, even though it is rare that both birds be equally appetizing and nourishing.

MRS FLORENCE BROOKS said: "Women regard marriage as proof of their success. Women also do the inviting. That's why those who have made the grade seek out others who have made the grade—the married invite the married." Another woman told me: "When I invite a married couple, I'm sure my husband will have a man to talk to. John won't have to be bored by Mildred for several hours." (Men, in their wives' presence, have been known to find it hard to locate interesting topics of conversation with women.)

Mrs. Cherie Foster, a little more honest than most, stated: "A wife might be worried about her marital security. So she wouldn't like to have an unattached charmer up for fear her husband might get interested in said charmer." But let wifie ask up a gal with whom said vulnerable husband would prove a marital Rock of Gibraltar! Then hubby protests against the dull and dismal prospect, and even wifie herself might find such a guest hard to take.

Mrs. Alice Randall told me—and this is strictly confidential between author and reader: "I do not invite unattached women because it seems to me—I don't like to say this—but you know, Perry and I are so happy, and these unattached women just envy the beautiful happiness we have. They sit there in our living room, so sad and distracted that they have nothing of this. Frankly, it bothers me to be surrounded by such hungry, devouring eyes."

Mrs. Randall sounds like the millionaire into whose study a beggar broke with a sorrowful tale. Finally, the millionaire, tearful and distraught, kicked the beggar downstairs, saying: "Can't you see how you are breaking my heart!"

MARRIED couples should make non-attached men and women part of their social life according to the ratio of non-attached to married in the population at large, roughly 33 per cent. For every four married persons (two couples), you would have two non-attached.

Every married person reading this comfortably at the breakfast table might realize that he cannot be absolutely certain that his status will not change. He might tell himself, "There, but for the grace of God, mortality tables and divorce statistics, go I."

Shifting now from the contentedly married to the unattached woman who is dissatisfied with her state, I would say that her problem is how to live alone and not show it. My rule is that she start wherever she is. She disregards the kind of apartment or room she has, not blithely, of course, but she disregards it, as she does the small size or the unsatisfactory nature of her social group. (A bore may be the unwitting link between you and the person who is "It.") She starts by inviting up a small group of people. She might make it two-thirds married and one-third single.

"Some of my best friends are married people," she might say, "and I do not think a single person should discriminate against them."

At whatever gathering she attends she will enter the single man in her address book. Though she handle him with care, it should be principally as an important ingredient in her social life and only secondly as a romantic possibility. We know it is less of a problem to find women for gatherings than it is to find men.

NEXT, a woman should work hard at whatever interests she has or has had. If she hasn't any or none are currently suitable, she should discover new ones. If these interests happen to be predominantly those which men also favor, so much the better. If she can learn to love golf, why, that's fine. One woman client of mine with intellectual interests took a course in Japanese and in calculus at a university; she was the only woman in these classes.

Switching to a job which brings one in contact with men is a help. One older woman got a job in a travel agency; another got a similar one at the travel and transportation desk at a big hotel; a third sold a service which involved calling on men in their offices.

This is where you will protest, "But most men are married, and seldom is a single 35-plus man suited emotionally for marriage." The scarcity of men who are both available and desirable is, I must admit, the occupational hazard of the 30-plus, unattached woman.

Some women recommend eating alone in restaurants frequented mostly by men, and have a list of choice vacation spots and cruises popular with men. Such women sedulously avoid depending on another woman for companionship.

BUT how women can meet men easily without seeming "easy" is a problem that can't be completely solved by any woman herself who lives alone. Enterprising as any person may be in trying to solve private problems, for certain of these the community (individuals acting together) must provide the facilities. Towns and cities were created by people acting together and only people acting together can provide solutions for the problems in human relationships caused by "the urban sacrifice."

One way for older men and women to meet easily is the recreation center or club. In June, 1948, Philadelphia had forty-three such clubs; New York had twenty-eight; Chicago, twenty-two; Cleveland, fifteen; Detroit, fifteen; Milwaukee, twelve.

Such centers currently are designed for the lower-income group of the 60-plus population. This is fine, of course, but the adult recreation center idea needs to be supplemented in two ways: there should be similar facilities for the age group 35-50 with low incomes. Equally important are recreation centers for both the 35-50 and 60-plus groups which will be on a fee basis and would be made attractive to the middle and upper income group.

MEETING a somewhat similar need is the Association for Successful Aging in New York City, which is likely to serve as a model for similar groups in other communities. The association, founded in the fall of 1947, now consists of upward of sixty members ranging in age from 28 to 85 who have ten dinner meetings a year, at which they are addressed by various authorities in the field of later maturity.

The association is divided up into committees concerned with different ways of promoting successful aging in the community. The association is also designed to aid its members in planning for their own successful aging: i. e., to fill the second forty years of life with as many satisfying, happy and useful experiences as the first forty. Last year, a member who is a university professor gave a small group of members a course in creative writing; another member, director of a school of handicrafts, this year will provide a course in arts and crafts for his fellow members.

PLEASE don't leave this article with the feeling that I believe all husbandless women are tragic creatures, or even wistful ones. There are lots of women who prefer to be alone. They are quite self-sufficient. Some lead lives that are more useful and interesting, more full, than the lives of most married women. Candid non-attached women will usually admit that their lives have sundry drawbacks. But these, they feel, are offset by the freedom and independence which living alone provides. A person who refuses to admit deprivation is not deprived.

For such women there is no problem, but for most women the prospect or reality of living alone is a very serious problem. Women are here to stay, and more women every day are here to stay longer. And that means here to stay part of the time alone. It is a serious problem for women and one which they cannot very well unload on men's shoulders since the poor, dear stronger sex simply doesn't stick around long enough.

[1949?]

Tobacco Industry

Survey of 48 plants engaged in manufacture of smoking and chewing tobacco by Bureau of Labor Statistics showed 35 per cent of employees Negroes. Plants had total of 38,194 workers. Length of service of male Negro workers was particularly outstanding. About one-half of them had worked in plant five years or more, one-fourth had worked at least ten years, and eleven per cent had 20 years service. On the other hand, the average length of service for White males was six years, 43 per cent White had worked five years or over, while only four per cent had worked as much as 20 years.

23-1-12

Monthly Labor Review
but don't
remember whether
it had [illegible]
in what volume
L P

[1949?]

BOOKS ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Alexander, Johnson, & Embree: COTTON TENANCY, COLLAPSE OF
Baker, Ray Standard: FOLLOWING THE COLOR LINE
Bancroft: SLAVE-TRADING IN THE OLD SOUTH
Bontemps: GOD SENDS SUNDAY
Brawley: AMERICAN NEGRO, SOCIAL HISTORY OF
Brawley: NEGRO GENIUS
Cable, G. W.: THE NEGRO QUESTION, Scribner's Sons, 1890
Chesnutt: CONJURE WOMAN, THE
Chesnutt: HOUSE BEHIND THE CEDARS
Chesnutt: MARROW OF TRADITION
Chesnutt: THE COLONEL'S DREAM
Clayton and Mitchell: BLACK WORKERS AND THE NEW UNIONS
Cromwell, Turner and Dykes: NEGRO AUTHORS, READINGS FROM
Cullen: BLACK CHRIST AND OTHER POEMS
Cullen: CAROLING DUSK
Cullen: COLOR
Cullen: COPPER SUN
Dabney: CINCINNATI'S COLORED CITIZENS
Daniels, John: IN FREEDOM'S BIRTHPLACE
Davis, Allison and John Dollard: CHILDREN OF BONDAGE
Day: NEGRO-WHITE FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES
Dett: RELIGIOUS FOLK-SONGS OF THE NEGRO
Detweiler: NEGRO PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES
Dollard: CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN
Douglass: NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS
Doyle: RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH, ETIQUETTE OF
Du Bois: BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA
Du Bois: BLACK FOLK: THEN AND NOW
Du Bois: DARK PRINCESS
Du Bois: DARK WATER
Du Bois: DUSK OF DAWN
Du Bois: GIFT OF BLACK FOLK, THE
Du Bois: JOHN BROWN
Du Bois: THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO
Du Bois: SOULS OF BLACK FOLK
Du Bois: SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE
Dunbar: COMPLETE POEMS OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR
Dunning, W. A.: RECONSTRUCTION, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
Eaton, Grant: LINCOLN AND THE FREEDMEN
Embree: BROWN AMERICA
Epstein, Abraham: NEGRO MIGRANT IN PITTSBURG
Evans, M. S.: BLACK AND WHITE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES
Fauset: COMEDY: AMERICAN STYLE
Fauset: PLUM BUN
Fauset: THERE IS CONFUSION
Frazier: THE NEGRO FAMILY
Gallagher: AMERICAN CASTE AND THE NEGRO COLLEGE
Garner: MISSISSIPPI, RECONSTRUCTION IN
Gosnell: NEGRO POLITICANS
Graham, Stephen: THE SOUL OF JOHN BROWN
Green: NEGRO IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE, THE
Hare: NORRIS WRIGHT CUNEY
Harris: ILLINOIS, NEGRO SERVITUDE IN
Harris: NEGRO AS CAPITALIST
Harris and Spero: BLACK WORKER
Haynes, G. E.: NEGRO AT WORK IN NEW YORK CITY
Helper, H. R.: IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH

23-11-8

Henson: NEGRO EXPLORER AT THE NORTH POLE
Hickok: NEGRO IN OHIO 1802-1870
Hughes: NOT WITHOUR LAUGHTER
Hughes: THE WEARY BLUES
Hurd, J. C.: THE LAW OF FREEDOM AND BONDAGE
Johnson, J.W.: ALONG THIS WAY
Johnson, J.W.: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN EX-COLOURED MAN
Johnson, J.W.: BLACK MANHATTAN
Johnson, J.W.: GOD'S TROMBONES
Johnson, C.S.: NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE
Johnson, C.S.: NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
Johnson, J.W.: BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY
Johnson, J.W.: BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS
Johnson, C.S.: RACIAL UNDERSTANDING, PREFACE TO
Johnston, Sir H.H.: NEGRO IN THE NEW WORLD
Lewinson: RACE, CLASS AND PARTY
Livermore: FOUNDER'S OF REPUBLIC ON NEGROES AS SLAVES, ETC.
Locke: THE NEW NEGRO
Locke: THE NEGRO IN ART
Loggins: THE NEGRO AUTHOR
Lynch: FACTS OF RECONSTRUCTION
McDougall: FUGITIVE SLAVES
McKay: HARLEM
Mays and Nicholson: THE NEGRO'S CHURCH
Mazyk: GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE NEGRO
Moton: WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS
Nowlin: NEGRO IN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICS
Paynter: FUGITIVES OF THE PEARL
Phillips, U.B. AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY
Pierce: FREEDMEN'S BUREAU
Powdermaker, Alice: AFTER FREEDOM
Raper: TRADEGY OF LYNCHING
Reuter: AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM
Rousseve: NEGRO IN LOUISIANA
Scott: AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE WORLD WAR
Simpkins and Woody: SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION
Skaggs: SOUTHERN OLIGARCHY
Stephenson: RACIAL DISTINCTIONS IN AMERICAN LAW
Stowe: HARRIET BEECHER STOWE
Tinker: CENELLES, LES
Taylor: NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION
Tourgee: A FOOL'S ERRAND
Turner: ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN AMERICAN LITERATURE PRIOR TO 1865
Taylor, A.A.: NEGRO IN TENNESSEE
United States Census: NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES 1900
United States Census: NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1790-1919
United States Census: NEGRO POPULATION 1928-32
Walker, D.: APPEAL TO COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD
Warmoth: WAR, POLITICS AND RECONSTRUCTION
Washington: UP FROM SLAVERY
Wesley: NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES
White: ROPE AND FAGGOT
Williams: NEGRO RACE, HISTORY OF THE
Wilson: BLACK PHALANX
Woodson: A CENTURY OF NEGRO MIGRATION
Woodson: HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH
Woodson: THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY
Woodson: NEGRO PRIOR TO 1861, EDUCATION OF
Work: NEGRO YEAR BOOK 1932
Wright: NATIVE SON
Reid, Ira De A.: THE NEGRO IMMIGRANT

23-11-9

Taylor: Negro in Reconstruction of Virginia

Anthropology and Ethnology:

Brunhes, Human Geography
Frobenius, Childhood of Man
Granger, Les races humaines
Hadden, Races of Man and their Distribution
Hankins, Racial Basis of Civilization
Huntington, The Character of Races as Influenced by Physical Environment
Klineberg, Race Differences
Nott, Indigenous Races of the Earth
Wilder, Pedigree of the Human Race
Lowie, Culture and Ethnology
Leyburn, Handbook of Ethnology
Bernatzik, The Dark Continent
Delafosse, Negroes of Africa
Harvard African Studies
Benedict, Patterns of Culture
Bishop, Man from the Fartherest Past
Boas, Anthropology and Modern Life
Calverton, The Making of Man
Carr-Saunders, The Population Problem
Churchward, Origin and Evolution of the Human Race
Hankins, Introduction to the Study of Society
Hooten, Up from the Ape
Ratzel, History of Mankind
Tylor, Anthropology
Ripley, Selected Bibliography of the Anthropology and Ethnology of Europe
Gruehl, The Citadel of Ethiopia
Huxley, We Europeans
Ripley, Races of Europe
Mortillet, Formation de la nation francaise
Ellis, the Tshi-speaking people of the Gold Coast
Myres, Who were the Greeks?
Williams, Whence the "Black Irish" of Jamaica?
Orde-Browne, the Vanishing Tribes of Kenya
Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo
Hilton-Simpson, Land and People of Kasai
Wallace, Malay Archipelago
Preville, Les societes africaines
Seligman, Races of Africa
Vanden Bergh, On the Trail of the Pigmies
Weule, Native Life in East Africa
Dorman, Pygimies and Bushmen of Kalahari
Stow, The Native Races of South Africa
Theal, Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before A. D. 1505
Tremearne, The Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria
Williams, Hebrewism of West Africa
U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report
Tulane Expedition to Middle Mexico
Dennett, Nigerian Studies
Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria
Wilson-Haffenden, The Red Men of Nigeria
Werner, The Natives of British Central Africa
Lehmann, The Art of Old Peru
Ellis, Yoruba Speaking People
Williams, The People and Politics of Latin-America
Macmichael, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan
Malinowski, The Father in Primitive Psychology
Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate
Mair, An African People in the 20th Century
Roscoe, The Bageau and other Tribes of Uganda
Soul of Central Africa
Boaz, The Mind of Primitive Man

[1949?]

Dear Doctor:

Aside from the general bibliography, it might be quite useful and will help to stimulate student interest if additional works are suggested. In this regard, I have brought together a list of biographical literature which gives a good picture of the Negro in American History as built around the lives of outstanding Negroes. These could be tied in with the general works and together would produce a rich source of data. Possible volumes are listed for your consideration.

George ". Carver, Holt, Doubleday, 1943

Along This Way, Johnson, Viking, 1933

Fighters for Freedom, Fausst, Franklin Pub. Co., Phila, 1927

Dusk of Dawn, DuBois, Harcourt, Brace, 1940

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass
(The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass), D. Wolfe & Fiske, Boston, 1892

Up From Slavery, Booker T. Washington, Doubleday, 1924

Negro Explorer at the North Pole, Henson, Stokes, 1912

Story of John Hope, Torrence, Harpers, 1948

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Stowe = Stowe, Houghton, Mifflin (Boston) 1911

The Big Sea, Hughes, Knopf, 1940

There Was Once a Slave, Graham, Messner, 1946

A Long Way From Home, McKay, Harpers, 1942 (?)

Finding a Way Out, Moton, Doubleday, 1920

Harriet Tubman, Conrad, Assoc. Pub (D.C.,) 1943

Sojourner Truth, Fauset,

A Biography of Colonel Charles Young, Chew,

God in a Rolls Royce (Father Divine), Hoshor, ~~Messner~~ Beekman-Curl, Inc., 1936

Thirteen Against the Odds, Embree, Viking, 1944

Joe Louis: American, Miller, Wynn (Current Books), 1945

Women Builders, Daniels, Assoc. Pub. (D.C.) 1921

Men of Mark, Simmons, 1887

Paul Robeson; Citizen of the World, Graham, Messner, 1946

POSSIBLE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE NEW SCHOOL, 1948-49

lack Reconstruction

merican Caste and the Negro College

Color and Conscience

What the Negro Wants

One Nation

Segregation (Survey Graphic special No.)

Balance of Power: The Negro Vote

The American Negro in World Wars I and II

The Negro in American Law

The 14th Amendment and the Negro Since 1920

Children of Bondage

The Negro in Our History

The Negro Family in the U. S.

The Free Negro in North Carolina

Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Va.

The Negro in Mississippi

The Free Negro in South Carolina

American Negro Slave Revolts

The Negro in Colonial New England

The Negro in the West (J. Negro History)

The Negro in Maryland

and

Caste/Class in a Southern Town

History of the Sea Islands

History of Slavery in Connecticut

The Negro Press in the U. S.

Negro in Contemporary American Literature(Green)

he Negro as Capitalist

The Black Worker

egro Ghetto

Negro Labor

Negro Politicians

The New Negro

The Negro Author (L ns)

(COVER)

The Negro's Church (Mays and Nicholaen)

Freedmen's Bureau (Pierce)

The Ku Klux Conspiracy

The Tragedy of Lynching (Raper)

Negro in Louisiana (Rousseve)

Negro in Tennessee

The Negro Immigrant

(Volumes of The Crisis, 1910-present) per. list.

The Negro in American Fiction, Brown, 1937,

Black Workers and the New Unions 1939 N.C.

The Biology of the Negro

The Myth of the Negro Past

The Negro's Share

Characteristics of the American Negro

Patterns of Negro Segregation

The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South, 1937

The Souls of Black Folk 1903, McClugg

The American Negro, Herskovits (race crossing)

The Negro's Struggle for Survival,
S.J. Holmes, U. Cal. Press, 1937

Growing Up in the Black Belt 1941

The Education of the Negro in the American
Social Order, Bond, Prentice*hall, 1934

Divine White Right, Bowen, T. Harpers, 1934

The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, Col U. 1930

Characteristics of the American Negro

The Attitude of the Southern White Press toward
Negro Suffrage: 1932-1940, Logan

Harlem: Negro Metropolis, McKay, Dutton, 1940

The Legal Status of the Negro, UNC Press, 1940

The Protestant Church and the Negro, 1948, Loesche

After Freedom, Viking, 1939

Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, Puckett, 1926

The Free Negro in Va., Russel J.H., 1913, John Hopki

The Marginal Man, Stonequist,,E.V.Scrib,1937

Color, Class, and Personality, Sutherland,'42

Rope and Faggott, Knopf, 1929

Wright, M.T.
The Education of Negroes in New Jersey,CUPress,1941

Twelve Million Black Voices, Wright, Viking, 1941

People vs. Property,

Washington is Like That, Kiplinger, 1942

The Negro Federal Government Worker, Hayes, 1941

Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the U.S.

Ante-Bellum North Carolina, Johnson, 1937 UNC

Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America Jernegan, Chicago, 1931)

The Negro in Pennsylvania, Turner, D.C., 1911

Slavery in New York, 1935, D.C., 1891

Labor in Colonial New York, McKee, N. Y.,1935

Anti-Slavery in America, Locke, Boston, 1901

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution U.S. Beard,N.Y., 1913

Early Negro American Writers, Brawley, UNC, 1935

History of the Negro Church, Woodson, , D.C., 1935

The Cotton Kingdom, Dodd, Yale, 1919

The South in American History, Hesseltine, N.Y.,1943

Free Negro Heads of Families in the U.S., 1830, Woodson, D.C., 1925

Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the U.S., 1830, Woodson, D.C., 1925

The American Colonization Society, Fox, Balt. 1919, (1817-1840)

The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement, Aptheker, N. Y., 1941

Appeal in Four Articles, Walker, Boston, 1830

The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters During the Crisis, 1800-1860, Woodson, D.C. 1926

The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, Siebert, N.Y., 1898

Let My People Go, Buckmaster, Harpers, 1941

The Negro in the Civil War, Aptheker, N.Y., 19

Army Life in a Black Regiment, Higginson, Boston, 1870 (Civil War)

The Facts of Reconstruction, Lynch, N.Y.,1913

The Populist Revolt, Hicks, Minneapolis, 1931

Lester, The Ku Klux Klan, N.Y. 1905

Race, Class, and Party, Lewinson, Oxford, 1932

Camp Fires of the Afro-American, Phila,1899
Guthrie, (Spanish-Amer. War)

History of the Negro Soldier in the Spanish-Amer. War, Johnson, Raleigh,1899

Studies in the American Race Problem, Stone, N.Y., 1908

Following the Color Line, Baker, N.Y., 1908

The American Race Problem, Reuter, 1927,nyc

The American Negro in the World War, Scott, D.C., 1919 (World War I)

From Harlem to the Rhine, Little, N.Y.,1936

Two Colored Women with the AEF, Hunton and Johnson, N.Y., 1920

Problems of Today, Moorfield Storey, N.Y.,1924

The Ku Klux Klan, Mecklin, N.Y., 1924

The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot, Chico Com On R.R., Chica,1922

The Voice of the Negro, Kerlin, N.Y., 1920

Along This Way, Johnson, 1933, N.Y.

1933
The Black Man in White America, Van Deusen,

The Economic Status of Negroes, Johnson, Nashville, 1933

Organized Labor and the Negro, Northrup,N.Y.'44

Special Problems in Negro Educ,Wilkerson,D.C.

Gleason,41,C

The Southern Negro and the Public Library,

The Negro and Defense, N.Y.,1941 (Coun.fr,De

World War II, Shugg,& DeWeerd,D.C.,1946

~~The Negro in the Armed Forces, D.C.,1945~~

The Negro in the Armed Forces, D.,C., 1945
Schoenfeld

По случаю пребывания в Москве иностранных гостей
на Всесоюзной конференции сторонников мира

Советский Комитет Защиты Мира
и Правление Всесоюзного Общества
Культурной Связи с заграницей

просят г-на W. Дюбуа

пожаловать на прием, имеющий
быть во вторник 30 августа 1949 г. в 21 час.
в ресторане „Метрополь"

23c-43

Защита мира есть дело всех народов мира!

ПРИГЛАСИТЕЛЬНЫЙ БИЛЕТ

Господин В. Дюбуа

Подготовительный Комитет по созыву Всесоюзной Конференции сторонников мира приглашает Вас принять участие в работе Конференции, которая состоится 25—27 августа 1949 года в г. Москве, в Колонном зале Дома Союзов.

Председатель
Подготовительного Комитета
по созыву Всесоюзной Конференции
сторонников мира

23c-43

Dr. Annatta Brisch
for press Conference
at 23 to 26th
3/28/49

S-022

Loge 20

W? DuBois

Le Comité d'honneur de l'Exposition de la Paix vous prie d'assister au Festival International et au Vernissage de l'Exposition qui auront lieu en présence des délégués au Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Cirque d'Hiver, le 23 Avril 1949 à 21 heures.

CETTE CARTE DEVRA ÊTRE
PRÉSENTÉE A L'ENTRÉE

23c-43

[1949]

Proposed Amendment to the By-laws to be known as ARTICLE XV.

Any member of the Institute may report in writing to the Council that he believes the right to freedom of expression, publication or exhibition of the work of a person, group or organization engaged in or devoted to creative work in the field of the arts, has been, or is about to be, infringed in such manner as to deny to such person, group or organization an adequate opportunity publicly to defend such right. Whenever any such report is made, the Council shall investigate the facts relating to the alleged infringement. Its investigation shall be made in such manner as it shall deem appropriate, and it may in its discretion consult counsel with regard thereto. After such investigation the Council shall determine, by resolution adopted at a meeting duly assembled, whether or not in its judgment any such infringement has occurred or is threatened. If the Council shall determine that any such infringement has occurred or is threatened, it shall by resolution determine whether or not in its judgment the Institute should take any action in the name of the Institute designed to help secure for such person, group or organization an adequate opportunity publicly to defend such right or to prevent the recurrence of similar infringements of such right. If the Council shall determine that any such action should be taken, it shall by resolution propose the nature of such action and the manner of its execution. Thereupon, the Council shall cause to be submitted by mail to the members of the Institute, for their consideration and vote by mail thereon, a detailed report of its findings with respect to

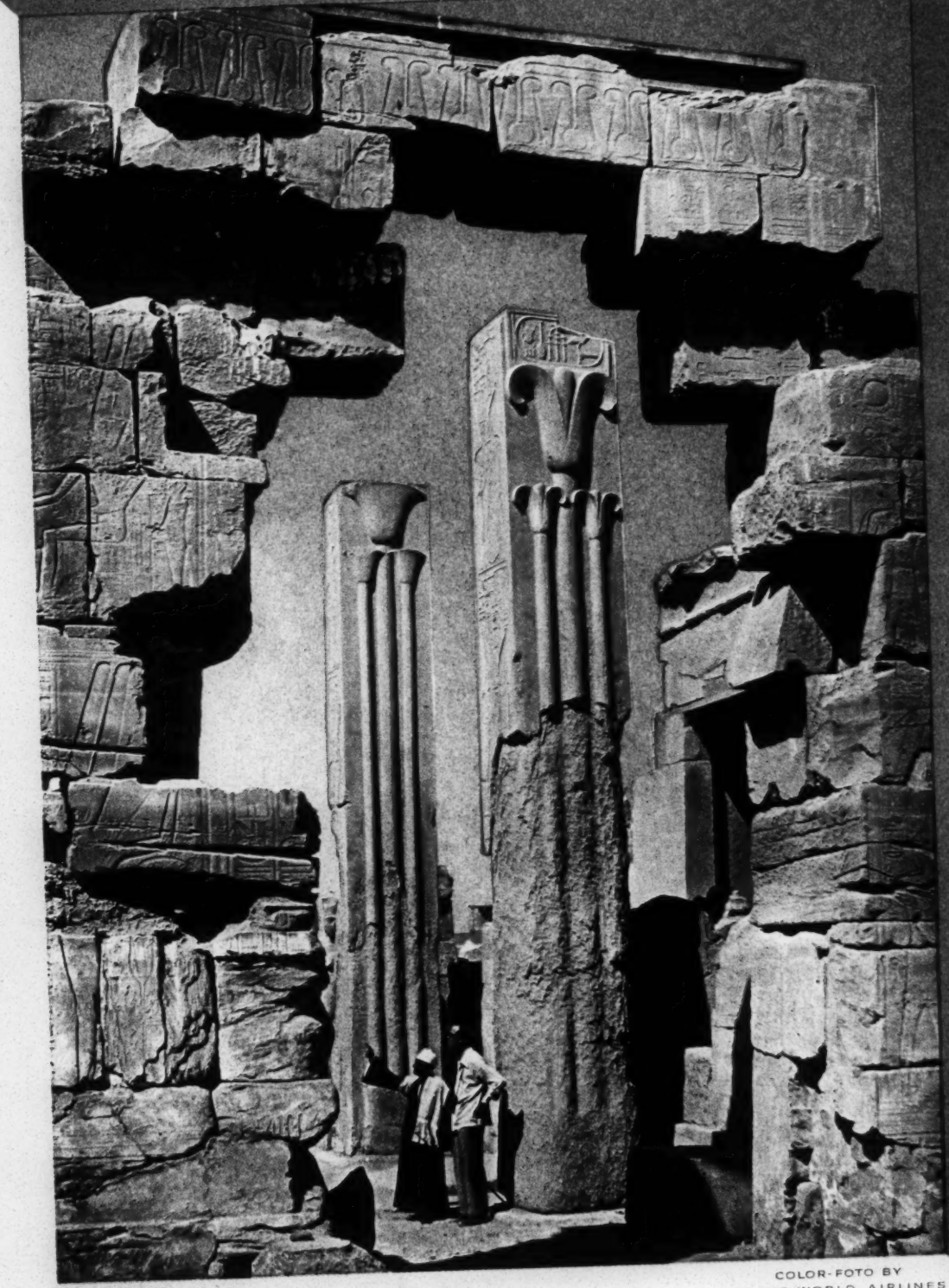
1. the facts of such infringement or threat,
2. the desirability of action against it, and
3. the proposed action and the manner of its execution, together with appropriate ballots upon which each member may cast his vote.

(If any member or members of the Council shall have dissented from these recommendations he or they shall have the right to submit a minority report or reports, prepared by him or by any or all of them, to the members of the Institute, through the Council, simultaneously with the Council's report.) Action shall be taken only if approved by a majority of the Institute and at least three quarters (3/4) of the members voting, by written ballot. No ballot shall be counted unless received by the Secretary within 30 days of the date of mailing of the Council's report. If such proposed action be approved, the Council shall proceed to execute it as soon as possible.

832-4

[1949?]

230-43



EGYPT...TEMPLE OF KARNAK AT LUXOR

COLOR-FOTO BY
TRANS WORLD AIRLINES

[1949?]

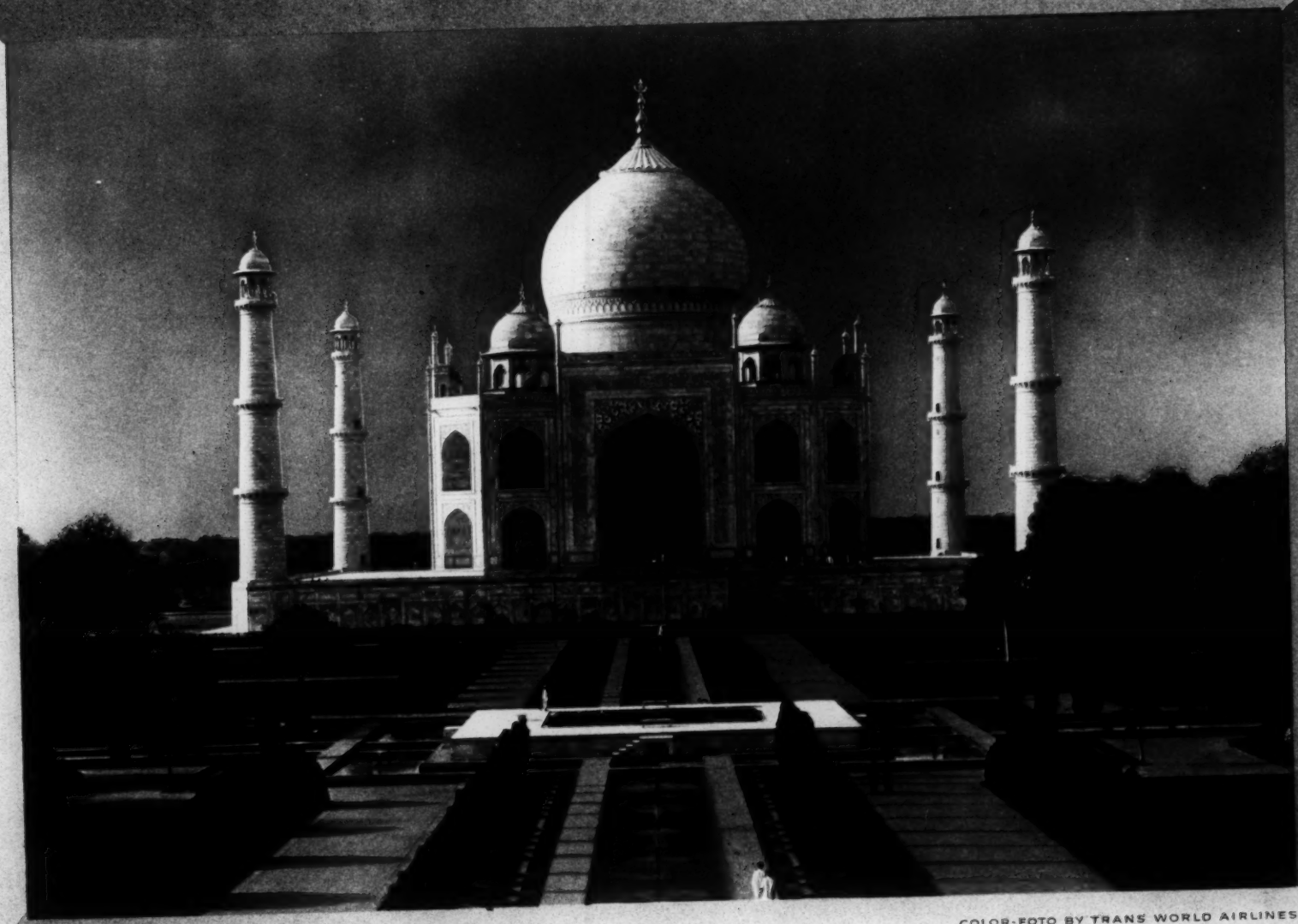
230-43

FRANCE... NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL, PARIS

COLOR-FOTO BY
TRANS WORLD AIRLINES

23C-43

[1949?]



INDIA...THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

COLOR-FOTO BY TRANS WORLD AIRLINES

Voucher ---8.

This voucher dated February 23, 1949 to Hugh H. Smythe for labor--$15.00 not yet returned from the bank.

24-23-27

[1949]

NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS
FOR LIBERTY, INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY

Founder and Editor
B. SYLVIA PANKHURST

LONDON OCTOBER 15, 1949
2d. Weekly. No. 670
Founded 1936

SOMALI VIEW

Urgent protest declarations addressed to member states desirous of returning the former Italian colony of Somaliland to Italian rule, have been despatched to the Governments which support the subjection of Somaliland to Italy.

These declarations have been issued by the Committee and Members of the Somali Youth League (a body described in the Four Power Report as "the leader of a strong progressive national movement which is likely to be the dominant factor in local politics for some time to come").

These declarations are signed by:—

1. Haji Mohamed Hussen (president).
2. Ahmed Addawe (president).
3. Abdul-Rashid Ali (acting sec.).
4. Sheik Issa Mohamed (treasurer).
5. Dahir Haji Osman (member).
6. Ali Maalim Mahamud (member).
7. Mohamed Ahmed Elmi (member).
8. Sheikh Mahmud Mohamed (member).
9. Osman Sheikh Mahow (member).
10. Sheikh Mohamed Osman (member).
11. Osman Sheikh Omar (member).
12. Ali Herzi Farah (member).
13. Mahamud Yusuf Adan (member).

A Most Critical Situation

UNO DISCUSSES EX-COLONIES

POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEBATE

When the United Nations debate on the ex-Italian Colonies commenced it was announced that Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, and Mr. Alberto Tarchiani, the Italian Minister in Washington, were present on Italy's behalf, although their country is not a member of the United Nations.

British Proposals

The debate was opened by Mr. McNeil, British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who explained the British Government's proposals, which are as follows:—

(I) FOR LIBYA: Independence for the populations of Cyrenaica and Libya to determine whether they shall form a united Libya, a federal union, or two separate States.

(II) FOR ERITREA: The Eastern portion, with the capital, Asmara, and the ports of Massawa and Assab to be re-united to Ethiopia.

The Western Province to be annexed to the Sudan.

(III) FOR EX-ITALIAN SOMALILAND: United Nations Trusteeship, with Italy as the Administering Power for an indefinite period.

Eastern Eritrea: Urgent Need for Reunion

We would plead that the reunion of Eastern Eritrea to Ethiopia is an urgent matter, becoming continually more urgent and imperative, for economic reasons, still more for moral reasons—the fulfilment of British war-time pledges, on the strength of which the people of this area fought with valour and gave their lives with fervour, the fulfilment of the long and deeply cherished desire of the people for reunion to the ancient Motherland and to enjoy the status of a free people within the Ethiopian State.

Eritrean Youth in Arms

It would be wrong to disguise or ignore the fact that sections of the Youth of Eritrea, striving alone and without such encouragement from outside Powers, as solaced and supported the Jews, and before them the Greeks, the Swiss and the Italians in their struggle for nationhood, are in arms to achieve the desired Eritrea-Ethiopia reunion.

These young Eritreans are patriots, however they may be condemned, as over-hasty, rash unwise, or undisciplined. They are ruthlessly hunted and killed as brigands and criminal law-breakers, but they fight from patriotic motives and for no personal aims. This being the case, their movement will undoubtedly spread.

To-day their militancy is considered as unwise and premature by the older, more temperate members of the Unionist Party, but every postponement of a settlement by the United Nations will swell the ranks of militant patriotism in Eritrea. The use of the latest, most devastating, jet and rocket planes, the killing of many an ardent youth who might have lived to serve a reunited country, have no deterrent effect on this militant patriotism. On the contrary, the movement is stimulated and spurred by persecution, as is the case of all genuine popular movements for liberation and freedom; proscription and persecution rapidly separate the gold from the dross in all such cases.

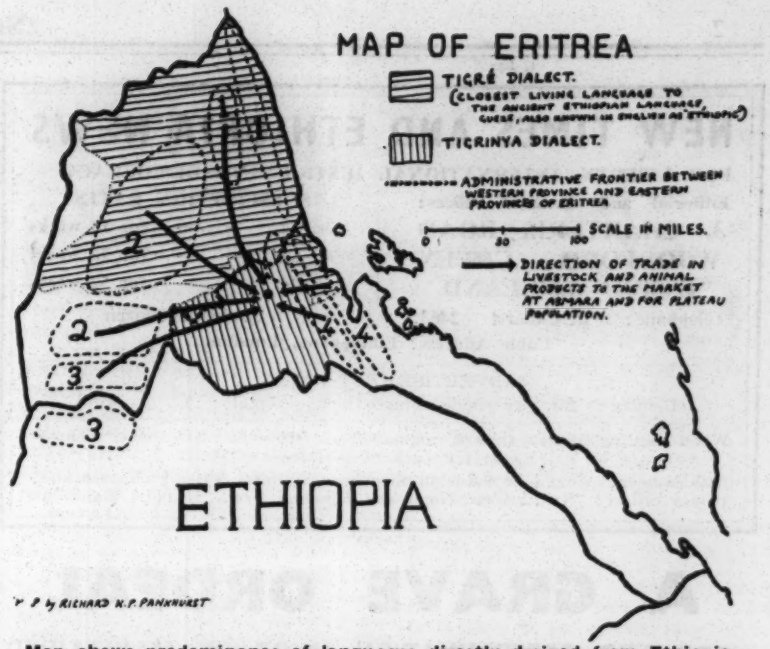
"I offer you blood and tears," is the appeal which draws the ardent patriot. When the appeal is accompanied, not by an offer of paid Government employment and the backing of an efficiently organised and powerful government with press applause and may-be the prospect of a pension, or at least a gratuity in the end, but by the certainty of an outlaw's existence in an ill-armed, desperate fight to be terminated by death on the mountain side, or, at best, confinement in a prison cell, one can test the value of the response.

The Eritrean patriot extremist is of the same metal as the patriot extremists of all the movements for freedom the world has known.

Western Eritrea

For Ethiopia to surrender Western Eritrea would entail great sacrifice. She fought valiantly and successfully to retain this former part of Ethiopia against Egyptian aggression at the period

(continued on page 2, cols. 1 and 2)



Map shows predominance of languages directly derived from Ethiopic in Eritrea. Numbered zones indicate alternate seasonal grazing lands; tribes moving to and from 1 and 1, 2 and 2, etc.

A Symbol of Ethiopia-Eritrean Unity

ERITREAN MUSLIM ENDOWS HAILE SELLASSIE SCHOOL AT ARKIKO

As reported in brief last week the dedication ceremony has taken place at Arkiko, in ex-Italian Eritrea, of the opening of the Haile Sellassie I school at that town, which, like Adulis and Zulla, is one of the ancient ports of Ethiopia, and is situated 12 kilometres from Massawa.

The school was built and endowed by a well-known Muslim resident of the town, Saleh Ahmed Kekia Pasha, who named it the Haile Sellassie I School.

Amharic, Arabic and English Studies

The school has already been open a year, and is giving lessons in the three languages, Amharic, Arabic and English; technical studies are planned for the near future.

Ethiopian Government Represented at Opening

At the opening ceremony were a number of leading members of the Ethiopian Cabinet and Ethiopian government officials. The party included Ato Yilma Deressa, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Madame Yilma Deressa, Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, the Minister of Agriculture (who, of course, himself comes from Eritrea) and Mrs. Medhen, Blatta Kidane Mariam Abbara, until recently the Vice-Minister of Public Health, Colonel Nagga Haile Sellassie, the Ethiopian Government's Liaison Officer in Eritrea, Ato Amde Mikael Dessalegn, the Director-General of the Press and Information Department and Fitawrari Abraha Wolde Ewastatyus of the Ministry of the Pen. There was also present Ato Kifle Igzi Yihdgo, the President of the Ethiopian-Eritrean Unity Association, Ato Wolde Aragai Gabrew and Ato Kassala.

Thousands flock to see

Thousands of Eritreans flocked to the school from the neighbouring area, as well as from Massawa and Asmara.

Distinguished Visitors: All Communities Represented

From other parts of Eritrea itself came the Abuna Markos, head of the Ethiopian Christian Church of Eritrea and Abuna Kerlos, Dejazmatch Beyene Baraki, the President of the Unionist Party, Ato Tedla Bairou, the Secretary of that Party, Mohammed Osman Hayoti, the President of the Rabiti Party, and Sheilk Mohamed Ali Al Amin, Commandatore Hassan Osman, the Khadi of Massawa, also the President of the Arab and Sudanese Communities. Thus all communities, religions and classes of the Eritrean people were represented.

Ethiopian Colours: Portrait of Emperor

The school and its surroundings were decorated with the green, yellow and red flags of free Ethiopia and with portraits of her Emperor. The guests were received by Saleh Ahmed Kekia Pasha and by the Headmaster, staff and students of the school. The school was then inspected. Patriotic Ethiopian songs were sung. The children bore flags and a large portrait of the Emperor bearing the slogan: "The reason why we hope to live long is to find time to unite with the motherland, Ethiopia, our people and territories which were separated from us illegally." This was a very important manifestation of Ethiopian feeling in an area alleged to hold the opposite view.

Speech of Kekia Pasha

As host, Saleh Ahmed Kekia Pasha made the following remarks:

"Honourable Guests, Elders and Brothers,

"I would like to thank Almighty God for granting us the chance to gather here today, in order to commemorate this school, which stands in a small town, Ael, once one of the celebrated ancient ports of Ethiopia. It is a special pleasure to me that by the command of His Imperial Majesty, Ethiopia's Minister of Commerce and Industry, H. E. Ato Yilma Deressa, is present here today to honour the occasion. I also would like to convey my special thanks and gratitude to the British Administration for granting me permission to open and to commemorate this school which I built at my own cost.

"In the past generation, Eritreans could not benefit their countrymen by this kind of endowment even if they had the possibility and desire to do so. I state this only to illustrate that, even to do beneficent work for fellow-countrymen, Liberty and Freedom must exist. It is not to remind you of the heavy yoke under which we groaned for 60 years that I mention this; but to thank God Almighty, although we have not yet achieved our goal, that we are well on the right road.

Eritrea's Freedom due to Agreement Between Emperor and British Allies

"Thanks also to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, who with our British allies, threw overboard this 60-year old yoke. The foundation of the liberty we all enjoy today rests in an agree-

(Continued on page 4, col. 4)

BRITISH M.P.s TO MR. BEVIN

Dear Mr. Bevin,

We strongly urge that you will steadfastly maintain at the United Nations that Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland must not be returned to Italy.

Yours faithfully,

Braddock, M.P.
James Carmichael, M.P.
Thos. L. Cole M.P.
Geoffrey Cooper, M.P.
Peter Freeman, M.P.
J. E. Glanville, M.P.
Somerville Hastings, M.P.
C. Kenyon, M.P
Arthur W. J. Lewis, M.P.
Fred Longden, M.P.
Arthur W. Lyne, M.P.
Tom Macpherson, M.P.
John Parker, M.P.
Joe Reeves, M.P.
Mabel Ridealgh, M.P.
R. Sorensen, M.P.
W. F. Vernon, M.P

Continuous False Reports

Circulated by Italy

By Cable from Addis Ababa (Delayed)

from Ato Amde Mikael Dessalegn,
Director General, Press and Information Dept.,
Addis Ababa,
22nd Sept. 1949.

(News Bulletin received in Addis Ababa on 21st Sept. 1949)

Rome: Revolt has broken out in Ogaden zone in Ethiopia according to report published by Asmara paper "Eritrea Nuova" as quoted by ANSA News Agency here. The report said rebel forces were some twenty thousand strong. Reinforcements including artillery and armour units were sent to Ogaden from Addis Ababa, the report added.

Official denial issued by the Imperial Ethiopian Government on Sept. 22, 1949.

Officially denied here Italian radio ANSA agency reports of revolts in Ogaden are unfounded stop regarding ANSA report of resignation of three judges, Abbot and Lennander are being replaced on expiry of contract while Thomas Addis still serving.

AMDE MIKAEL

PRESS RELEASE

The news broadcast by Rome Radio that a revolt has broken out in Ogaden is unfounded. This is only a repetition of their evil propaganda in a desperate attempt to deliberately mislead world's opinion in this decisive moment.

(Continued at foot of column 3)

(Continued from preceding column)

By Airmail from Addis Ababa

Italian News Agency ANSA, reported that three European Judges, namely, Abbot, Thomas Addis (Both British) and Gunnar Lennander (a Swede) resigned from the Ethiopian High Court, because of "continuing injustices."

The actual position is that Judges Abbot and Lennander left service at the end of expiration of contract, in the normal course. Judge Thomas Addis still sits on the Bench, performing normal duties as Acting President of the High Court (which was the office of Mr. Abbot). In the place of those two who relinquished their service on the expiry of their contract, two retired British Judges have been contracted for, and are on their way to assume their duties in the normal course.

NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS

FOR LIBERTY, INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY

Editorial and Business Offices:
3, CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX - ENGLAND

Telephone: BUCkhurst 2463.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
3s. 3d. — — for 13 weeks
6s. 6d. — — for 26 weeks
13s. 0d. — — for 52 weeks
1s. 4d. per dozen

Cable Address: Ethiopnews, London.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES:
Display: 10s. per single column inch. Small: 2d. per word.

When sending Money Orders, request Post Office to write sender's name on the back of the Order.

(All payments should be made to the above address, crossing cheques and money orders: "Order *New Times and Ethiopia News*, Midland Bank.").

A GRAVE ORDEAL

HOPE AND DETERMINATION MUST BE MAINTAINED

Writing under a heavy sense of grief and anxiety we express our profound sympathy with the people of Ethiopia and of Eritrea in the tragic ordeal through which they are passing.

Their long struggle for the reunion of the lost province, which was torn from the Motherland by Italian aggression in the last decades of the nineteenth century, has been waged with devotion since the Re-establishment of Ethiopian Government in February 1942.

Efforts of every sort and at every opportunity have been maintained by the Emperor and his Ministers, through diplomatic channels. The case for reunion has been continuously presented to the governments of the world, to the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Paris Conference on the Peace Treaties, the Sessions of the United Nations and its commissions and committees.

The people of Ethiopia, on both sides of the colonial frontier, have laboured in their own way, and by their own measures for the long desired reunion, and the liberation of the brothers and sisters of the lost province, who have been enslaved for sixty years.

In Ethiopia there have been meetings, demonstrations; a weekly paper has been produced, a voluntary effort, with all the sacrifice and devotion such work entails.

In Eritrea itself there has been continual effort often in face of official discouragement and very real sacrifice in loss of employment and every sort of economic and political pressure.

The youth who have taken up arms believing their cause has become desperate have risked every sort of peril, and many have laid down their young lives on some lonely mountain side.

The struggle of heroic youth, ignored except by the forces operating against them, is the grim, sad background to the conflict played out on the floor of the United Nations and its Committees at Flushing Meadow and Lake Success.

Forces of self-interest and greed, following diverse aims, have drawn together in a strange and utterly incongruous combination to frustrate the natural reunion of a people only separated by foreign aggression, whose true and real prospect of happiness and prosperity lies in the termination of an utterly unjust and cruel separation and the oppression of a foreign aggression maintained for sixty years.

We are grateful that the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the United States have held true, in this session of the United Nations, to the cause of at least partial reunion for Eritrea to the Motherland.

The reunion of the Ethiopian people is a just and noble cause; it will triumph because its protagonists in and out of Ethiopia and Eritrea will not relinquish it, because it is just and necessary.

Ex-Italian Somaliland

The case of ex-Italian Somaliland is yet more terrible; for, as matters stand to-day, the prospect of the return of Italy is but too near a prospect.

In this prospect lies untold misery for the Somali people, and grave peril for Ethiopia.

Did we refrain from uttering the grave warning that the forces of aggression are not extinct and that here lies grave danger, we should fail in our duty.

Whilst we utter this warning we must maintain both hope and determination.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

UNO DISCUSSES EX-COLONIES

(Continued from page 1, col. 3)

of that country's nineteenth century imperialist conquests under Khedive Ismail and Khedive Tewfik This territory was only lost to Ethiopia, with the rest of what is now called Eritrea, when invaded by Italy in 1885 and onward.

All this is recorded in British and other European diplomatic documents of the time, as well as in the writings of contemporary British and other travellers. Ethiopia has, of course, only accepted this adverse proposal in the interests of larger sections of the Ethiopian population, whose need and desire for reunion has been most clearly manifested. No doubt, in offering this heavy sacrifice, Ethiopia hoped the will of the population not included in the the reunion would, in course of a brief time, be more clearly manifested for reunion, and that the spirit of justice and equity among the other States Members of the United Nations would be more fully developed, thus enabling a present mistake in respect of Western Eritrea to be rectified in the future.

We would urge that Western Eritrea should not be annexed to the Sudan. The Eritrean people oppose that solution; the Sudanese people have not asked for it. Strategically it would be most disadvantageous for Ethiopia. Rather than create a vested interest in perpetuating this mistake, by handing the territory to another Power, we would urge a brief trusteeship, which would permit the people of the Western Province to reflect further upon the situation created for them by the reunion of Eastern Ethiopia to Eritrea.

We know that the influence of the Supreme Head of the Muslim Church in Eritrea, Said Mohamed Abubaker El Morgani, and of Said Osman El Morgani, Head of the Muslim Church in the Western Province, will be directed strongly towards the reunion to Ethiopia of Western Eritrea also.

Ex-Italian Somaliland: Hardship and Danger of Reintroducing Italian Rule

The hardship to the Italian population, inevitable to the reintroduction of Italian rule, should not be ignored, least of all by Mr. Bevin and other members of the British war-time coalition, which effected, what was termed in 1941, their liberation. Mr. Bevin and his colleagues further stimulated Somali hopes of permanent liberation from Italy by their advocacy of a Somali State, which the Somalis were far from understanding to mean merely a British Protectorate on the lines already established in British Somaliland.

Moreover, the manifest peril to Ethiopian which would result from the return of her old aggressor, who is still but too openly unrepentant of the grievous wrongs she has wrought, must be squarely faced.

MR. McNEIL EXPLAINS BRITISH PLAN

The members of the General Assembly, said Mr. McNeil in explaining the British plan, were "almost distressingly familiar" with the question of the ex-Colonies. His Government had been "particularly disappointed" that in the previous session the Assembly had failed by a narrow margin to reach agreement on the disposal of these territories. In consequence, their peoples had been again thrown back into suspense and frustration. Their economic progress was still delayed. They were still pursued by a sense of uncertainty. It was eight years since the peoples of East Africa were liberated, six years since Libyan liberation.

The Assembly must, therefore, approach this problem with a marked sense of responsibility. The success or failure of their deliberations would affect over three million people; this was not a fit subject for a diplomatic exercise. The peoples would listen closely to the decisions of the Assembly. It was their duty to reach a decision which would effectuate the wishes and welfare of the peoples concerned and promote the peace of the world, as well as to consult the views of the interested governments.

UNITED KINGDOM AND LIBYA

The British Government had reviewed and developed their administration of these territories, particularly in Libya.

At the last Assembly they had proposed that Libya should obtain independence and self-government at the end of ten years and be placed in the meantime under International Trusteeship. This proposal, however, failed narrowly to obtain the requisite majority. National consciousness grows and develops, Mr. McNeil added, like any other organism, and is liable to frustration from failure to realise its objectives.

The United Kingdom Government had decided that the Trusteeship system was no longer practicable in Libya.

CYRENAICA SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

The United Kingdom Government could no longer deny to Cyrenaica the maximum self-government compatible with their obligations to the United Nations. At the beginning of September, therefore, the United Kingdom Government had therefore delegated to the Emir full powers in Cyrenaica over internal affairs without prejudice to Libyan unity. A Cyrenaican government would shortly take office.

This was not a decision taken quickly or shortly before the Assembly convened. The Cyrenaican National Representatives had asked for complete independence. The United Kingdom Government could not fully comply with this demand in view of their obligations to the United Nations and under the Peace Treaty, but they could not do less than accord the measure of internal self-government which they had granted. There had been months of persistent study and consultation to arrive at this result.

If UNO finds no solution Britain will do the same in Tripolitania. A similar development was long overdue in Tripolitania. If the Assembly could not agree upon a solution for that territory the United Kingdom Government would take similar action there; it would be "inevitable and completely justifiable."

DESPITE LIBYAN BACKWARDNESS TRUSTEESHIP NOT WARRANTED

The backwardness of Libya could not be denied, but the United Kingdom Government could no longer "accept Trusteeship as warranted or justifiable for Cyrenaica or Tripolitania. They must have independence as soon as possible."

Our Comments: Why Restrict these Views to Libya?

These are bold and determined words; one wonders when the same policy will be applied in other African territories, not more backward than Libya?

One cannot but ask whether this policy for Libya, so strikingly different from that followed by the same Government in other not less deserving territories, springs from the fact that the Arabs of Libya demonstrated in practical form their intention to fight for self-government and from the knowledge that the Libyans would receive effective support from several Muslim States.

Mr. McNeil argued that before Libyan independence could be achieved there must be an interim period of at least three to five years. It would take a year to formulate the agreement for the new Constitution, which would be approved in the following year—giving 24 months of preparation, then a year or more for the effective taking-over of power and perhaps a further twelve months for putting it into use.

If Libyan independence at the earliest practicable moment proved the desire of the Assembly, the United Kingdom Government would take immediate steps. To achieve it in the time he had indicated would mean, Mr. McNeil said, "strenuous work for all concerned." A generation of fascist rule had robbed the Libyan community of its normal political growth and social development and had stultified education.

The British Administration had already introduced much "Libyanisation" by putting into office inhabitants of the territory. All Ministers of Cyrenaica who would come into office under the agreement for internal self-government would be Libyans. In Tripolitania the police and the District Commissioners were already Libyans. The British Administration was endeavouring to create effective and lasting foundations for self-government.

The Assembly would have to decide how long the Administering Power should remain, and whether there should be a time limit. The United Kingdom would welcome discussion on this point. Mr. Bevin had said he desired to see powers steadily handed over, so that when the British Administration withdrew their departure would not be noticed.

Much had been said on Libyan unity. For centuries the territory had been a unit. It had a common heritage of religion and tradition. Since the Italian defeat it had been administrated in three divisions, not wholly unnatural, because separated by desert areas across which were no modern surface communication's except the coastal road.

"My delegation thinks unity historically inevitable, but for the present a nice subject of discussion. It would be imprudent to take a hasty decision; it would be best not to prejudice the issue but to leave the inhabitants to decide it when they are in a better position to do so." The British Government was doing nothing to hinder political unity of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; the administration of the two territories was co-ordinated; in London there was consultation between the two territories; but it was for the people of the territories themselves to decide upon the principle and the details of unity—whether they desired a unified Libya, a federation or two independent states.

ITALIAN INTERESTS IN LIBYA

The association of Italy with Libya was well known; the United Kingdom recognised the special position of the large body of Italian settlers. The new democratic Italy, Mr. McNeil said, would be well placed to afford technical assistance to the territory, a need which exists and is bound to grow.

These dangerous suggestions that an exclusive Italian economic predominance might be thrust on the young Tripolitanian, or Libyan State were little, if at all, alleviated by Mr. McNeil's further statement, it would be for the Tripolitanian or Libyan Government "to formalise Italian associations and economic ties," and that the subject would be one for "negotiation between the Italian and Libyan Governments."

We would urge that if an independent Libya is to have a hope of genuine independence the United Nations Assembly must recognise no system which would permit Italy to establish there any sort of economic or political predominance.

FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE FEZZAN

Mr. McNeil added that his Government recognised French interests in the Fezzan, and would be glad "to hear the views of our French friends," before coming to a decision concerning that territory.

This was a hint that British sympathy for Libyan unity would not be permitted to cloud Anglo-Franco relations. Fidelity to international justice would be abated rather than that should happen.

UNITED KINGDOM AND EX-ITALIAN SOMALILAND

The United Kingdom Delegation, Mr. McNeil said, would support United Nations Trusteeship for ex-Italian Somaliland, with Italy as the administering power, no time limit being fixed.

OUR COMMENT: A CRUEL INJUSTICE

Again we must emphasise the cruel injustice to the Somali people of such a concession to Italy and the peril to Ethiopia, the constant suspense and vexation of having on her border the recalcitrant aggressor, even now busily engaged in spreading false reports about Ethiopian affairs with the deliberate purpose of advancing Italian claims to imperial rule in Africa.

Eritrea, East and West: Municipal Charters

The case of Eritrea Mr. McNeil considered more involved. The United Kingdom delegation would still support the reunion of Eastern Eritrea to Ethiopia, but he now made the stipulation that there should be "safeguards for minorities" and "Municipal Charters" for the Capital Asmara, and the seaport Massawa.

Our Comment: These Charters Would Necessitate Much Vigilance

Mr. McNeil did not indicate the type of the "safeguards for minorities" and "Municipal Charters" for the administrative and commercial centre and Capital, Asmara, or the seaport, Assab. We would offer the grave warning that any attempt to interfere with Ethiopian sovereignty, and to introduce Italian authority into the administration would be disastrous; chaos, injustice and frustration would be the inevitable result. There can be no doubt of this.

Any attempt to introduce a franchise which would give a greater weight to Italian votes than to Eritrean votes, would similarly cause injustice and frustration. It would establish a municipal administration in opposition to the nation of which these towns were a part.

Eastern Eritrea for Sudan if Majority Agree

Mr. McNeil stated that the United Kingdom proposed Eastern Eritrea should go to the Sudan; but if the majority of the Assembly thought this plan inappropriate, and offered a better solution, the British Delegation would welcome it. The proposed partition had been criticised as dismemberment, but Mr. McNeil argued that Eritrea was not a product of political growth, it was merely the result of European colonial expansion, like most of the colonial areas in Africa.

The Original African Home of the Ethiopian People

Ignoring the undoubted historical fact that Eritrea was the original home of the Ethiopian people, Mr. McNeil proceeded to give a confused sketch of the composition of the Eritrean population, which he had derived, no doubt, in confidence and good faith from the members of the British Military Administration, who, headed by Brigadier Longrigg, have based their views of Ethiopian history and ethnology upon Italian books, written mainly in the Fascist period, but even before that with the deliberate purpose of establishing the false opinion that Eritrea had never been part of Ethiopia and that there was an historical hostility between the new Eritrea which Italy had fabricated and the Ethiopian nation from which Italian

(Continued on page 3, col. 1)

UNO DISCUSSES EX-COLONIES

(Continued from page 2, column 5)

aggression had divided it. This Italian thesis is so glaringly and manifestly opposed to the facts that even the British Administrators, who studied the books expounding it as though they were infallible history text books, have been unable to accept it in full. Mr. McNeil himself declared, as we have stated, that Eritrea was not the result of political growth, but the mere product of European colonial expansion. He failed, however, to comprehend and explain the significance of the main languages which he enumerated as existing in Eritrea:

Tigrinya, which is a dialect of the ancient Ethiopic or Gueze.

Tigré, also a dialect of Ethiopic, and nearer to it than any other spoken language; it is, in fact, almost pure Ethiopic.

Bilein, of which Brigadier Longrigg, in his Short History of Eritrea (Oxford University Press), writes: "Classed as one of the unsemitised Agau groups." The Agau people are mainly resident in Ethiopia. They are recognised by scholars, not writing with a political motive, as having inhabited Ethiopia before the Semitic peoples reached the Horn of Africa and brought with them the ancient Ethiopic. This, Dr. Heinrich Mueller argues, was upwards of 7,000 years B.C. Dr. Mueller gives entirely logical reasons for his opinion, based upon stone inscriptions found in Ethiopia.

The numbers speaking these three Ethiopian languages, according to the 1943 estimate of the population of Eritrea made by the British Military Administration, are as follows: Tigrinya, 404,480; Tigré, 175,000; Bilein, 22,000—a total of 601,480 out of an Eritrean population of 757,000, as estimated by the 1943 estimate, or census, as it is officially termed. The 156,480 persons who remain when the 601,480 persons speaking manifestly Ethiopian languages have been deducted, as Mr. McNeil stated, are the Danakils or Afa, who have a language of their own and most of whom live in Ethiopia, being artificially divided from their fellow clansfolk by Italian conquest—the Bejas, the Sahos, the Baza, also known as Kunama, and the Barya, the two last classed as Nilotic, and a number of others. By far the largest language group speaks the Ethiopian Tigrinya, but Tigré (even nearer to Ethiopic) is spoken throughout the Western Province, which the British Government proposes to annex to the Sudan.

Mr. McNeil argued rightly that the Christian Ethiopians of Eritrea wish to be reunited with their Ethiopian fellow-Christians across the border. He added, "no one will dispute that this is true, and that their desire is right and sensible." They formed, he said, 65 per cent. of the population in the territory it was proposed to cede to Ethiopia. Our comment is that we believe this an underestimate.

The Danakil coast, which the British Government also proposed to cede to Ethiopia, was peopled by Danakils of Arab-Afa origin, the majority of whom were in Ethiopia. It was only common sense to unite them. This region was connected only with Ethiopia; there was no connection with Massawa except by sea. In Akele Guzai were Saho speaking Muslims, nomadic or semi-nomadic; "it is difficult to see what future they could have except in Ethiopia."

WESTERN PROVINCE

The Western Province, which it was proposed to unite with the Sudan was inhabited, Mr. McNeil contended, by Tigré-speaking peoples numbering 300,000 out of a total of 350,000. There were 30,000 of these people in the Sudan. They spoke Tigré, which Mr. McNeil asserted had "nothing to do with Tigrinya," which was spoken on the Ethiopian plateau and the adjacent Ethiopian province of Tigré.

As we have seen, Mr. McNeil was in this matter most wrongly advised; both Tigré and Tigrinya are dialects of the ancient Ethiopic or Gueze, but Tigré is almost pure Gueze. The majority of the population of the Western Province are in fact of Ethiopian race, that they are Muslims does not alter that fact.

Their opinions on the future of Eritrea have not been ascertained by ballot vote. They have been reckoned infants in arms, children and adults, and ascribed to the so-called Independence group. Some of them have been induced to walk in processions to demonstrate their Muslim faith and on the promise that they will be released from serfdom, payment of feudal dues and what not if they will march under the banners of the Muslim League. Those who have led them have been spurred by material inducements, the minor positions as collectors of tribute and so forth. To lead the Pro-Italy Party inducements have taken a cruder form.

Mr. McNeil continued his argument for partition:

The Committee would hardly contend that there is linguistic, economic, racial necessity for an independent state. What was proposed was not the dismembership of a living organism, but of an artificial unit. Any other solution would prevent the Coptic Christians from uniting with Ethiopia.

True, the people did not want partition, as the Four-Power Commission stated; but, he declared, "this was because the Copts wanted the Western Province incorporated into Ethiopia, whilst the Moslems thought they could claim to represent a majority and their view would prevail in the whole of Eritrea. The unity against partition was seen to be apparent, not real, when the details were examined. The Muslims did not want to go to Ethiopia. Therefore, the British proposals reduce to a minimum the number going to Ethiopia. Moreover, the Muslims are also a majority in Ethiopia and they enjoy freedom there, so the Muslims of mountain Eritrea would not object to union with Ethiopia.

The British proposals did not claim to be the solution desired by everyone—but they were made honestly and were not in conflict with the welfare of the population and the religious and economic factors. They were the best they could do in the interests of justice and the needs and wishes of the people.

Mr. McNeil hoped the United Nations would be guided by the right principles and avoid propaganda warfare. "Let us not treat the future of three million people lightly."

THE UNITED STATES VIEW

Mr. Jessup, of the United States Delegation, said that at the last Assembly six weeks were given to discussing the ex-colonies without reaching a decision.

His delegation had studied the problem intensively and now proposed the following solutions:—

Libya should become independent and unified at a definite early date. The transition period must be fixed. The form such independence and unity would take, should be decided by the people of those territories—not by another power or by the United Nations. Representatives of the people of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan. French-administered Libya must be included, and should discuss whether the Libyan State should be unitary or federal, etc.

In the meantime, annual reports should be made by the British and French Administrations recording the progress towards independence. An Advisory Council from UNO should also be there to advise regarding currency, boundaries and so forth, but should not interfere in the government of the administering powers.

Eritrea. The U.S.A. Delegation advocated incorporation of all Eritrea except the Western Province in Ethiopia, with safeguards for the rights of minorities and municipal charters for Massawa and Assab, which must not prejudice the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Government. The Western Province, they agreed, should go to the Sudan.

True, there is a Muslim majority among the populations of Massawa, but this port cannot be separated from the centre of Eritrea without disruption. The Danakil is almost without communication with Asmara—it is largely in Ethiopia.

Western Eritrea. This area the U.S.A. thinks should go to the Sudan, the population are three-quarters nomadic or semi-nomadic, and this is different from the farmers of the plateau. The heat of the territory resembles Sudan. The religion is Muslim and the social organisation is tribal as in the Sudan.

West Eritrea is desolate and cannot exist alone. The borders of Eritrea are artificial and made in the colonial period.

Our Comment

Mr. Jessup is mistaken regarding Western Eritrea; it was Ethiopia before the Italians arrived, though it was often the scene of Egyptian aggression during the period of Egypt's nineteenth century imperialist expansion.

Ex-Italian Somaliland

The outstanding feature of the United States Delegate's observations on ex-Italian Somaliland was, that like Mr. McNeil, he failed to take any account whatsoever of the fact that the territory is economically insufficient, that it is not self-supporting and cannot be rendered self-supporting. Mr. Jessup said:

The people of the former Somaliland Colony want independence and should be assisted to obtain it by United Nations Trusteeship. This is a tribal region and the people are not ready to determine the means for securing their aspirations.

U.N.O. has, therefore, a special responsibility in their case. If it were accepted that independence was wanted and Trusteeship was needed—what kind of Trusteeship should it be? Direct United Nations Trusteeship or mixed Trusteeship was rejected—what power, then, should be the Trustee?

The United States Delegation considered it should be Italy. Objections by elements of the native peoples had been considered, but his Delegation thought Italy would act in accordance with the UNO Charter and would fulfil the Somali desire for self-government and independence. Italy was deeply interested and devoted to the United Nations Charter. (1) The United States supports the Italian application to enter the United Nations. Mr. Jessup thought the Italian Trusteeship would cover "a rather extensive period."

Our Comment

As the investigations of the Four Power Commission have confirmed the fact that there is no prospect of rendering the Somaliland ex-colony economically self-supporting, no term for the duration of Italian Trusteeship has been envisaged. The question is merely put on the shelf, so far as the sponsors of Italian Trusteeship are concerned.

The United States Delegate ignored the peril of renewed aggression by Italy in Ethiopia.

Ato Aklilou Replies for Ethiopia

Ato Aklilou, the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, protested that two Italian colonies on the north and south of Ethiopia had been torn from Ethiopia, of which 1,000-year-old State they had been a part. These former colonies had served Italy as bases of aggression against Ethiopia.

ANCIENT ASSOCIATIONS

The ancestors of the Ethiopian people had come from Arabia and had first settled on the coast now comprised in the ex-colony of Eritrea. In this area annexed by Italy had been the most ancient capital and cultural centre of the Ethiopian people. The long and close relationship of this area with the rest of Ethiopia was indicated by the fact that Ethiopian titles, found nowhere outside Ethiopia — Dedjazmatch, Blatta, Fitaurari, and the rest, are found also in Eritrea.

CLOSE ASSOCIATIONS TO-DAY

The religions of Eritrea and Ethiopia were the same. Christians and Mohammedans lived peacefully together in Ethiopia, in the same proportions as were found in Eritrea. 200,000 Eritreans were residents in Ethiopia, thousands of Eritreans pass the frontier and every year spend several months in Ethiopia. Over ten per cent. of Ethiopian Government Officials were Eritreans, and thereby was immediately available a large body of experienced officials, ready and able to take over in Eritrea. Where else was it possible to find a more favourable basis for reuniting two territories? The union of Eritrea and Ethiopia in fact to a large extent already exists and has never ceased to exist.

The Italian ex-colonies had three times been used as bases of aggression against Ethiopia; their disposal was, therefore, a vital issue to Ethiopia. The Italian demand to recover them had been constantly pressed.

Eritrea had never been independent. Reunion to Ethiopia could not be justly termed annexation. Eritrea cannot be self-supporting as a separate unit; imports exceed exports by 200 per cent. Half the imports come from Ethiopia. The Four-Power Commission had stated that even at a minimum standard Eritrea could not exist independently.

There were only 5,000 Italians in Eritrea until preparations for the invasion of Ethiopia began. A large number of the Italians in Eritrea were now in British unemployment camps.

The port of Massawa depended on Ethiopian trade and could not exist without it.

Ato Aklilou quoted statements by several delegations at the previous session of U.N.O.:

The Pakistan delegate had said that the people of Eritrea are politically immature. The Indian delegate had added they, too, could not take over the administration now.

Before the Council of Foreign Ministers' Deputies, in July, 1948, the Italians had said "a period of development is needed." The French Foreign Minister said independence was impossible at present; the United Nations Assembly had rejected both independence and trusteeship for Eritrea last year.

The present claim for independence came from defeated groups. They asserted a change in the situation but they could not change economic facts. They aimed merely at delay when they proposed a new commission of inquiry.

Those who opposed the reunion of Eastern Eritrea to Ethiopia sought to ignore the interests and wishes of 70 per cent. of the population in order to accede to the supposed demands of 30 per cent. in the Western Province. The proposed independence would merely lead to disruption.

ITALIAN UNITY RECALLED

A decision at this long last was needed, misery and unemployment were rife in Eritrea. Incorporation in Ethiopia would be not annexation, but reunion, as in the question of Italian unity—Piedmont did not make an annexation of the rest of Italy when Italian unity was obtained. Still less would the reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia be an annexation by Ethiopia.

Italy and Ethiopia can be friends when Italy abandons the policy of annexation.

When Italy recognises Ethiopian unity as inevitable and resolves to leave Ethiopia in peace there can be co-operation between the two countries. Already Italians are employed in Ethiopia; given Italian good will Italy and Ethiopia can become friends. The Argentine Delegate said last year, Ethiopia must be safeguarded against any further Italian aggression. Ethiopia asks for the recognition of the economic inevitability of the reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia.

Never, even in the remote future can Eritrea be self-supporting. Ethiopia hoped delegates would vindicate Ethiopia by their vote. All these delays, if continued, would be a blow to the prestige of the United Nations and a blow to all the small nations. Ethiopia was confident that assisted by friends in all parts of the world she would obtain her demands.

U.S.S.R. RESOLUTION

Whilst the debate was in progress M. Zarubin, of the U.S.S.R. Delegation, circulated a resolution proposing:

(1) for Eritrea, independence after five years, United Nations Trusteeship meanwhile.

(2) for Ethiopia, access to the sea through the port of Assab, a shallow water inlet never constructed, never used as a port except by small native craft incapable of dealing with overseas trade.

For Libya, immediate independence. British forces and British and United States air bases to be removed within three months.

Somaliland, independence after five years, UNO Trusteeship, meanwhile.

FRANCE ON LIBYA

Mr. Couve de Murville expressed very much reserve concerning the independence and unity of Libya. Its proximity to French-held Tunisia is not without influence on the views of the present French Government, which is by no means willing to surrender French imperial possessions and is apprehensive of the influences which might emanate towards Tunisia from a near-by independent North African State. The French Delegate said:—

The French would be happy if the people of Libya were saved from anarchy. Many delegations had advocated the unity of Libya, but there are geographical differences and the modern unity of Libya was only effected by Italy. In Tripolitania there is not the unanimity which exists in Cyrenaica, so the problem is complex. Also many Italians still remain in Tripolitania. There must be protection for the Italian minority and collaboration with the Italian Government.

On **Eritrea** the French Delegate hoped for a solution which would secure conciliation. For **Somaliland** Italy would be the best country to have Trusteeship, he affirmed.

ITALY

Count Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister, adopted his usual self-righteous tone. He complained that Italy was not yet a member of the United Nations, "which we have the right to join as the Four Powers said they would support our application in the Peace Treaty." The Russian Government had said they only vetoed the entry of Italy because other countries were refused, but there was nothing like this in the Treaty. The other three Powers supported Italy's application.

Democratic Italy, he asserted, had always regarded her colonies as something more than colonies and helped their development, moral, economic, and so forth. In view of the known facts this is an utterly false claim.

When, in April last, Italy had asked for Trusteeship of her former colonies, it was when Trusteeship seemed the best and Italy should not be denied participation—even then Italy only wanted to prepare the colonies for independence, he protested.

Two months later, after the U.N.O. debate, in view of public opinion, Italy withdrew her claim and advocated independence for the most progressive colonies, Tripolitania and Eritrea.

In all the former colonies military administration had hampered life everywhere. Civil administration was needed. Italy's new proposals were based on the principle of self determination.

Libya should have independence—separate States with a federal council—England and France to supervise, but Tripoli must have immediate independence and self-determination. There must be a free general election for a Constituent Assembly. The British administration should then leave. It would be necessary to have an International Commission with an Italian representative to watch the first election in Libyan history "Otherwise, we should not be making history, but a comedy," Count Sforza declared.

He claimed that Italian colonists must be safeguarded by a bilateral agreement between Italy and Libya. No red tape should be allowed, or delays which would discredit U.N.O. and alienate the Arabs.

But if independence is delayed, the International Commission should be made supreme.

ERITREA

Hoping to fish in troubled waters Count Sforza claimed also independence for Eritrea. "She deserves it," he declared, and acidly added it would bring "progress in East Africa—including Ethiopia." The compromise with Bevin Italy had found "disquieting." They asked for independence, which had become popular recently "even among Italians." The Eritreans, he asserted, were "mature"; trade was "well developed." Therefore, Ethiopia could be independent. To say it was too small was "a dangerous theory," as small countries would say. "Tolerance, religious freedom and peace" had been brought by Italy to East Africa, and independence would be beneficial also to Ethiopia.

All these smug sophistries ran glibly from the tongue of the rusé old politician. Count Sforza addresses the meetings of the United Nations as he would an Italian election meeting: He adopts the propaganda style to an extreme not usual in the United Nations.

He proceeded to observe that Ethiopia, with the proposed "independent" Eritrea as neighbour, might one day also be able to help civilisation in Africa.

The grim effrontery of Count Sforza's insufferable boasting of Italy's beneficence can only be fully realised by the unfortunate people who suffered under Italian rule.

"Somalis Should go on Benefiting"

Without regard to the continuous misrule by Italy in her Somaliland colony, Count Sforza proceeded:

"Our work is not yet done—interruption would sabotage our work. Italy's pioneering work has been recognised. The Somalis should go on benefiting from Italian help until they are ready." Much capital, he said, would be needed, and could only be obtained "if stability were guaranteed."

Here was an argument against any suggestion of independence within any fixed or foreseeable period.

(Continued on page 4, column 1)

UNO DISCUSSES EX-COLONIES

(Continued from page 3, column 5)

He ended with a peroration of unctuous falsehoods, without a single word of regret for the iniquities Italy has perpetrated in Africa:

"Our old colonies were dearly loved and cherished, but we recognise that independence is needed." The Italian people wished to follow Britain's great example. Italy desired the friendship of peoples. "She will get it, because all her work has been done hand in hand with the peoples—even in the hardest times."

The Italians hope, said Count Sforza, to get closer to the countries of Asia, which are tied with their old colonies. This was "Italy's oldest aim."

One wonders whether that "getting closer" is intended to be the boa-constrictor's embrace which Italy's many professions of "perpetual friendship" invariably proved to Ethiopia.

PAKISTAN

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan

It was painful to hear the delegate of Pakistan, the tall Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, who at the last Assembly opposed Italian Trusteeship of the former colonies, now offering an oratorical bouquet to Count Sforza, and at one point actually making common cause with him against Ethiopia.

Sir Zafrullah Khan revealed the policy of his Delegation to be directed with a view strictly to Muslim interests, rather than by the broad principles of international justice. He corrected the French Delegate who had said the last Assembly had been willing to grant Trusteeship to France and Britain, but not to Italy. This was not the policy of the Pakistan Delegation; they had voted against Italian Trusteeship purely because they desired immediate independence for Libya. They did not now oppose a short trusteeship of Italian Somaliland by Italy leading to a greater Somaliland.

This was an ominous remark and seemed to suggest some scheme in which Italy might participate, to enlarge the Somaliland colony at the exense of the neighbouring Ethiopian Somaliland.

Pakistan Urged— Postpone Eritrean Settlement

The Pakistan delegate advocated the postponement of a settlement for Eritrea, and proposed the appointment of a United Nations Commission to make a further investigation into the wishes of the people. Unless the existence of a clear majority for reunion to Ethiopia could be proved he wanted an independent State.

He indulged in some sarcasm at the expense of the United Kingdom delegate who had emphasised Ethiopian claims based on religion, race, economics and the need of both areas. The Pakistan delegate recognised the force of these arguments; but, he said, the United Kingdom representative had gone so far in stressing factors against the independent existence of Eritrea that one wondered whether the independence of Ethiopia itself was in danger, as it lacks skill. Eritrea might prove to Ethiopia "a garland of razor blades. What has Ethiopia done to deserve it?" Many independent States had difficulties, but they did not ask for reunion to other States. Ethiopia had difficulties and needs. Eritrea was small, but, as Italy said, it would be a dangerous doctrine that small States must be absorbed by larger ones. Eritrea was undeveloped, but had a decent coastline. He questioned whether Ethiopia was politically in advance of Eritrea. "We only know," he said, "the benevolent rule of the Emperor." Claims had been made that all Ethiopians were equal, but how many of the high administrators were non-Amharic and non-Christian? That was important if non-Christian, non-Amharic areas were to be given to Ethiopia.

The fact that all provinces are represented in the Ethiopian Government and that there is a very high proportion of Gallas and other non-Amharic strains in the Ethiopian higher administration, had evidently escaped the Pakistan delegate. He doubtless had failed to observe the plea made by the Ethiopian students' conference at Chichester that the Muslim Youth of Ethiopia, instead of taking up commerce at an early age, will consent to be educated and will contribute more members to Ethiopian Administration. He evidently is out of touch with patriotic Ethiopian Muslims.

Sir Zafrullah Khan, quite without basis for his allegation, declared that Democracy has not yet even been thought of in Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, he said, if the majority of Eritreans desired to go to Ethiopia all his remarks, however relevant and important, would be thrown overboard, but he had grave doubts.

ETHIOPIA REPLIES

Strong Speech of Blatta Medhen

Somewhat later, but at the earliest opportunity, these remarks evoked a protest from the Ethiopian Delegate, Blatta Ephrem Medhen, who is well-known to be Eritrean. In doing so Blatta Medhen first expressed gratitude to the friends who had loyally supported Ethiopia and had voted for her cause in the last Assembly.

"We regret deeply to have to reply," he said, "to the allegations of the Delegate of Pakistan. We regret it; it came as a rude surprise to a people who have long had friendly relations. The Pakistan Delegate was unwarranted in his attack. He suggested that though there are doubts regarding the possibility of an independent Eritrea, they should be ignored.

"Notwithstanding expressions of sympathy it was suggested that the reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia might endanger Ethiopian independence.

"The Delegate of Pakistan has said it is doubtful whether Eritrea is more economically undeveloped or unbalanced than Ethiopia. Eritrea has for many years had a deficit; Ethiopia a favourable balance. Ethiopia supplies foodstuffs to Eritrea.

"Ethiopia obtained a small, generous aid from Britain at the time of her liberation, but Ethiopia has relied on her own resources, and is not financed by any other Power. She turned down a British offer to continue financial aid.

"Ethiopia also assists the upkeep of the United Nations. Eritreans go to Ethiopia to obtain employment.

"The Pakistan Delegate attacks Ethiopia, politically—and discusses our political structure. I am an Eritrean, not a Copt. At the Paris Conference, two Ethiopian Delegates were of the same religion as the Delegate of Pakistan. Muslims are in our administration, though many of them are traders, not administrators; many have come to Ethiopia purely for trade. There are only two Coptic Christians among our Delegates at this session.

"We regret his words. Ethiopia cannot aspire to the prestige of Pakistan. I cannot claim to have the great knowledge of the learned delegate of Pakistan."

Nevertheless, Blatta Medhen said he was able to recall that Mohammed, the Prophet, when his followers suffered persecution at the hands of the Koraish in the 7th century had advised them to seek asylum in Ethiopia, "the land of righteousness where no one is wronged." There they had been hospitably cherished and comforted. Subsequently, the Koraish sent messengers to the Emperor of Ethiopia, bearing rich presents, to request that the fugitives be delivered to them. The Emperor, however, returned the presents with the reply, "If you were to offer me a mountain of gold, I would not give up these people who have taken refuge with me."

The Delegate of Pakistan had spoken of partition; it was easy to talk of partition when yours was not the Country to be cut up. The Pakistan Delegate desired the partition of Somaliland. It would be a novel precedent for a member of the United Nations to be partitioned! What does the Pakistan Delegate think the majority view would be in this respect? Is it what happened in Kashmir?"

"For the Delegate of Pakistan, the fact that 47 per cent. of Eritreans desire reunion to Ethiopia is irrelevant, also that there are regions where there is a 97 per cent. Unionist majority.

"The fact is Eritrea has never been an independent State. He makes much of disunity as a reason for suggesting this 'garland of razor blades.'"

The Delegate of Pakistan has proposed to return Italy to Ethiopia's Southern border—"that would be an attack upon our security; the return of Italy would be regarded as a threat to our independence and we think we are the best judges of what constitutes a threat and what does not."

PAKISTAN RETORTS

Sir Zafrullah Khan, replied:

"We do not wish to enter into a controversy with the learned representative of Eritrea. His mistake is in quoting me, whereas my words were largely a rendering of the United Kingdom's view; it was not my wish to allege that Eritrea is a garland of razor-blades. I said the United Kingdom delegate had over-argued his case—there are other things to be considered—on his view if Eritrea is so desolate and hopeless, then it would not be a benefit to Ethiopia, but it is for everyone to decide what is good for oneself. Obviously it is to Ethiopia's benefit to have Eritrea. I did not myself draw the inference."

BELGIUM

The Belgian delegation supported the British plan: independence for Libya; Eritrea divided between Ethiopia and the Sudan; ex-Italian Somaliland put under Italian trusteeship.

IRAQ

"As a sister Arab country" Iraq demanded immediate independence for Libya; Libyans had as good a right to membership of UNO as many round that table and were not more backward.

INDIA DESIRES UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR EX-COLONIES

The Indian delegate argued that as all were agreed on the independence of Libya, a Constituent Assembly, must be set up; it must be under the United Nations to give confidence to world public opinion, as there were three regimes in Libya.

A commission should be appointed by UNO from candidates proposed by the present administrators. There should be a Constituent Assembly, representing all Libya, to decide whether the future administration should be Unitary or Federal. The present Administration should not enter into the Constitutional discussion.

The Four-Power Commission had stated the former Italian Somaliland colony was not ready for self-government, but only a few months ago the majority in UNO had thought the same of Libya, and prejudices were being dropped; if a United Nations Commission were now to visit the territory a different opinion might be reported.

1. If such a Commission reported the necessity for a period of Trusteeship, this should be established by a United Nations Treaty.
2. The Trusteeship Constitution should be subject to periodical review, and there should be a ten-year limit.
3. The United Nations should have power to change the Trusteeship Constitution; the Administering Power must obey United Nations directions.
4. The Administering Power should only be decided if the Commission reported Trusteeship necessary.

Concerning Eritrea information was not definite. India considered a United Nations Commission should investigate on the spot whether partition was necessary, and if so where the dividing line should be; what protecting rules should be established; whether the territory could become economically independent.

Our Comment

The fact that the Four-Power Commission had examined this last point, and had replied in the negative was ignored. No thought of the economic stagnation and misery in the ex-colonies, the frustation and disappointment following eight years' of procrastination deterred well-intentioned delegates from further procrastination.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands supported the British plan.

THE UKRAINE "SELLING A COAT TO A BUTTON."

Mr. Manouilsky, of the Ukranian Delegation, differed sharply from Mr. McNeil, who had proposed to continue British administration in Libya for three or five years, had recognised French claims to the Fezzan, and had proposed Italian Trusteeship for Italy and partition for Eritrea.

To join the Western Province of Eritrea to the Sudan in order to add 30,000 tribesmen in the Sudan to the 300,000 in Eritrea was "like selling a coat to a button." He advocated "nationhood" for Eritrea and claimed that only the proposals of the Soviet Union were based on the Charter. Having previously demanded UNO Trusteeship for all the ex-colonies, the Soviet now wanted immediate Libyan independence and 5 years' UNO Trusteeship for Somaliland and Eritrea.

GREECE AND ERITREAN REUNION

Greco-Ethiopian relations date back to ancient times. There is a large Greek community in Ethiopia who regard the country as a second motherland, and are working hard for the restoration of Eritrea. Hence, the Greek Delegate protested: "We cannot advocate Trusteeship to-day and independence to-morrow; we must be guided by good faith and common sense." "Eritrea is not," he declared, "a country with aspirations, but a part of Ethiopia detached in 1885. Therefore, it is not a question of independence." The last Assembly had a big majority for joining Eastern Eritrea to Ethiopia. Greece would vote for that. Ethiopia was entitled to sympathy; she had suffered seriously by aggression and had fought gallantly. She had defended not only her own cause, but the cause of world peace."

CHINA

The Chinese Delegate stated that China, the first victim of Japanese aggression, sympathises with the first victim of Italian aggression; therefore, she supports Ethiopia's just claim to access to the sea. He wanted a United Nations Boundary Commission; the people of Eritrea should decide how much of Eritrea should rejoin Ethiopia.

TURKEY

Turkey must maintain a special interest in the ex-colonies, her Delegate argued, for most of them were formerly in the Ottoman Empire. Libya was an integral member of that empire; Libyans took part in their own administration and sent representatives to the central Parliament of the Ottoman Empire. Libya was now ready for independence. The constitution of the new state was a matter for the Libyans; UNO should not do more than express a preference. He added: "We apply to Eritrea an open mind, and approve access to the sea for Ethiopia; we reserve the right to speak. For Somaliland we still support Italian Trusteeship, added the Turkish Delegate, thus deserting the unfortunate Muslim Somalis, who are bitterly discovering the quality of some friendships.

LATIN AMERICAN STATES ADOPT ITALIAN LINE

El Salvador, Cuba and Dominica adopted the Italian line like all South American States; independence for Libya and Eritrea, Italian Trusteeship for Somaliland. The Dominican representative plainly said that a two-thirds majority should not be obtained for an Eritrean decision, that the subject must be postponed for another year, a new commission must go out to report. In the meantime, there must be independence for Libya and Italian Trusteeship for Somaliland. "Get the British and French out of Libya" is now the pro-Italian tune, while work to restore the Italian hold on the colonies continues. Argentina, Guatemala, Honduras followed suit.

U.S.S.R. Retort to "Mr." Sforza

Beginning with a retort to "Mr." Sforza, the Soviet Delegate passed on to declare that the Soviet Union had sought to free the former colonies from the Colonial yoke; it was the fault of the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom that this aim had been frustrated.

The fact that the Soviet Union had for years advocated the return of all the ex-colonies to Italy seems to be forgotten in the U.S.S.R., or perhaps this was merely a strategic suggestion, not intended to be carried out. Who can say?

The formation of an "independence block" in Eritrea was spoken of by the Soviet Delegate as though it were a great popular movement; he has been misinformed; this is an Italian move.

The Soviet Delegate denounced the agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Emir stating that the "internal self-Government" merely set up in Cyrenaica, had been stigmatised by the chairman of the "Libyan Independence" movement as "a lie to which we will never accede." He complained of British and United States air bases in Libya.

Soviet Proposals for Eritrea and Somaliland

After much proclamation of desire for self-government and self-determination for the peoples of the ex-colonies, the following Soviet proposals for Eritrea and Somaliland were a painful anti-climax:

(To be continued)

Eritrean Muslim Endows Haile Sellassie School at Arkiko

(Continued from page 1, column 5)

ment reached in time of war between Emperor Haile Sellassie I and our British allies.

Our struggle for unity with the Motherland rests also in the diplomatic struggle His Imperial Majesty has continued at the Assembly of the United Nations to reunite us with our Motherland. We all should be grateful for this benevolent effort of Ethiopia's great and beloved Emperor.

A Token of Gratitude

"The nomination of this school in His Imperial Majesty's name is only a token of gratitude that Eritreans owe to Emperor Haile Sellassie I, a master mason of our Liberty and a pilot of our Freedom. The commemoration of this school in his name, I am sure, will give great satisfaction to us all and will be remembered by many generations after us.

Can Eritreans Forget?

"Even to-day, can Eritreans of different parties possibly forget that it was the effort made by His Imperial Majesty on our behalf which gave us the chance of waving our many party **banners?** History shall pay better tribute to His work than I can. I only wish to thank His Imperial Majesty for having consented to give His name to this small institution. It gives me great pleasure to affix as a motto of our school a quotation from one of his Imperial Majesty's speeches: 'Our only wish for a long life is to have time to gather into one, those countries and people which have been dispersed.'"

H. E. Ato Yilma Deressa replied as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

"One of the most important works to which my August Sovereign Haile Sellassie I has been dedicating himself is in the field of Education and learning. It therefore gave me great pleasure when I received His Imperial Majesty's order to be present at Arkiko today, to witness the commemoration of the first Eritrean school in the name of our beloved Emperor.

"The people of Ethiopia for many years have preserved their independence through the valour of their soldiers, as well as by their unswerving devotion to the cause of Liberty and Freedom. In modern times, the valour of soldiers must be supplemented by means, and Liberty can only be had by those equipped with learning and knowledge. It is with the realization of this principle that His Imperial Majesty has been toiling for long, to encourage the pursuit of knowledge and to spread education throughout Ethiopia. To-day the guarantee of Ethiopia's Liberty rests on the education of her sons and daughters.

"The small town of Arkiko, in which we are all gathered to-day, appears on many pages of Ethiopia's history. In the heyday of the Axumite Ethiopian Emperors, Arkiko shared with Adulis and Zulu the prosperity of the Empire's maritime trade as well as the glory of Ethiopia's Navy, which was then master of the Red Sea.

"It was from Arkiko that in the 9th century the last strong Ethiopian Navy took to the sea to oppose enemy raiders who made repeated attacks on the merchant fleet and their base.

"We remember that it was Arkiko which harboured our allied fleet in the middle of the 16th century when the Portuguese came to help us to retain our independence.

"In naming the school at Arkiko after Haile Sellassie I, our host wished to affirm to her citizens the long rôle that the port played in Ethiopia's history, a rôle which has outlived centuries (and which may still continue in history). He also wished to recall to your mind that in this part of the world in which we live to-day there is a great ruler who toils for the pursuit of learning and to raise the standard of culture of the race to which we belong. This is a lasting principle, the true solution to most problems that His Imperial Majesty is solving to-day, and Ladies and Gentlemen, Truth in the long run shall prevail.

"Long live the Emperor Haile Sellassie I!"

Published by the Proprietor, Sylvia Pankhurst, at 3, Charterls Road, Woodford Green, Essex. 'Phone: BUCkhurst 2463. Printed by Percy Brothers, Ltd., The Hotspur Press, Whitworth Street West, Manchester 1, and London.

fragment

AMONG the many defects which have been pointed out in the federal constitution by its antifederal enemies, it is much to be lamented that no person has taken notice of its total silence upon the subject of an office of the utmost importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an office for promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country.

IT IS TO BE HOPED that no objection will be made to the establishment of such an office while we are engaged in a war with the Indians, for as the War Office of the United States was established in the time of peace it is equally reasonable that a Peace Office should be established in the time of war.

24-23,53

THE PLAN OF THIS OFFICE IS AS FOLLOWS:

I. Let a Secretary of Peace be appointed to preside in this office who shall be perfectly free from all the present absurd and vulgar European prejudices upon the subject of government; let him be a genuine republican and a sincere christian, for the principles of republicanism and christianity are no less friendly to universal and perpetual peace than they are to universal and equal liberty.

II. Let a power be given to this Secretary to establish and maintain free schools in every city, village, and township of the United States; and let him be made responsible for the talents, principles and morals of all his schoolmasters. Let the youth of our country be carefully instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic and in the doctrines of a religion of some kind; the Christian religion should be preferred to others for it belongs to this religion exclusively to teach us not only to cultivate peace with all men, but to forgive, nay, more - to love our enemies. It belongs to it further to teach us that the Supreme Being alone possesses a power to take away human life, and that we rebel against His laws whenever we undertake to execute death in any way whatever upon any of His creatures.

III. Let every family in the United States be furnished at the public expense by the Secretary of this office with a copy of an American edition of bible. This measure has become the more necessary in our ccountry since the banishment of the bible, as a school book, from most of the schools in the United States. Unless the price of this book be

paid for by the public there is reason to fear that in a few years it will be met with only in courts of justice or in magistrates' offices; and should the absurd mode of establishing truth by kissing this sacred book fall into disuse it may probably in the course of the next generation be seen only as a curiosity on a shalf in Mr. Peale's museum.

IV. Let the following sentence be inscribed in letters of gold over the door of every home in the United States:

THE SON OF MAN CAME INTO THE WORLD, NOT TO DESTROY MEN'S LIVES; BUT TO SAVE THEM.

24-23.54

V. To inspire a veneration for human life and an horror at the shedding of human blood let all those laws be repealed which authorise juries, judges, sheriffs or hangmen to assume the resentment of individuals and to commit murder in cold blood in any case whatever. Until this reformation in our code of penal jurisprudence takes place it will be in vain to attempt to introduce universal and perpetual peace in our country.

VI. To subdue that passion for war, which education added to human depravity, have made universal, a familiarity with the instruments of death as well as all military shows should be carefully avoided. For which reason militia laws should everywhere be repealed and military dress and military titles should be laid aside; reviews tend to lessen the horrors of a battle by connecting them with the charms of order; militia laws generate idleness and vice and thereby produce the wars which they are said to prevent; military dress fascinates the minds of young men and leads them from serious and useful professional. Were there no uniforms there would probably be no armies. Lastly, military titles feed vanity and keep up ideas in the mind which lessen a sense of the folly and miseries of war.

In the seventh and last place let a large room, adjoining the federal hall be appropriated for transacting the business. Over the door of this room let there be a sign on which the figures of a Lamb

ing of one more investigation commission, this time including - believe it or not - South Africa as one of the five members.

Another shortcoming was the provision of elaborate advisory machinery - embracing representatives of four colonial powers, Britain, France, the United States, and Italy, and only two representatives of non-colonial powers, Egypt and Pakistan - to "assist" the people of Libya in setting up their government, even though they did not ask for such outside assistance or have a chance to refuse it. This circumstance, together with the imperialist-led majority's rejection of the proposal for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and bases, makes it very doubtful that Libya will achieve any real independence within the framework of the U.N. decisions, Dr. Hunton said.

A third and obvious bad feature of the decisions, he said, was the barring of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelorussian republics and Poland and Czechoslovakia from any participation whatsoever in the commissions and councils set up to give effect to the Assembly's plans for the three former Italian colonies. It was the imperialist powers, not the people of the former Italian colonies, who demanded this exclusion of the Soviet Union and the other states mentioned.

23a-11

The final vote of the Assembly does not truly reflect the large measure of dissent from the decisions expressed at various times by many of the non-colonial members. It was pointed out, for example, preliminary votes on amendments proposed by Poland revealed that fourteen countries had favored independence for Libya after one year instead of two; while sixteen countries favored granting independence to Somaliland at the end of three years, instead of waiting ten years; and ten voted in favor of United Nations trusteeship instead of Italian trusteeship for Italian Somaliland. In addition to these affirmative votes, many countries abstained instead of taking a stand for or against these proposed amendments. The United States and Britain voted uniformly against all of them straight down the line.

Despite all these negative aspects, it is important to recognize the great strength of the anti-colonial sentiment in the United Nations, Dr. Hunton observed, stating that it was this opposition to the imperialists' designs which forced them to retreat from the earlier, bolder division of spoils as worked out in the Bevins-Sforza deal of last spring.

This fall the United States at first proposed an Italian trusteeship without time limit over Somaliland. The United States representative was quickly forced to revise this to a formula of independence after ten years unless the General Assembly should decide otherwise at that time. Finally, the "unless" clause had to be dropped and an unconditional time limit was established.

With respect to Libya, Italy was forced to relinquish her claim to trusteeship over Tripolitania and instead of a ten year waiting period for independence, a two-year limit was established.

It was the voice of anti-colonial powers in the United Nations, led especially by the Soviet Union, the uncompromising stand of progressive representatives of the inhabitants of the former Italian colonies, and the pressure of public opinion organized and expressed through the Council on African Affairs and other similar bodies here and abroad, which forced the imperialist powers to retreat, at least on these few points, Dr. Hunton concluded. But it is important to realize that the final solution of this question, the achievement of full freedom for the people of Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland, will require continued vigilance and struggle on the part of the anti-imperialist forces, he warned.

Eisenach [1949?]

I ~~heard~~ read Conrad in ~~Poland~~ Greek this Yorck
then on the silent sea as I ~~paddled~~ flew over. And here in
Eisenach, 30 years after I shall not go questing. I left
the dream, the beautiful dream unbroken &
used all this renewal of old & unforgotten beauty
& elect- untroubled & ~~unchastened~~ undisturbed. On the town was
little I knew — the Market & the church where we shuddled
of a Sunday in solemn baggyness. Yorcks & are some ~~was~~
the Sunderhof shop with Elsa & beautiful George.
Why should I try to bring them back? Some of
them I know are among those more than 1400
dragoons from the hordle & crimson were the hordle behind
They still encompassed — they remain unforgotten
O crumble cathedrals of endless pain. Some
are dead some are old, some are homeless
some filled with the cynicisms of life. But to me all
are the moving dusky beautiful ghosts of boys & girls
who took me, the dark & remote stranger & then
death in 1892 & made for me all the world
beautiful. They will never die never grow old
My time ~~into the Wartburg~~ the ~~quiet~~ valley
hills of Thuringen above the dale red roofs of Eisenach
Tower of Wartburg & cell of Luther, hymn of Bach & song of
Wolfram von Eschenbach — your you are Eternal life, & these unsaid
tears are joy — joy & beautiful pain.

A2-81-24

Girl Dora, dear beautiful Dora of many years
ago. Her eyes & cheeks so pale & pensive with
many thirst — I did not ask her a thing about a thing

[1949 ?]

23-40-6

The most astonishing fact in the middle of the Twentieth Century of the Prince of Peace, is that it actually takes courage to oppose war and preparation for war. Especially is it dangerous to want peace with Russia.

W.E.B. Du Bois.

[1949?]

"'What is happening in the United States is that we have been going down the road to fascism. . . '"

Rogge discussed Peekskill, loyalty check, etc.

8 Sc - 40

MEMORANDUM

TO THE

UNITED NATIONS

FROM

THE SOMALI DELEGATION

ON THE

FUTURE OF

EX-ITALIAN SOMALILAND

32.27.9

Lake Success, N. Y. *September 1949*

"This Obvious Violence"

32.30.93

By MARIAN BACHRACH

Reprinted from
Political Affairs,
January, 1949

"This Obvious Violence"

by Marian Bachrach

IT HAS HAPPENED BEFORE in our country that momentous issues, centers of great mass struggle, also present themselves as legal questions around which struggle develops in the courts.

Such an issue reached the Supreme Court in 1857. In the words of Chief Justice Taney, "The question is simply this: Can a negro [sic], whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen?"

The Supreme Court decided the question in the negative, and as it thought, for all time.

Speaking for the majority of the divided Court, Chief Justice Taney declared: "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States. . . . And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description."

Those who challenged the validity of that decision were denounced as traitors, and charged with offering violent resistance to the government of the United States. But Abraham Lincoln, emerging as the leader of the new anti-slavery alignment and Republican Party, cut through all legalistic interpretations of the Constitution. Lincoln denounced the Dred Scott decision "for doing this obvious violence to the plain, unmistakable language of the Declaration of Independence."

Debating the issue with Stephen Douglas, Lincoln asserted that the authors of the Declaration:

"... meant to set up a standard maxim for a free society, which should be familiar to all and revered by all—constantly looked to, constantly laboured for, and, even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colours everywhere. The assertion that 'all men are created equal,' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful

paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, that they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack."

Desperately determined to preserve their "right" to traffic freely in the "private property" of human beings, the slave holders of the 1850's sought to extend their system of production to new territory and make its infamous social conditions prevail throughout the whole of the United States.

Under "the single impulse of resistance to this common danger," a loose people's coalition gathered around Lincoln and the new Republican party. It was, as Lincoln said, made up "of strange, discordant and even hostile elements, gathered from the four winds." It embraced homesteaders and industrial workers, substantial sections of the rising industrial bourgeoisie of the North, abolitionists and the early American followers of Karl Marx who advocated the abolition not only of chattel but also of wage slavery.

Held together by the common purpose of resisting the expansion of slavery, this broad coalition elected Lincoln President in 1860. In 1861, it was obliged to wage armed struggle in defense of the government of the United States—which the slave holders attempted to overthrow and destroy by force and violence in a desperate effort to preserve the historically outmoded productive relationships of their slave system.

It was in the course of this revolutionary and armed defense of a progressive government that the system of chattel slavery was forcibly overthrown and destroyed, and, incidentally, the Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case reversed.

The Emancipation Proclamation expropriated the "private property" of the slave holders, and declared that the Negro people "are, and henceforward shall be, free."

But, to implement and perpetuate that freedom, it was necessary to amend the Constitution of the United States. To achieve that purpose, and secure the revolutionary fruits of the people's victory in the Civil War, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were incorporated in the basic law of the United States.

"Can a Negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen?"

Once again, though under different historical conditions, this issue is being fought out in the area of mass political and economic struggle in our country—and once again it presents itself as the subject of litigation in the courts.

32, 30, 94

This time it is not an escaped slave, but the General Secretary of the Communist Party who pleads the cause of the Negro people, and carries into court the struggle for their full liberation which American Marxists have never ceased to wage on every front since the time of Joseph Wedemeyer, Lt. General in the Union Army.

Following in the foot-steps of Chief Justice Taney, the ultra-reactionary Judge Bennett Champ Clark has already dismissed as "sheer nonsense" Eugene Dennis' claim that he cannot be jailed for refusing to recognize the authority of a man whose presence in Congress constitutes a flagrant violation of the 14th Amendment.

The enormity of the opinion rendered by the Court of Appeals is this: 91 years later, Judge Bennett Champ Clark is still echoing Chief Justice Roger Taney. The great Civil War and Reconstruction victory embodied in the 14th Amendment goes for naught—Judge Clark's court holds that enforcement of the Constitution is *optional,* where it touches on the rights of Negroes and Southern poor whites.

Consequently, the issue now comes before the Supreme Court, which at this writing has under consideration Dennis' petition for a review of Judge Clark's decision, rendered for the U.S. Court of Appeals.

A brief review of the facts in the Dennis case will help to distinguish the special features which give it even greater significance than the host of other cases involving the defense of the Bill of Rights against violation by the notorious House Un-American Committee.

In March, 1947, the Un-American Committee began public hearings on two proposals to outlaw the Communist Party—the Rankin and Sheppard bills. Availing himself of the only official forum for opposing this fascist legislation, Eugene Dennis demanded an opportunity to testify on behalf of the Communist Party. At the same time, he stated categorically that in thus exercising his rights as the spokesman for a legal political party, he in no way implied *de facto* recognition of the constitutionality of the Thomas-Rankin Committee.

Dennis appeared, and was sworn. Immediately, and in obvious pursuance of a pre-arranged plan, J. Parnell Thomas denied him the opportunity to present his testimony, ordered him served with a subpoena which was ready at hand, and had him hustled from the hearing room. Incidentally, this is the same J. Parnell Thomas now facing trial on charges of defrauding the government.

Eugene Dennis did not respond to the subpoena, summoning him to appear before the inquisitors on April 9, 1947. Instead, he sent the committee a letter, setting forth his reasons for holding it to be an unconstitutional body without legal authority to order his appearance. He was summarily cited for "contempt of Con-

gress," tried before a District of Columbia jury composed mainly of government employees under "loyalty" order intimidation, convicted, and sentenced to a year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

In a statement made to the court before hearing sentence, Dennis declared, "My own liberty is, of course, dear to me. But more dear is the liberty of the whole American people." The grounds on which the General Secretary of the Communist Party bases his case are eloquently summed up in those few words.

Like other anti-fascists challenging the usurped authority of the Un-Americans, Dennis argues that the House Committee was established solely to investigate into the propagation of ideas, and that the House of Representatives is without power to authorize such investigation, but on the contrary expressly forbidden to do so by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

For taking this stand, the staunch Communist, Leon Josephson, has already served almost a year in prison. Other patriotic Americans, like the Anti-fascist Eleven and the Hollywood Ten, share with Dennis the honor of risking their own liberty in order to preserve those liberties won for the whole American people in the great bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776, and guaranteed in the Bill of Rights as the result of further struggle.

But, as befits a leader of the Communist Party, Dennis has raised the struggle against the House Un-Americans to a still higher level, and made his own case an instrument for advancing the struggle for the national liberation of the Negro people, which reaction betrayed in the period of Reconstruction.

He charges that the Un-American Committee is not in fact a lawful committee of Congress, since it is tainted with the illegality of John Rankin's presence in Congress, where he sits in violation of the second section of the 14th Amendment.*

Significantly, it is this contention—the distinguishing feature of the Dennis case—which has won both wide support among the Negro people and the special venom of Judge Bennett Champ Clark.

Judge Clark arrogantly ruled that Dennis "has set up an intricate system of calculation of his own from which he has arrived at the conclusion satisfactory to himself." This conclusion is that abridgement of the rights of voters in a given state should be penalized by a proportional reduction in the number of that state's representatives in Congress.

But the "intricate system of calculation" which demonstrates that Mississippi is not entitled to hold seven seats in the House of Representatives was not worked out by Eugene Dennis. It resulted from nationwide and congressional discussions in the post-

* The full text of the section of the Dennis brief dealing with the 14th Amendment will be found in the December, 1947 issue of *Political Affairs.*

Civil War period. It was the problem that received the primary attention of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, and formed the subject of its first report.

As the Dennis brief in support of his petition for a writ of certiorari from the Supreme Court points out, congressional debate on proposals to amend the Constitution to change the basis for apportionment revolved around two essential positions. "On the one hand," Dennis argues in his brief, "it was urged that Representatives should be apportioned on the basis of the number of voters in each State. On the other, many argued for an Amendment which would eliminate from the total population all persons of any race or color when the right to vote of any individual of that race or color was denied or abridged within any State.

"The purpose of these proposals was two-fold: firstly, to relate the political power of any State to the degree to which political liberty was extended to its inhabitants, and secondly, to encourage the extension of the franchise to the Negro people in the South. These objectives were constantly reiterated during the course of the debates in Congress."

The debate was resolved by the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, whose second section provides that when the right to vote in Federal elections is denied to any citizens of voting age, or in any way abridged in any state, that state's basis of representation in Congress shall be proportionally reduced.

Dennis offered to prove in the lower court that denial and abridgment of the suffrage rights of the Negro people in the state of Mississippi reaches an extent requiring a reduction in that state's representation from seven to four seats. Judge Clark upheld the lower court judge, who refused to permit the introduction of such proof.

The vindictiveness and vituperation of the Clark opinion hit a new low in reactionary judicial writing. Clearly, its political intent is to smash this and all future attempts to breech the system of white supremacy through demands for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment.

To conceal this political purpose, Judge Clark brings forth a number of specious "legal" arguments—"answering" his own deliberate distortions of the position taken by Dennis. Chief among these is the wholly false contention that Dennis is making of the courts the "fantastic" demand that they annull all laws passed with the participation of representatives from poll-tax states, and that they order the House to reduce the representation of all states which abridge the suffrage rights of their citizens.

But Dennis is not here contesting the validity of a law passed by Congress on the ground that an improperly elected representative from Mississippi, or some other state, par-

ticipated in its enactment. He is not directly calling on the court to require that Congress comply with the provisions of the second section of the 14th Amendment. In this case Dennis is contending simply that, since there was no constitutional authority for the creation of seven seats for representatives from the State of Mississippi—there was no office which John Rankin could lawfully fill. And hence, in the words of the brief, "This Court is simply asked to decline to comply with a Committee's insistence that the petitioner [Dennis] be sent to prison upon the basis of his alleged refusal to heed the summons of that Committee, among whose members was a bald usurper of the mantle of a Congressman."

Thus Dennis has chosen firm legal ground from which to make his limited, though significant, attack on the whole system of Negro oppression in the United States.

Judge Clark has purposely brushed aside the legal limitations placed by Dennis on his appeal, precisely to avoid giving an excuse for its dismissal. But broad sections of the Negro people have associated themselves with the stand taken by the Communist leader, correctly understanding that the whole struggle for Negro rights will be advanced if the court refuses to punish him for upholding the 14th Amendment by challenging John Rankin's usurped authority.

This understanding led a group of noted Negro leaders to form the Committee to Enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, which supported Dennis with an *amicus curiae* brief in the U. S. Court of Appeals. In a blistering attack on the Clark opinion signed by an additional seventy-five nationally known Negro leaders, this Committee recently urged the Supreme Court to review the Dennis case.

Unfortunately, however, the role which the Dennis case can play in the growing struggle against the national oppression of the Negro people is not generally recognized. Even in the ranks of the Communist Party there has been insufficient realization of the vast scope of the issues involved, and a consequent failure to rally the broad forces of the labor-progressive movement to a campaign for a reversal of Dennis' conviction.

Yet, the times and the Supreme Court being what they are, only a militant mass campaign can assure that the high court will agree even to review this historic case—not to speak of reversing the infamous Clark decision.

The mass campaign for Supreme Court review of the Dennis case—already too long postponed—cannot be separated from the mass campaign to quash the indictment of the twelve Communist leaders whose heresy trial is scheduled for January 17th. Eugene Dennis is one of those twelve, and it would well serve the fascist aims of the Justice

Department to have the Communist Party General Secretary appear in the court room as a defendant already serving a prison term.

But the Dennis contempt case can be a two-edged sword. And if we grasp the handle of its full significance, we can use it to cut through the web of lies spun around the Hitler-like charge that the twelve indicted members of our National Committee "conspired to teach and advocate the duty to overthrow the United States government by force and violence."

It is time to remind America that the political forebears of Eugene Dennis and the other Communist leaders were upholding the government of the United States, while the slave holders and Copperheads, forebears of the bipartisan monopolists, were conspiring to attempt its forcible overthrow.

Yes, once again it is time to stir the American workers and people to united action under "the single impulse of resistance to a common danger."

It is in the spirit of "constantly spreading and deepening the influence" of the Declaration that we must now bring into every shop, union hall, church and community the word that the rights of, not 12, but twelve million times twelve Americans are at stake in the case of Eugene Dennis and the Communist Party National Committee.

The prosperity of the profiteering men of the trusts has bred more repacious tyrants than any dreamed of by Jefferson or Lincoln. It has bred the Wall Street urge to rule the world and the twin dangers of fascism and imperialist war. As Robert Minor, that veteran winner of "lost causes" put it: "The focus today is not Dred Scott, but another 'colored man'—Mao Tse-tung. And this is a world in which it is not safe for imperialists to say that the lynchers must prevail."

The Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the constitutional amendments won in struggle to implement the Emancipation Proclamation remain "a hard nut for them to crack."

The monopolists will never crack it—if we go boldly and confidently to the American workers and common people, rallying them to united action in defense, not alone of the Communist Party and its General Secretary—but in defense of their own democratic rights.

Reprinted by NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway, New York City 3
January, 1949 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT

Vol. V, No. 3 20 cents March, 1949

Li Hwa

No more of this: conscription under Kuomintang rule.

ECONOMY AND TRADE IN NEW CHINA

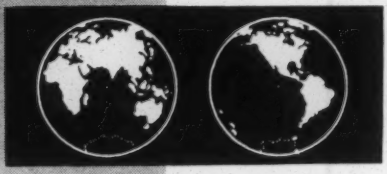
THE TOKYO MARTYRS • Agnes Smedley

WHAT JAPANESE ELECTIONS MEAN • Hugh Deane

BIG CHANGE FOR CHINESE STUDENTS • John Foster

FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT

A monthly report on U. S. Policy and internal events in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and India.



MARCH 1949

The Tokyo Martyrs *by Agnes Smedley* 3

New China's Economic Policy 5

Elections Mark Japan Change *by Hugh Deane* 6

Never Let the Right Hand Know 7

The New Delhi Conference *by Gerhard Hagelberg* 8

Action Program for New China Policy 10

Call to Students 12

Turning Point for Chinese Students *by John Foster* 13

Toward U. S. Trade With New China 14

Washington Pipeline 14

Far East Reading — Japan Diary by Mark Gayn, *reviewed by Philip Keeney* 15

In North Korea by Anna Louise Strong, *reviewed by H. W. Sunoo* 16

Far East Briefs 18

Editor

Elsie Cholmeley

Editorial Committee

Bernard Seaman
Elizabeth Selsbee
Ilona Ralf Sues
Fred Zeserson

Consultants

Koji Ariyoshi
Charles Bidien
T. A. Bisson
Hugh Deane
Israel Epstein
Shuji Fujii
Harrison Forman
Kumar Goshal
Gerhard Hagelberg
Philip Jaffe
Hon. Michael Lindsay
Edward Rohrbough
Gunther Stein
Howard Willard
Richard Yaffe

Publishers

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Subscriptions. $2 a year in the U.S. and Canada. $3 a year abroad: single copies 20 cents.

OFFICERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY:

Maud Russell, Executive Director — Philip O. Keeney, Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: May Bagwell, Hugh Bryson, Abraham Chapman, Rev. John Darr, Jr., Morris Davis, Hugh DeLacy, James Durkin, Frederick V. Field, Welthy Honsinger Fisher, Talitha Gerlach, Ira Gollobin, Charlotte Honig, C. E. Johansen, Rita Judd, Rev. J. Spencer Kennard, Dr. Catherine Lealtad, Paul Robeson, Nathan Rock, Arthur Schutzer, Edgar Snow, Chu Tong, Jeanette Turner, Jeffry Van Clief, Susan Warren.

The Editor will consider manuscripts submitted, but assumes no responsibility regarding them.

From Dr. DuBois,
This letter came,
His intellect and ambitions,
Remain the same.
Inspired by,
The spirit of France,
He is still game,
And ready to take a chance. Dabney.

31-1323

Hyeres, Provence, France,
May 22, 1949.

Dear Dabney:

Here is where you belong, beneath the palms, beside the roses and in sight of the Mediterranean. I'm here two weeks writing a masterpiece and eating good things at $3 a day. Come on over! I'll be looking for you until the 25th, when I have a date with "mon Paris." I come down to earth May 31, when I land from the skies at La Guardia.

Cheerio,

W. E. B. DuBOIS.

SPECIAL RUSH STORY

TELEPHONE: 621.93, 260-84
CABLES: TELEPRESS PRAHA
TELEPRINTER: PRAHA 116

TELEPRESS

PRAHA 2
P.O.B. 818

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL HEARS CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT IN DEFENSE OF DR. DU BOIS

TELEPRESS

Vienna, rec'd. From the high tribune of this session of the world council of peace, the conscience of democratic humanity everywhere has been summoned to rally in defense of dr.w.e.b. du bois profound scholar and champion of peace, who has been dragged to trial by ignorant inquisitors, worshippers of the atom bomb. This moving call, which found strong support among the council members and guests, was issued by the eminent french attorney, joe nordman, secretary of the international association of democratic lawyers. "How can one not see that this trial is directed at the same times against the emancipation of the colored people and against the peace movement, just as the cause of peace and the cause of liberation from racial and colonial oppression are closely linked?

"do those who persecute their fellow citizens because they belong to another race have the right to speak up elsewhere as champions of anti-colonialism and the liberation of oppressed people? The tall, distinguished attorney briefly sketched the activities of the peace information center such as the distribution of the ~~international red cross~~ appeal, for which dr.du bois and four of his co-workers have been arrested. the five defendants refused to register as "foreign agents" as demanded by washington. they refused, said nordman because such a declaration would have been contrary to truth and honor. such was the crime of dr.du bois, he added. he refused to submit to this ratification, infamous likes new yellow star. A new yellow star for defenders of peace." nordman called attention to the extreme importance of this trial which, he said, marks the point of departure for increased repression against the friends of peace in the united states and the countries which have submitted to its policies.

He called for the immediate development of mass action on a vast scale, such as the calling of protest meetings in every city, the publication of articles about this case, the sending of letters to the editors of newspapers, delegations to the U.S. [illegible]

28-10-52

Order Form

Phylon

The Atlanta University Quarterly Review of Race and Culture
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

☐ Enter my subscription in accordance with your special rate offer
☐ one year at $2.00 ☐ two years at $3.50

☐ Enter gift subscriptions for_____year(s) under the following names, and send your notification Christmas gift card.

Beneficiary's _____
name and _____
address _____

Beneficiary's _____
name and _____
address _____

Beneficiary's _____
name and _____
address _____

☐ Send me_____copies of the SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY NUMBER at $1.00.

☐ Bill me. ☐ Check enclosed. ☐ Renewal. ☐ New subscription.

My name _____
and address _____
_____

Phylon

The Atlanta University

Quarterly Journal of Race and Culture

TENTH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

December, 1949

HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES—
Problems and Trends

32-19-46

Seventeen distinguished educators express their ideas on this important problem:

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.
Director, Board of Control for Southern Regional Education

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
President, Fisk University

AMBROSE CALIVER
Specialist for Higher Education of Negroes, U.S. Office of Education

MARC MORELAND
Professor of Philosophy, Morgan State College

D. O. W. HOLMES
President Emeritus, Morgan State College

A. A. McPHEETERS
Dean, Clark College

WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHWAITE
Poet and Critic

LUTHER H. EVANS
Librarian of Congress

RUFUS E. CLEMENT
President, Atlanta University

FRED L. BROWNLEE
American Missionary Association

BENJAMIN E. MAYS
President, Morehouse College

LANGSTON HUGHES
Poet

STEPHEN WRIGHT
Dean of Faculty, Hampton Institute

J. MAX BOND
Director, School of Education, Atlanta University

S. MILTON NABRIT
Dean, School of Arts and Sciences, Atlanta University

HYLAN LEWIS
Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University

IRA DE A. REID
Chairman, Division of Social Science, Haverford College

Phylon

Comes of Age

The December 1949 issue of *Phylon* marks the close of the tenth year for this quarterly journal of race and culture. In the beginning, it was an experiment, a trail-blazing venture of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Today it is necessary reading for technical students in race relations and general readers who wish to keep informed in one of the most important areas of knowledge in our time. Miss Constance Mitchell, Librarian of Arkansas State Teachers College, says:

> We have taken your very fine publication for several years and regard it as the very best thing of its kind; in fact, it is really the *only* one of its kind.

As a special TENTH ANNIVERSARY number, the December issue will be devoted to PROBLEMS AND TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES. During the last ten years, social, political and economic changes in America have necessitated a revaluation of the Negro colleges. No important move should be made without a careful consideration of the history and traditions of these institutions along with an objective analysis of the present social milieu in which they are to operate. The editors have not only chosen crucial and controversial topics but have assigned them to persons who have played significant roles in higher education of Negroes during the last twenty-five years.

Special Offers

★★ **Give *Phylon* for Christmas and be remembered during the year for bringing pleasurable and profitable reading to your friends.**

A gift subscription will include the December number, a one- or two-year subscription, and a personal gift card bearing your name.

★★ **New subscriptions received before December 31, 1949 will receive the SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY issue free of charge.**

The cost of *Phylon* is two dollars a year. A two-year subscription or two subscriptions cost three dollars and fifty cents. Each additional subscription costs only one dollar and fifty cents.

★★ The SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY number may be purchased separately at one dollar. Other single issues cost seventy-five cents.

Fill out the Subscription Form on the back of this page and use the enclosed Business Reply envelope. No postage required if mailed in the United States.

[1949]

NIGERIA

Why we Fight for Freedom

32-19-53

●

By
AMANKE OKAFOR

Written in collaboration with a group of other Nigerians in London

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword by Paul Robeson	5
Changing Times	6
Independence Can be Real	7
History Refutes Allegations of Incapacity	13
Present Hardships Result from Colonial Status	17
Comparison with Conditions in a Free Country	30
Tribal Differences Can Easily be Solved	32
A Programme	36
The People Can Win Freedom	38

What is this the sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear,
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?
'Tis the people marching on.

—WILLIAM MORRIS.

FOREWORD

The use of the vast but as yet untapped resources of Africa for the benefit of the African peoples, and indeed of all mankind, is a lofty and noble aim.

But this can be achieved only by the Africans themselves, and only when they shake off the shackles of colonialism and are free to develop their own country. It cannot be achieved by foreign financial concerns, whose only aim is to make the greatest profit out of exploiting the Africans. Such development plans can bring nothing but untold misery for countless thousands of the African peoples.

32-19-54

All over the world the ordinary working people are challenging the entrenched positions of the privileged and are organising and fighting to win the rights that have so long been withheld from them. Across Africa, too, a new powerful urge is sweeping. More men and women are becoming conscious of the need for freedom. There are emerging individuals who, while inspired by a burning love of their country and their people, will have nothing to do with racial and national hatreds, pitfalls which often trap the unwary.

One such individual is the writer of this pamphlet, who has made a deep study of the potentialities of his country. Nigeria, Britain's largest colonial possession, has a great future. Immensely rich in resources, both human and material, it requires only freedom and government by its own people in order to transform it within a generation from a backward, undeveloped colonial territory into one of the leading countries of the world. Amanke Okafor points out in this pamphlet, which fulfils a long-felt want, the way forward in Nigeria to all who stand for progress.

June 1949 PAUL ROBESON

NIGERIA

WHY WE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

CHAPTER I

CHANGING TIMES

THE old order is crumbling and a new order is arising in its place. Throughout the world the foundations of the old society in which one set of people rode happily on the backs of others are being shattered. The down-trodden peoples of the earth are turning in their misery and degradation and are fighting back.

In our Nigeria, men have ceased to ask questions, they have begun to move. The slogan of national independence has been adopted by all the political organisations. Day by day the great mass of our people, galled by their dependent and helpless position, are declaring resolutely for freedom. Nevertheless, the psychological subjection of our people has been such that there is still much confusion rampant, much uncertainty as to what this freedom would really mean. The uncertainty has led to considerable hesitation and irresoluteness in the forward march of the people.

"The paradox of domination", once wrote Dr. Udoh Udoma, himself a Nigerian, "is not that men prefer the state of masters to that of slaves: it is rather that the masters come to believe, often quite genuinely, that their mastery is beneficial to the slaves. And what is more, that very idea can with an effective propaganda machine be instilled into the minds of the slaves themselves."

Hence it is not surprising that here and there Nigerians of good standing, and apparently responsible, have stated that their people did not want freedom, that they were not ready and not "ripe" to govern themselves and manage their country's affairs. And in places some can still be found who had become so demoralised by their poverty and hard life that the pangs of their servile status no longer penetrate their benumbed senses: these have come to look upon the slavish chains with which they have been manacled now for two generations as some sort of an ornament, something that was part of them and could never be moved; and they would willingly take up arms against anyone who would attempt to set them free.

Thus, it becomes of great importance that there should be the utmost clarity of thought among Nigerians, and that efforts should be made to clear some of the fog which imperialist propagandists have been spreading over the people's minds for the past eighty years.

CHAPTER II

INDEPENDENCE CAN BE REAL

ONE of the first questions usually asked is: Can Nigeria really be an independent country?

The answer is Yes. Nigeria can satisfy the tests for the existence of an independent sovereign state, and she has enough resources to make her independence real.

In international law there are four conditions necessary for the existence of a State. Firstly, there must be a people, that is to say an aggregate of individuals who live together as a community. They may be of one race or of different races, they may profess one creed or not. Secondly, there must be a territory in which the people has settled down: whether the territory is large or small is not material here. Thirdly, there must be one or more persons who are the representatives of the people and who rule according to the law of the land, that is to say, there must be a government. Fourthly, the government must be sovereign, that is to say it must be supreme and not subject to any other earthly power.

Nigeria already satisfies two of these conditions. She has a people. And she has a territory. But she has not her own government, neither is her government supreme.

Nigeria is ruled by the government of the British people, and the present Nigerian government is only a projection of that British government. This fact constitutes the central point of our problem.

It means that the task facing all Nigerians today is the winning back of the sovereign power for their country. As long as Nigerians remain the subjects of another country they cannot be received as equals anywhere in the world, neither can they be heard abroad at all, for they have no existence among the nations.

To attain the status of nationhood, therefore, Nigeria must win back her independence. This independence can never be "given" to her, like a gift. It is the veriest illusion to think otherwise. Nowhere yet have any people been so rewarded. Imperialism does not liquidate itself. In every country people have had to achieve their freedom themselves.

During a recent debate on colonial affairs in the House of Lords, Lord Tweedsmuir made that point quite clear to all those colonial peoples who might still be inclined to that kind of self-delusion. The noble lord said: "We some times hear the expression, 'Give them their freedom.' We cannot give freedom as a present is given or as a reward is conferred. Freedom is something that is achieved by one party and recognised by the other. It cannot be given."

So therefore, if Nigerians must be free they must themselves win

their freedom. And this they can do only by a united people's effort. That is why the freedom movement among our people must be strengthened and intensified, until we achieve a government of Nigerians for Nigerians by Nigerians.

But even after a country has become a recognised entity in international law, it may be argued that there are still other factors necessary to make that status secure, and to give the country some influence and authority among the nations of the world. These factors are usually said to be, the extent of the territory of the State, the existence of natural resources within her boundaries, and her manpower. Judged by these standards, however, Nigeria is even more favourably placed than most of the countries of the world today which are already independent.

Firstly, Nigeria has a vast territory. The area of the country is 372,696 sq. miles. That is three times the area of Great Britain, which rules Nigeria; it is greater than the areas of France and Italy combined, both of which are independent States; and it is far greater than the areas of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland or Luxembourg. Secondly, the population of Nigeria, now estimated at 30 million, is considerable. It is more than four times the population of Australia, which is 7 million, it is three times the population of Canada, which is 10 million, and it is more than the combined populations of Spain and Portugal. Thirdly, Nigeria ranks among the foremost owners of potential wealth. Her resources, both mineral and agricultural, are rich and varied. Only a small portion of these has been surveyed, but what that reveals is still immense.

For example, there are extensive deposits of **Iron Ore** in many parts of the northern provinces, particularly in Kabba province. **Tin** covers the whole of the Bauchi province. There are **Gold** deposits in Sokoto, Kabba, Ilorin, Ilesha and Ile-ife. **Silver lead** or galena occurs in Benue and Ogoja provinces. **Lignite** exists throughout Benin and Onitsha provinces. **Mica** is found in the Cameroons and in Ilorin. Ninety-five per cent of the world's **Columbite** used in the manufacture of steel and wireless valves is produced by Nigeria. **Wolfram** is also produced, so is **Tantalite.** And there is **Zinc** in large quantities. There are **Diamonds Bauxite,** and **Manganese.** There is **Mineral Oil,** and now it is believed that there are deposits of **Uranium. Coalfields** lie extensively throughout Onitsha and Benin provinces, of which " the proved reserves amounted in 1938, in the area so far prospected, to 113 million tons, while the possible reserves amounted to 400 million tons ". In Benue province and in Adamawa there are **Salt** springs: and in Bauchi province **Brine** pools exist, which could form the basis of a great salt-making industry.

Besides these, Nigeria possesses numerous streams, waterfalls, and rivers which can be cheaply harnessed to generate **Electric Power.**

Already a foreign capitalist concern—the Nigerian Electricity Supply Corporation, Ltd.—is producing 14 million kilowatts of electricity per year from its stations at Kaura, Kwall, and Jekko Falls, with which it supplies the tin mines around Jos. The potentialities of the great River Niger itself are yet untapped.

Nigeria's agricultural resources are equally varied, and their potentialities are almost limitless. Some of the things grown are cotton, cassava—from which starch is made—cocoa, coffee, groundnuts, palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, rice, wheat, tobacco, timber, mahogany. There are different kinds of fruits, including corn or maize, pineapples, oranges, grapefruits, bananas, and dates. Sugar-cane is also grown, and so are vegetables of all sorts, like potatoes, yam, cabbage and lettuce. Hides and skins are produced.

Nigeria is more than self-supporting in food. She is not dependent in any way on import of food from abroad. On the contrary, she produces all the food she requires and exports considerable quantities of it, like cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil. If her agricultural resources are properly used her position of self-sufficiency in this respect should always remain strong.

Only very few countries in the world today have such immense natural wealth, so varied and yet so concentrated, within their borders.

But it is sometimes said that Nigeria is an agricultural country and must always remain so. This is a theme that is incessantly "plugged" by imperialist propagandists. W. R. Miller, in his book *Have We Failed in Nigeria?*, put it quite bluntly as follows: "The whole of Nigeria is, and will remain, principally an agricultural land." Reasons are seldom given for these assertions, and there seem to be none, except perhaps the secret wish that they will be believed. But it is clear that it is just another way of saying that Nigeria is a colonial country, and will always remain a colonial country.

Otherwise, it might be asked if, as is true, Nigeria supplies the raw materials with which other countries carry on their industry, why should it be undesirable, or impossible, for her to be industrialised herself, using those same things herself which she now sends to other people? For it should be obvious that if her independence is to be effective Nigeria must undertake not merely agricultural expansion, but also considerable industrialisation. The resources of the country enumerated above show that there is ample basis for this. And there are several industries which can suitably be carried on.

Numerous goods are today imported from abroad which can very well be manufactured in the country. At the present moment Nigeria imports large quantities of cotton piece goods, tobacco, sugar, cocoa-beverage, dried fish and canned fish, tinned meat, dairy produce, and most surprising of all, tinned fruits! All these can be produced locally.

And there are still many other industries which can be run with

advantage. Manufacture of cotton goods, for example; or the timber industry, which includes the making of parts of houses, like doors and windows; furniture making; and the manufacture of matches. And there is tile making, for which suitable deposits of clay already exist in Calabar province: this industry should do away with the importation of corrugated iron sheets, which, apart from being expensive, are utterly unsuitable for tropical housing. Then there is the cement industry, a great possibility for which exists at Igunmale where chalk and limestone abound. There are also the manufacture of soft drinks; salt making, for which there are salt deposits in Bornu province; the leather industry, particularly the making of boots and shoes—at present Nigeria exports almost all her hides and skins; toilet requisites—soap and perfumes; and the making of earthen-ware and china-ware.

Besides, the building up of these industries will give rise to the production of a number of by-products, such as the processing of animal feeding stuffs from the residue of palm kernels; the manufacture of dyes and paints; and the production of coal tar.

There are great possibilities also for an iron and steel industry. Most of the engineering products in the way of machinery now imported, nails and hinges used in housebuilding, cutlery and agricultural implements, like hoes and machetes, can be very rapidly and very cheaply produced in Nigeria.

Yet another important industry is electricity undertaking. There is a great demand for electrical power in the country today, and this demand is bound to expand with the mechanisation of agriculture and the implementation of the industrial programme herein outlined. Adequate sources of energy already exist for this purpose in the extensive coal deposits in the country, and the numerous rivers and waterfalls.

Such an examination of the industrial potential of Nigeria raises another important question, namely that of capital. Where, it may be asked, will the money come from if it should be decided to carry out all these projects?

The answer is that a free Nigeria should have no difficulty in finding capital for her industrial development. The fundamental prerequisite, of course, is independence: for it is political independence that will serve as a basis for organising the resources of the country so as to produce the necessary capital.

Now, capital is that part of wealth which is used for producing more wealth. All wealth comes from human labour harnessed to material resources. Nigeria has human labour and she has raw materials; and the question of producing the necessary wealth for her future development is one which she can easily tackle once she obtains her freedom.

As a matter of fact, Nigeria is already producing enormous capital, only it is for aliens. The many millions made every year by foreign countries come from no other source than the labour and resources of

Nigerians. For example, from 1914-1939, a period of twenty-six years, the tin mines alone produced £37 million for foreign mining companies. A free Nigeria will utilise these same potentials for herself, and turn those enormous profits into capital for her own development.

In the early stages of our independence, however, it may be that it will be necessary to import special machinery and other things to hasten this development. For this purpose ready capital may be needed. In our opinion this could easily be found; and there are five ways we think it could be done:

(1) Flotation of public loans inside Nigeria, to which both Nigerians and foreigners will be invited to subscribe. The loans will be State guaranteed, carry reasonable interest rates, and must be made redeemable at the end of specified periods.

(2) A considerable part of the country's immense wealth is at present being drained away each year without any returns being made. For instance, in 1937 foreign companies made out of our tin resources a clear profit of £1,249,000. This could be likened to £1,249,000 worth of our tin being dug up and carried away for nothing! They paid to their 3,000 white employees in salaries the sum of £1,700,000; and more than 50 per cent of these salaries are usually not spent in Nigeria.

32-19-57

Men sheltering from the sun near one of the entrance gates to the walled city of Kano.

The Government of Nigeria received only £200,000 as royalties, half of which it was under a treaty obligation to pay over to the United Africa Co., a British firm. And the total wages paid to *all* African workers of all grades in all these mines amounted to just £329,000.

A free Nigerian government will put an end to the drawing of this kind of tribute from the country, and will utilise the money thus saved as capital for internal development.

(3) Already Nigeria has an accumulation of wealth, although it is not under our control: £11 million, the profits made from the sale of Nigerian cocoa, and which actually represents the total annual underpayment to Nigerian farmers on their produce, are in the hands of the Cocoa Marketing Board.

Also, over £2,500,000 belonging to the different Native Administrations in Nigeria are invested in industries abroad.

These sums could be available to a free Nigerian government for the development of industries at home.

(4) Current exports will bring in some capital.

(5) If enough capital is not yielded by all the sources listed above, as a last resort loans could be made to the Nigerian government from abroad. With all the immense resources it has at its command, it should have no dificulty in obtaining foreign loans without political conditions or interference.

All the capital thus obtained could be administered by the State, which should control the industries to be developed. The organisation of these industries should take the form of public utility companies, whose constitutions must of course be so framed as to allow fullest participation in their management by the workers. It should also be possible for Local Administrations to engage in certain enterprises, for example, the running of transport services, timber mills, and tile making. And in those industries producing consumer commodities, the organisation could take the form of Co-operative Wholesale and Manufacturing Societies.

As regards the training of technicians, this is part of the general problem of education and could be tackled as such. The number of skilled industrial workers in our country is growing daily; and when Nigeria becomes independent she will do what other countries have done, and what India is now doing, she will send her sons to every part of the world wherever technical education can be obtained, and she will expand the training of skilled men locally. In the meantime, she will employ technicians from abroad, who might be willing to work in the country. Thus the question of technical skill would never be any kind of a barrier to the industrialisation of Nigeria.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY REFUTES ALLEGATIONS OF INCAPACITY

ANOTHER question usually asked is, Conceding that Nigeria has all the resources that go to make a strong modern State, if Britain should leave, would Nigeria not be swallowed up by another great Power long before she has had time to develop those resources? The answer to that is simple. She will not be swallowed up!

In the first place, a Nigeria that is independent will not be isolated. She will form part of a West African federation, a United States of West Africa, which will comprise all West Africa now artificially cut up by European imperialists and variously labelled "French" "British", "Portuguese", "Belgian" and so on. And certainly any Power will think twice before attempting to "swallow up" a nation of over 60 million people, inhabiting a country much larger than Europe. The historical unity of all West Africa is not disputed, and the general desire of all Africans today is to see that unity once again restored.

Should it happen, however, that Nigeria becomes free before all the other countries of West Africa, she would still not stand alone.

In the first place, there is the United Nations Organisation, and Nigeria could become a member State of that body.

Besides, she could enter into defensive alliances with individual States.

Moreover, that which protects all other weak or small countries from molestation—and Nigeria will by no means be small or weak—that is, the international guarantee of the integrity of the sovereignty of independent States, will also protect Nigeria.

Switzerland is not as big as Nigeria, yet she is independent and has not been "swallowed up", so is Belgium, so is Holland, so are Eire, Spain, Hungary, Albania, and many other countries in Europe and America. In comparison with them Nigeria is a giant. Only recently, Israel, with a tiny population of 600,000 people, also arrived on the international scene, an independent country. If all these countries have not been "swallowed up", neither will Nigeria.

The third question commonly put is, Is it not true to say that Nigerians, like all other black men, are just emerging from a state of barbarism, and therefore must require at least another century of European tutelage before they are able to understand the arts of government?

The answer is that in the whole history of Africa there is no evidence that the Africans were barbarous by nature. According to Frobenius, the German author and traveller, "the idea of the 'barbarous negro' is a European invention which has consequently prevailed in Europe until the beginning of this century". It is merely the way in which European propagandists chose to describe the condition of the African

subsequent to the great slave-trade era, when African civilisation was broken up and the whole continent was plunged into confusion.

According to William H. Woodward in *A Short History of the British Empire*: "It was sorrowfully recognised that the degradation of the negro peoples of the nearer African interior was the direct result of European slave dealing. The savagery of Dahomey and Benin was the survival of the ferocity by which native chiefs, a century earlier, had supplied the demands of English and Dutch traders with victims for the plantations."

It is an established historical fact that there was in West Africa, as in other parts of the African continent, a very high civilisation, in every sense of the word, even in as early a period as the eleventh century. This great civilisation was destroyed during the great slave raids of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The light of African civilisation was quenched then for a century and the progress of the African peoples rudely and violently arrested. In fact, what the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries did to the civilisation of Rome, whereby Europe was plunged into darkness and barbarity for five centuries until the Renaissance of the fifteenth century, the European slave raiding and colonisation did to Africa in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth. Harris, in *Dawn In Africa*, wrote: "One of the worst things that happened was the complete and deliberate breaking down of cultural patterns among the suppressed peoples . . . What we, who were behind the scenes, felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck chiefs of the people dumb with horror . . ."

And while Africans were grappling with this catastrophe, Europe had gone a step further in her own progress, and had entered the machine era. "Apparatus made out of iron, the inorganic and lifeless forces of machinery, were now able to do the work and produce the goods which before had needed the hands of living men. . . . Work which had of old needed the skill of a master-craftsman trained by long experience, one with vigorous muscles and highly trained fingers, could, through the instrumentality of machinery, be performed by unskilled labourers, and even by women and children."

With this mechanical superiority in the hands of Europeans, Africans found themselves in the twentieth century at a very great disadvantage. And propagandists have been endeavouring to interpret this purely mechanical disadvantage, which at best can only be temporary, as a mark of permanent inferiority.

As a matter of fact, the truth is very different. Africans are not

inferior to anybody, neither are they just beginning to learn how to organise political States, for they have done so in the past.

Mr. E. W. Bovill, in his book, *Caravans of the Old Sahara: An Introduction to the History of the Western Soudan*, wrote as follows:

> "The virile peoples of the Western Soudan have always been distinguished for commercial enterprise, martial ardour, and aptitude for the art of government. From the happy combination of these qualities there sprung a number of political states to which the grandiose title of empire is often loosely assigned. None, however, can challenge the fairness of its application to the great Mandingo Kingdom which is known as the Empire of Mali or Mande or Melle, and is sometimes called the Mellestine. Mali was distinguished above other Soudanese States by its great territorial extent, and by the prestige which attached to its name, not only in Africa but also in Europe."

And Dr. Armattoe in his book entitled the *Golden Age of West African Civilisation* said:

> "West Africa had a more solid politico-social organisation, attained a greater degree of internal cohesion and was more conscious of the social function of science than Europe."

And the following account came from an unpublished work of Frobenius, called *Civilisation Africaine:*

> "When the first European navigators of the end of the Middle Ages arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Vaida, the captains were astonished to find streets well cared for, bordered for several leagues in length by two rows of trees; for several days they passed through a country of magnificent fields, a country inhabited by men clad in brilliant costumes, the stuff of which they had woven themselves! More to the south in the kingdom of Congo, a swarming crowd dressed in silk and velvet; great States well ordered, and even to the smallest details, powerful sovereigns, rich industries—civilised to the marrow of their bones. And the condition of the countries in the eastern coast—Mozambique, for example—was quite the same.
>
> "What was revealed by the navigators of the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries furnishes an absolute proof that Negro Africa, which extended south of the desert zone of the Sahara, was in full efflorescence, in all the splendour of harmonious and well-formed civilisations."

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois in *Africa and the World* wrote:

> "In the last century the superstition ruled that all high culture of Africa came from Islam. Since then we have learned much, and we know today that the beautiful turbans and clothes of the Sudanese folk were already used in Africa before Mohammed was even born or before Ethiopian culture reached inner Africa. Since then we have learned that the peculiar organisation of the Sudanese States existed long before Islam and that all of the art of building and education, of city organisation and handwork in Negro Africa, were thousands of years older than those of Middle Europe."

The same author stated:

> "There can be no doubt that the level of culture among the masses of Negroes in West Africa in the fifteenth century was higher than that of northern Europe, by any standard of measurement—homes,

32-19-59

clothes, artistic creation and appreciation, political organisation and religious consistency."

And Leo Africanus, in describing his memorable journey to Timbuctoo and West Central Africa in 1513, said: "I myself saw fifteen kingdoms of the Negroes . . . their names are the following (and he mentions them, including Gualata, Mali, Kano, and Bornu). . . . These fifteen kingdoms are for the most part situate upon the river Niger, through which the merchants usually travel from Gualata to the city of Alcair in Egypt."

Nor has Africa lacked great rulers of renown. One of the most famous of these was Sonni Ali, who ruled in West Africa in the fifteenth century. He was known and respected far beyond the frontiers of his kingdom; and was recognised in Northern Africa as the most powerful of the black sovereigns of the West. He is mentioned in European annals under the name of Sonni Heli, King of Timbuctoo, whose power was acknowledged as extending to the West Atlantic Coast. The Portuguese King, Prince Henry the Navigator, once sent an embassy to his court.

The successor to Sonni Ali was Mohammed Abou Bekr, known in history as Askia the Great. It was he who, after conquering Mali, established a far greater empire than any that was known in the history of Western Sudan—the great Songhay Empire. His capital was Timbuctoo, and his kingdom stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Chad.

Going even further back in the history of the world, it would be found that all the evidences available point to the fact that Africans, far from being "barbarous", had always been regarded as a very highly gifted people.

Lady Flora Lugard quoted a German writer, Heeren, as writing in *Historical Researches*: *African Nations* as follows: "In Nubia and Ethiopia stupendous, numerous, and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilisation contemporary to, aye, earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences, and religion descended from Nubia to the lower country of Misraim, that civilisation descended the Nile, built Memphis, and finally wrested by colonisation the Delta from the Sea."

And she herself added: "The monuments, though eloquent, are not the only grounds upon which this conclusion has been reached; the fame of the Ethiopians (i.e., black men) was widespread in ancient history. Herodotus describes them as 'the tallest, the most beautiful and long lived of the human race', and before Herodotus, Homer, in even more flattering language, described them as 'the most just of men; the favourite of the gods'. The annals of all the great early nations of Asia Minor are full of them. The Mosaic records allude to them frequently; but while they are described as the most powerful,

the most just, and the most beautiful of the human race, they are constantly spoken of as black: and there seems to be no other conclusion to be drawn ", she concluded, " than that at that remote period of history the leading race of the western world was a black race." (See Lady Lugard: *A Tropical Dependency.*)

Indeed, all the talk about the " backwardness ", " primitiveness ", " inexperience ", and so on, of the African, as if these were defects innate in people of that race, is entirely baseless. The imagined incapacity of the African today arises from the fact that the rule of one people over another stunts their growth. The violent break-up of African life, the imposition of foreign economic and political domination, the deliberate holding back of industry and education, could not but result in those conditions of " incapacity ", namely, poverty, disease, ignorance, now being peddled as excuses to frustrate the African peoples, and to keep them with their chains on. But Africans are determined to change these conditions, and to create a more wholesome life for themselves. They aim to restore the dignity of their race. That is what freedom for Nigeria will mean.

32-19-60

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT HARDSHIPS RESULT FROM COLONIAL STATUS

IT IS OFTEN said that Nigerians are poor, and that they must first become economically independent before they ask for political freedom, since political independence has no meaning without economic independence. Sometimes this is put in another way, that the problem of Nigeria is economic, not political.

Now, this is a question that has agitated the minds of many Nigerians, and has been dilated upon by some prominent persons in their speeches.

But it really does not make any sense. What exactly is meant by Nigerians being " economically independent " ? Does it mean, as some people have been heard to say, that Nigerians must first of all possess big industries, big trading companies, many warships, numerous aeroplanes, many universities, and large armies, before they can lay claim to freedom? If so, another question may be asked, how can these things be achieved, except by the organisation of the whole resources of the community? And how can the community's resources be organised except by the use of that political power which is at present in the hands of aliens?

Or can the phrase mean that individual Nigerians must be more economically secure than they are at present, that is to say, that they must have a higher income per head? If that is so, it may be asked

again, how can this be made possible when Nigerians have no power to decree what wages Nigerian workers should receive, or what prices should be paid for Nigerian produce? In other words, how can the general standard of living of Nigerians be raised without political power passing first of all into Nigerian hands?

It is admitted on all sides, and by even the most cynical imperialist, that the wages and salaries paid to Nigerian workers have no relation whatever to the enormous amount of wealth they produce for their employers, and that the prices which our farmers receive for their produce bear no relationship to the prices at which that same produce is eventually sold in the world market. The considerable difference between what Nigerians produce and what they get in return goes into the pockets of their colonial overlords. That is the meaning of exploitation, of imperialism. How then do some of our countrymen agree that Nigerians can become economically free without first securing political freedom?

Apart from selling their labour-power at ridiculously low wages, what other avenues are open to Nigerians to improve their economic lot in their own country?

The answer is, none.

Taking mining, for example, for our mineral resources constitute our most precious asset. Before the war the average wage of African workers in the tin mines was between 3s. 3d. and 3s. 6d. per week. The coalminers were better paid, the colliery being a Government concern and they got 7s. 6d. per week. In 1937 the total wages paid to all African employees in the tin industry was £329,000. But the net profits made by the mining companies in that same year amounted to £1,249,000.

Today, the same low wages are still being paid, they continue to range between 3s. and 4s. per week, or 9d. per day. But profits have not been stationary, on the contrary, they have been increasing. To take only two illustrations. The Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria Ltd. declared the following dividends: in 1939-40, 15 per cent; 1941, 12 per cent; 1942-45, 15 per cent; 1946, 20 per cent; 1947, 20 per cent; 1948, 20 per cent. Its capital is £2 million, of which £1,950,000 is issued. The profits jumped from £559,000 in 1947 to £664,000 in 1948.

The Kaduna Syndicate Ltd., with an authorised capital of £100,000, of which £48,000 is issued, declared the following dividends: in 1935-36, 60 per cent; 1937, 58⅓ per cent; 1938, 29⅙ per cent; 1939-43, 58⅓ per cent; 1944, 41⅔ per cent; 1945, 54⅙ per cent; 1946, 75 per cent.

Now the question may be asked: Why do Africans not embark on mining with a view to winning the minerals for themselves instead of for others, since after all the mineral resources of the country are their heritage? The simple answer is that conditions are heavily weighted against them. In the words of the authors of *Mining, Commerce, and*

Finance in Nigeria: " Since the growth of European economic enterprise in Nigeria, native mining has been on the decline because of the *de facto* monopolisation of deposits by Europeans." " There has been no organised attempt to enable the African to enter the mining industries, save at the lowest level as unskilled or semi-skilled labour. *In fact, the law has been positively restrictive with regard to African participation in the industry.*" (Italics ours.) And the general effect of this mining policy on the life of the Nigerian people has been further described as follows in the same book: " Another disadvantage, which is accentuated by unwillingness of the local pagan tribes to participate in the mining industry, arises from the right of leaseholders to dispossess natives of farming land on which they wish to commence mining operations and even to require them to quit after their crops have been sown.

" Compensation must be given, the rate being about £2 per acre. The dispossessed native farmers are obliged to hire land in other areas at a rent from 5s. to £1 per acre without the security of tenure which pertained to their former holdings. In the opinion of administrative officials in the Plateau district, this results in overcrowding on the agricultural land fringing the mining areas, tends to shorten the fallowing period, and may cause the farmer to have to walk as much as 20 miles from village to farm."

As things are at present, therefore, Nigerians cannot hope for " economic independence" through mining.

Then what other avenues are open to them?

There is, firstly, raw materials extraction. This of course includes minerals as well as agricultural produce. But as has been shown above the mining of minerals is already completely controlled by foreign interests. As regards agricultural produce, however, so far the bulk of agricultural production is in African hands. Africans are not yet mere plantation labourers without lands of their own. They are still owner-producers. But even that position is being challenged. The United Africa Co. is already weighing in. It has, for instance, acquired long leases for more than 12,400 acres of rubber and oil palm plantations in different parts of the country. And besides, even though the farmers may produce the goods on their own farms, they still have to sell to the European combines in the country; and it is these combines, through their " Pools ", " Monopolies ", " Associations ", and " Gentlemen's Agreements " that dictate the prices at which produce must be sold to them. So that, so far as the extractive industries are concerned, there is not much chance for " economic independence " for Nigerians.

Then, there is the establishment of processing plants, for the manufacture in finished form of agricultural products now exported in raw or semi-finished condition. Again, this branch of industry, such as

32-19-61

exists, is firmly in foreign hands. For example, the only soap factories in the country are owned by the West African Soap Co., Apapa, a subsidiary of the Unilever Combine. In the same way the existing breweries belong to foreign interests; as well as the only cigarette factory in the country, at Ibadan.

Thirdly, there is heavy industry, the making of capital goods. But there is none of this in the country. It is not encouraged.

Lastly, there is distributive trade—exports and imports. Here again there is complete monopoly in the hands of European companies. To illustrate, during 1943 and 1944, the period for which figures are available, the total export quotas granted by the Government in the principal commodities produced by Nigeria were distributed as follows. To European firms: for palm oil, 99 per cent; plain kernel, 98 per cent; cocoa (Lagos area), 94 per cent; groundnuts (Niger-Bennue area), 100 per cent. To Africans: for palm oil, 0.00 per cent; palm kernel, 0.47 per cent; cocoa, 1,060 tons; groundnuts, 0.00 per cent. The remaining quotas were those given to Greek and other Levantine firms.

Thus, practically the whole export trade in these important commodities, just as in many others not mentioned here, is controlled by non-Nigerians. The same monopoly exists in the import trade. The United Africa Co. alone is responsible for about 43.3 per cent of the total import and export trade of the country.

In view of all this, there doesn't seem to be much room for Nigerians to gain any economic advantages! And there will continue to be none until their country becomes a free country. That is why it makes no sense to talk of "economic independence before political". It is a contradiction in terms; and is a red herring drawn across the trail by imperialist propagandists to divert the attention of Nigerians. It is a dangerous argument too, because it tends to cover up and to obscure the real nature of colonialism, to make it appear possible that a colonial people can ever become economically free without first of all winning political power.

History has shown that the predominant motive leading to the domination of one country by another has always been the securing of economic advantage. Therefore, you can't have "colonial status" and at the same time "economic independence". This is often blurred by so much propaganda directed to show that imperialism—the domination of one country by another—is really a good thing, that it is a system founded on high moral principles, whose sole object is the uplift and comfort of the helpless colonials. But in actual fact, what is the nature of "colonial status"? This can best be answered by quotations from the writings of leading British politicians; since in a matter of this nature certain admissions become very valuable because of the source from which they come.

There are three characteristics by which colonial status can be

known. They are, firstly, economic domination—the exploitation of the labour and resources of the colonial people by the imperial power; secondly, strategic domination—the decisive military power is in imperialist hands; and thirdly, political forms in the subject country are adapted to fulfil the first two, which are the decisive characteristics.

How and why does " colonial status " arise, in other words, what is the nature of " imperialism "?

Mr. John Strachey, the present Minister of Food, once explained this very succinctly and clearly in his book *Why You Should Be A Socialist*. Mr. Strachey, as the Minister of Food, is the person directly responsible for the East African groundnuts scheme, a venture which he himself confessed was an imperialistic enterprise through and through. Today he is one of those advocates of the greater exploitation of the resources of Africa in the interests of the European peoples. Nevertheless, once upon a time he wrote quite vigorously against the evils of this very system, and what he wrote then is still of some interest. He said:

" This is how Imperialism comes about. When you are at the first stage (that is, in the process of the economic expansion of a country overseas), when you are simply exporting your consumers' goods, there is no very great temptation to try and annex the country to which you are sending them. But now see what happens as soon as you get on to the second and third stages, when you are exporting capital goods and the capital to pay for them.

" Why then, at once you become frightened for the safety of your capital. Whoever it is you lend it to, whether it is the government of some undeveloped region, or some company which has been organised by the natives of the undeveloped country, or, more likely, by your own capitalists operating these—in any case, you will be frightened that you will lose your money.

" Perhaps the government to whom you have lent it will refuse to go on paying the interest? Or perhaps it will get overthrown by a revolution? Or perhaps some other empire will come in and annex the country to which you have lent your money? These worries get even worse when you reach the fourth stage and begin employing native labour in the country to which you have exported your capital. For then your capital has gone permanently overseas: then there is no question of bringing it back. So you need permanent political control in order to ensure its safety.

" Moreover, once you have begun actually employing native labour (stage four above) you will need political control of your market for another reason. You will want to control its government so that it passes laws (such as the hut tax for instance, as in Kenya) which will force the natives to go and work for wages in your new mines or plantations, instead of working for themselves on their own land.

" In any case, and whatever stage of the process of expansion you have reached, you will want all the markets of the particular territory for yourself. You will strongly deplore any tendency for the employers of some other empire to come in and export their goods, instead of yours, to it; or to send in their capital instead of yours; or to set up their mines, rubber plantations or what not, instead of yours. It is for this purpose, above all, that you will want political control of your overseas market. You will want, to be plain, to annex your market; to make it part of your empire: to paint it red on the map."

This is very simple and very clear. Nigeria was certainly painted very red on the map! It lays the ghost of yet another fallacy, namely, that white men came to Africa in order " to help Africans " because " they are all brothers ". Nothing of the sort. Europeans came to Africa because they wanted markets for their goods and raw materials for their industries; and they are still there precisely for those same reasons.

But what, one would ask, of the missionaries? Surely, *they* came to Africa because they wanted to help Africans, and nothing more?

That question can be shortly answered in the words of Bernard Shaw, the Irish dramatist. Writing of the English ruling class in *The Man of Destiny*, he said:

" He (the Englishman) is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. As the great champion of freedom and national independence he conquers and annexes half the world and calls it Colonisation. When he wants new markets for his adulterated Manchester goods, he sends a missionary—then flies to arms in defence of Christianity; fights for it; conquers for it; and takes the market as a reward from heaven."

In the introduction to the *Fabian Colonial Essays*, published in 1945, we find the following:

" Political and economic domination by one people over another is preposterous today . . . Infinite harm was often done to achieve it. A different relationship is necessary, for governments in most dependencies are 'alien'. British control is generally tolerant and easy going and the majority of the people are consequently acquiescent and embarrassingly loyal to Britain. But it would be folly to ignore the stir going on beneath the surface everywhere, just as it would be criminal to attempt to repress the emerging political activities which too many imperialist blimps have sought to stifle in other days. *It ought no longer to be the function of colonial Governors to hold the ring for alien interests to exploit and develop what natural wealth there may be, to see the surplus wealth drained overseas for the enjoyment of anyone outside the people who produce it or whose natural resource it is, to remain indifferent to the claims of health and education and social advance, to concede little to the people in the way of consulta-*

tion and collaboration or of political representation and responsibility. The time has come when Britain must renounce an imperialistic relationship with the colonial peoples. . . . " (Italics ours.)

These lines were written by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies. Since becoming Colonial Secretary, however, Mr. Creech-Jones has either forgotten or else seems to have gone back on what he has said and written on this subject. Nevertheless, the above lines neatly sum up the characteristic evils of colonialism, and effectively tear the mask from off the face of the propaganda that foreign rule can be beneficial to Africans.

In another part of the same book, Mr. Creech-Jones wrote quite frankly as follows: " When Britain assumed administrative responsibility in dependent areas, Governors were expected to hold the ring while trade penetrated and unregulated economic interests exploited natural wealth and labour. The result was often seen in the breaking down of indigenous societies and systems of living."

In his contribution entitled " Socialists and the Empire ", Mr. H. N. Brailsford, deprecating the practice of imperialist powers to force their colonial subjects to concentrate on raising crops of a particular kind to the detriment of their own internal needs, said:

" The economy which subordinates everything to the raising of ' cash ' crops for export is colonial in the worst sense of the word. It uses the inhabitants and their natural resources as means to serve the needs of the ruling race in the distant metropolis.

" The cash crop—the sugar cane, let us say, of Jamaica [or the groundnuts of Nigeria and East Africa; or the eggs of Gambia]—is a tribute in kind.

" Tribute? Is the word just?

" It is not the imperial government which receives this tribute. It goes for the most part to the owning class at home, which has invested in shipping, mines or plantations, or in one or another of the pioneering companies which ' opened up ' the colonies.

"What happens is that a physical transfer of real wealth takes place from the colony to the metropolis. The gold or the copper is literally dug out of the soil and transported. . .

" ' Well ', the reader may say, 'it represents the mine-owner's profit, possibly excessive. But is it any worse than the coal-owner's profit in South Wales?'

" It differs substantially from such a profit, in its economic effects The Welsh owner spends his gains in Wales or at any rate in England. They circulate here and call forth goods and services from Welsh or English workers. The miner certainly has been sweated but some of the profits wrung from the sweat of his brow, go back to his daughter, who is housemaid in the owner's mansion, and some go to his son, who helped to make the magnate's car.

"That sort of thing does not happen in the case of the gold mine. None of the profits go back to the West African village: they are spent in Kensington or on the Riviera. If any workers are benefited, they have white skins.

"This is the nature of empire. It means conquest and exploitation by an absentee overlord.

"This steady drain of wealth, year in, year out from the colonies, means something else: they never can accumulate capital for their own development. It has all gone to England and year by year it has equipped our well-endowed island with all that Africa lacks—cotton mills, electrical generators, roads and cars, with hospitals and schools as well."

Put shortly, it means that Nigeria's wealth is constantly being drained away overseas to enrich people in other lands; that there can never be enough to go round in Nigeria; and therefore that all thoughts of "economic independence", and of a general improvement in the life of the people of our country are a mere dream.

The fabulous sums drawn away from our mines alone, had they been at the disposal of a government of Nigerians might have transformed the face of our country in a decade. We would have had those things which we are now vainly seeking for: schools, factories, hospitals.

Dr. Hinden, in *The Challenge of African Poverty*, has this to say: "It is a serious charge to make—that the wealth of Africa is drained away. . . . Minerals are one of Africa's precious assets, yet the mines are almost always operated by European capitalist companies, which pay dividends to their overseas shareholders, heavy remuneration to their directors, as likely as not the lion's share of their taxes to the British Exchequer, royalties to venerable but functionless companies, and enormous wages to local European employees. What remains for the African workers and for the African exchequers are the crumbs from the rich man's table. . . . Thus the sum of our misdemeanours in Africa adds up. . . . We have given Africans scant opportunity to rise to any avocation other than that of primary producers and wage earners, because we have kept the real wealth of the country (the mines, control of trade, etc.) and also—let it not be forgotten—a big share of the taxes in our own hands."

The above quotations were taken from the writings of the foremost leaders of the British Labour Party, the present ruling body in Great Britain. These writers have exposed clearly enough the immorality, the utter rottenness, and the gross inequities of imperialism.

But what is their remedy?

That is to be found in the official policy of the Labour Party. That policy is summed up in the phrase "democratic or liberal imperialism", and is said to mean "the advancing of the natives and

fitting them for self-government". In effect the policy is that colonialism, the breeder of all these miseries and injustices, should not be abolished, but rather should be made to work better, and be made less painful to the colonial peoples. Officially, it is put in these words:

> "The primary object of administration should always be to train the Native inhabitants in every possible way, so that they may be able, in the shortest possible time, to govern themselves."

The crucial words are "in the shortest possible time", and the meaning to be attached to them is given in another passage in one of the Party's Annual Conference Reports, where it was declared of the African people that "for a considerable time to come these peoples will not be ready for self-government".

The policy is on all fours with that of the Tory Party, which was enunciated in 1944 by Col. Oliver Stanley, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, in these words:

> "It is no part of our policy to confer political advances which are unjustified by circumstances, or to grant self-government to those who are not trained to its use."

And what this means in practical politics to the African peoples was developed in further detail by Lord Lennell during the debate on colonial affairs in the House of Lords on April 13, 1949. He said:

> "We see on the one hand how, in our response to the invitation of our American friends in connection with the so-called Marshall Aid Plan, we have undertaken to develop the Colonial territories of Africa as a direct contribution to the rehabilitation of Europe. The French have done likewise. We must do so. We in Europe cannot be self-supporting in many materials without continuing development of that sort. . . .
>
> "We are also pledged in the Atlantic Pact, morally if not specifically, to place all our resources at the disposal of our friends in that Pact for the defence of the West against aggression. An essential and intrinsic part of that defence must be not only Africa and African resources, but African manpower, and the African military manpower to which the noble Viscount, Lord Swinton, has so rightly referred. How can that be done when at the same time certain elements in West Africa are being deliberately encouraged to feel that within a few years they will have such a form of local or absolute self-government as will make our intervention both unnecessary and undesirable and make it impossible for us to rely upon the military resources which they have placed at our disposal in the past, and which we need today for the purposes of carrying out our own obligations under the Atlantic Pact? How can we follow a policy which is designed to give people such absolute independence of the Commonwealth of which we are members as will enable them to contract out of the military obligations that we have assumed, while at the same time we assume obligations for the implementation of which we rely upon their support. . . ."

The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, the Earl of Listowell, replying on behalf of the Labour Government, was at pains to

emphasise that this Tory policy was the same in all respects as that of the Labour Party. He said:

> "It is fortunate that the starting point of so many Government policies, for defence, for foreign relations, and for Commonwealth co-operation, as well as for the Colonies, is not in itself a matter of Party controversy. This wide area of agreement gives these policies far greater weight in the outside world than they would otherwise have. I was glad to notice that the restatement of Conservative policy by the noble Viscount was in complete accord with our views on these Benches. I accept—and I am sure my right honourable friend would accept it, although I have not had the opportunity of referring the matter to him—the view that there is a need for an overall plan for the Colonies. I also accept the five points which the noble Viscount enumerated as being essential to its fulfilment. The special value of this non-Party approach to Colonial matters is that it convinces our foreign critics that the policy they decry is not a mere aberration of the Party in power at the moment, and that it fortifies our many friends in the international field in the knowledge that the policy they are backing will not be reversed after a General Election. . . ."

So, notwithstanding the specious words in which the Labour Party leaders frequently wrap their colonial intentions, the hard fact still remains that they desire that the imperialist system, with its demoralisation and pauperisation of the African peoples, should continue until an indefinable future time. In short, that they have not the slightest intention of ever willingly releasing the African peoples from their chains.

That this is a correct estimation of the Party's policy is amply borne out by the speech of Mr. John Strachey, the Minister of Food, during the debate on the East African Groundnut Scheme, in the House of Commons on March 14, 1949. He said:

> "In this scheme, and in all these major production enterprises today, we are talking of no less a subject than whether the British Commonwealth shall live or die. Believe me, it will not live and it will not flourish unless major productive enterprises, partly in the field of agriculture, are undertaken in the under-developed areas of the world. If the British Empire does not flourish, the sovereignty over those areas which is at present held by this House will be lost to this House, and the right to that sovereignty will be lost to this House because the one thing that will not happen is that these areas will be left barren and undeveloped. If we do not do the job, some other Power or persons will, because the world cannot tolerate that this vast land should be left in the state in which it has too long lingered. This scheme is simply a pilot project in this very large task which lies before this House and this nation, and I have the most perfect confidence that in a very few years the groundnut scheme will be one of the acknowledged glories of the British Commonwealth."

There was no beating about the bush here. It was a true blue-blood imperialist's speech, delivered in a true imperialist style!

In contrast to all this, however, is the clear, unequivocal and un-

compromising policy of the Communist Party, another working-class organisation. It is stated as follows:

> "That the right of self-determination should be recognised immediately for all colonial peoples, that is to say, that the people on each colonial territory should have the right to decide their own way of life and to establish their own forms of government without coercion or interference from outside."

How this policy applies to Africa, in particular, was exemplified by a statement issued by that Party in July of 1948. It ran as follows:

> "The Communist Party sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the peoples of the African Continent in their struggle for better standards of living, for democracy and the right to self-determination. We condemn alike the Smuts-Malan policies of repression, the increasing drive of the East African white settlers against the African people, and the British Government's policy of allowing the shooting down of those who dare to demand their just economic rights. . . .
>
> "The Labour Government, in spite of its claims to represent a policy of democracy, continues the methods of British imperialist dictatorship over the peoples of Africa. The most elementary democratic rights—equal right to vote for a representative in the Legislature, the control by the Legislature of the Executive—are denied to tens of millions of Africans.
>
> "The Communist Party calls upon all sections of the Labour movement to end this shameful situation, and to compel the Labour Government to apply *immediately* the following measures in all African territories under its control:
>
> "1. The abolition of all discriminatory legislation, such as Pass Laws, Poll Tax, etc., in all African territory; full rights of assembly and association, and freedom of the Press and of movement for every African.
>
> "2. The ending of British dictatorship in Africa; full democratic self-government for all African peoples, based on Parliaments elected by universal suffrage, which shall appoint and control the Executive.
>
> "3. Withdrawal of British armed forces and police; the elected Parliaments to determine what forces are necessary for the maintenance of order, to be officered and manned by Africans.
>
> "4. The rapid replacement of European administrative personnel by Africans, as determined by the elected Parliaments. . . ."

Such a policy as this accords more closely in our view with the temper of the African peoples.

It may be appropriate to mention here that up to 1944, £2,250,000 was paid in royalties to the Royal Niger Company (and its successor the United Africa Co.) by the Nigerian Government, in addition to the £865,000 cash down paid by way of compensation in 1899.

Now, what are the Royal Niger Co., and the United Africa Co.; and why have Nigerians to pay this annual tribute to them?

Both Companies are owned by Unilever and Lever Bros.

The Niger Co. Ltd. is a Private Company. It was registered in 1882 for trade in Nigeria. In 1886 it was granted a charter by the British Government. And in 1899 an agreement was made between Her Majesty's Government and the Company for surrender and revocation

of this charter, and for the transfer to the Government of political rights acquired by the Company in Nigeria since the issue of the charter. In 1929 business of the Company was taken over by the United Africa Co., as well as the right to receive the royalties payable under this agreement.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies provided the following information concerning the agreement with the Niger Co., which was quoted by Mr. J. Mars in *Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria*:

"On the revocation of the Charter of the Royal Niger Co. in 1900, one of the conditions (i.e. in addition to an immediate £865,000 cash payment to the Company) under which the rights and the possessions of the Company were transferred to the Crown was that the Company or its assigns should receive for a period of 99 years *one half* of the mining revenue derived from the imposition of:

(1) a royalty or percentage on the gross value of the output or the exports or

(2) a tax on mining profits or

(3) fees for the granting of licences to prospect or mine over that area of the present Northern Provinces bounded on the west by the river Niger and on the east by a line running direct from Yola to Zinder.

(4) The Company also derives a half share of mineral rents accruing from exclusive prospecting licences, mining rights and mining leases."

And some of the expenditure incurred by the Niger Co., for which Nigerians were called upon to pay this compensation to the tune of £865,000 and half the revenue from their mines for 99 years from 1899, were as follows:

"A road built exclusively to bring mining products to the Benue; a large police escort or armed carriers for a trader; an agent who spied upon the French, as much for military as for commercial reasons; a stockade around a trading station as much a protection against wild animals as against attacking Nigerians; the large staff at such a trading station used for fighting and trading; the presents to emirs to induce them to make political treaties as well as commercial concessions!"

In *Labour Research* for January, 1949, the following description of the United Africa Co. is given:

"A bright gem in the Unilever crown is the U.A.C. whose main centre of activity is West and Central Africa. This one concern alone, having its network of subsidiaries and sub-subsidiaries, brings in about £25,000,000 of the combine's revenues. It not only buys palm oil and other raw materials from the West African and Congo natives, but also runs its own plantations. Having sold their produce to the Company, the natives then proceed to purchase their requirements

from the U.A.C. £29,000,000 worth of merchandise was sold to the native people in 1946. It is not the least surprising that the native population identify the Company with the Government."

And of its activities in Nigeria, Mr. J. Mars writes as follows:

" On the whole the U.A.C. is responsible for about 41.3 per cent of the total import and export trade of Nigeria. It has large wholesaling and retailing establishments . . . it runs various processing plants connected with the export business, such as bulking plants (all bulk oil plants for palm oil in Nigeria are owned by the U.A.C.) for palm oil, the clarified butter factories at Jos and Kano, a biltong factory at Kano, a sawmill at Sapele. The U.A.C. has acquired long leases for some 12,400 acres of rubber and palm oil plantations in the southern provinces. The U.A.C. also bought in the British Cameroons lands which were alienated under the former German rule and sold by the

Four Nigerian boys from Ibadan.

Custodian of Enemy Property in 1925." " The U.A.C. also runs some manufacturing establishments, such as a singlet factory in Lagos, and some engineering services, especially for motors. It owns the only cold storage plant in Nigeria and apparently controls the West African Publicity, Ltd. The Company also owns lighterage, coasting and river services in Nigeria." And it owns a fleet of fifteen ships plying between Europe and Africa.

In view of all this, is it any wonder that Nigerians are said to be

" poor "? In the circumstances, there can be no question of " economic independence before political ", for there are simply no opportunities for that! That is why we are fighting for freedom. Because freedom for Nigeria will mean the end of all foreign exploitation, it will mean the diverting of our enormous resources to the general uplift of our own people, and not to the feeding of absentee capitalists. It will mean more schools, more hospitals, more water supplies, better agriculture. It will mean the fullest development of all those essential things which we now so sadly lack. It will mean better life for all Nigerians.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON WITH CONDITIONS IN A FREE COUNTRY

OFTEN it is said the position of Nigeria, after these eighty years of foreign rule, has really not been so bad after all, in fact, it is just as good as anything found in any free country; and therefore alien rule cannot be said to have been all that objectionable; besides, a government of Nigerians themselves could hardly have done any better, within the same period of time.

Well, the best way to answer this argument is to quote once again from the statements of the British politicians themselves.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, speaking on behalf of the Government in a recent debate in the House of Lords, gave this verdict on the century or so of imperialist domination of Africa. He said:

> " Now all over Africa we are getting a considerable element of educated and thoughtful native people. I am not going to pretend for one moment that they form a majority or even a considerable minority of the population; I know that they do not. I know that the vast bulk of Africans are still back where they were years ago—that is, in a state of primitive civilisation."

Then there is the report of the Select Committee on Estimates of the British House of Commons, in its Fifth Report, 1947-48 Session. The report, which speaks for itself, describes the condition of Nigeria after eighty years of foreign rule as follows:

> " In Nigeria, as a whole, there is one doctor for every 133,000 people [i.e. less than 300 doctors for 30 million people] and one hospital bed for every 3,700 compared with one doctor for every 1,200 people and one hospital bed for every 250 people in the U.K. There are ten dentists. Over 20 million people are living on an agricultural subsistence of a very low order, and malnutrition and disease are widespread. Health statistics for the country are not available. The infant mortality in Lagos is stated to be 110 [it should be considerably higher in the provinces] as compared with 40 to 50 in European countries, and from post-mortem examinations, together with notifications from private practice, it has been estimated that tuberculosis accounts for 9 to 10 per cent of all deaths. There are no

sanatoria in the country; tuberculosis is treated in ordinary hospitals. There are only three asylums; in every prison a ward is set aside for those suffering from mental disorders. Long waiting lists exist at all hospitals, and in some it is necessary to put patients on the floor. Out of about 8 million children under the age of 16, 660,000 are receiving primary education in various forms. There are about 10,000 children in secondary schools; and technical education is totally inadequate. There are two qualified agricultural officers for every million inhabitants, of whom 95 per cent gain their livelihood from the land."

A sad picture, but an accurate representation of the state of our country today. It should only be added that the few children who have the opportunity of receiving any education at all pay heavy school fees, both in the primary and in the secondary schools, the fees being in some schools as high as £25 per annum; that parents must not only lodge and board their children, but must provide school text-books, as well as pay all other school expenses; that there are only thirty secondary schools in the country, six of them provided by the Government, the rest by private persons and missionary bodies. And it should be added that although there are only a few leper hospitals in the country, 100,000 children—as distinct from adults—were estimated to be suffering from leprosy in 1947; that blindness afflicts almost one in every thousand of the people of the northern provinces; and that charges are made for all treatments in all hospitals.

Compare this state of affairs with that obtaining in a free country like Britain. In Britain there is one hospital bed for every 250 people, and one doctor for every 1,200 people. Yet more doctors are being trained and more hospitals being built. The National Health Service provides every man, woman and child with all medical, dental and nursing care, free of charge. Everyone is entitled to all forms of treatment in general or special hospitals, whether as in-patient or as an out-patient. These include, for instance, sanatorium treatment, care of mental health, and all surgical operations. An expectant mother can have the services of a doctor who undertakes maternity work and of a midwife, as well as general care before and after confinement. The help of consultants and specialists of all kinds are available to everyone, whether at hospital, at special health centres, or at home. With a doctor's prescription, medicines and drugs are obtained free of charge from any chemist. A free dental service is provided for all. Care of the eyes is undertaken by specialists at hospitals, or at special clinics. The State provides spectacles of different types for all who need them, free. There are specialist ear clinics at which patients get not only expert opinion upon deafness, but also, if necessary, a new hearing aid developed by a special committee of the Medical Research Council.

Such is a health service which, prodded on by the movement of a

free people, the British Government has organised for its own people. Everyone is cared for, and every effort is made to see that the provisions made are adequate to the needs of the people.

In education the situation is even more favourable; while only half a million children of school age out of eight million receive any education at all in Nigeria, in Britain education is compulsory for *every* child born, from the age of five till the age of fifteen; and it is absolutely free.

For those who have the aptitude for learning, secondary school education is provided, also free. Then there is a vast scheme of State scholarships which enables the bright boys to go to the universities, at no cost to their parents. In 1948 Britain had 83,000 university students out of a total population of 48 million. That is seven times the number of all children in Nigeria who ever receive *secondary* education. Out of this number of 83,000, more than three-quarters of them receive State grants or scholarships. In no year has the Nigerian Government given more than thirty scholarships for overseas university studies.

Again, in Britain there is State benefit when people are unemployed or ill; and there is liberal compensation when they are injured by accidents. There are also old-age pensions for people who have reached the age of sixty or thereabout, and who wish to retire from working; and there are maternity benefits for mothers during their confinement.

None of these things exist in Nigeria. In Britain it is the movement of the people using the democratic machinery that has won them these benefits. Only such a movement of the people in Nigeria can bring political freedom, and with it the same advantages.

CHAPTER VI

TRIBAL DIFFERENCES CAN EASILY BE SOLVED

SHOULD Nigeria become a self-governing country, how will the problem of tribes be solved?* Would it be feasible to have one single government for the whole country, or should each tribe be allowed to form its own separate and independent State?

Separate and independent States based upon tribes, or linguistic groups, are unrealistic and impracticable in Nigeria today.

According to the 1921 Census, there are 261 tribes in our country, which represented only 79 per cent of the population then classified.

* We use " tribes " advisedly where we should have used " nationalities "; for though it has been suggested that " nationalities " appears more accurately to describe the character of the ethnic groups in our country, still the word " tribes " seems to have gained wider currency.

Surely no one could suggest that there should be 261 States in Nigeria! Each of these tribes has its own language, which in many cases is different from that of the others; and each has its own peculiar culture and customs, its own history and its own traditions. But just the same, there is no doubt at all that fundamentally, all Nigeria is one.

Of the 261 tribes the largest are the following: Northern Provinces: Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri, Munshi, Nupe, Gwari, Idoma, Igala, Igbira, Manga, Taureg, Margi; Southern Provinces: Edo, Ibibio, Ibo, Ijaw, Tikare, Yoruba, Efik, Boki.

Administratively our country is divided into three regions—North, East and West. But none of the divisions correspond to any one particular tribal grouping in the country; on the contrary, each division or region contains within it a host of different tribes. For example, the North has the Hausas, the Fulanis, the Tivs, and several others living there; so that it could hardly be said to be homogeneous. Similarly, the West has the Yorubas, the Edos, some Ibos, the Urhobos, and the Jekris, inhabiting it. And the East contains a heterogeneity of tribes too, for example, the Tikares, the Ibibios, the Ijaws and the Ibos.

Thus, although the present division is into three parts it is not in any way ethnographical, nor is it based on any ascertainable principle. In a free Nigeria such lopsided division, with almost one-half of the population in one region, and without any logic or consistency, need not be retained.

There are smaller sub-divisions, called Provinces. There are twenty-four of them altogether. But these sub-divisions are equally arbitrary.

The provinces are themselves made up of a number of districts, and each district of a number of towns and villages.

We are of the opinion, however, that despite the seeming variety in our tribes and the lack of oneness in language, customs and traditions, only one single government for the whole of Nigeria, that is to say, one single parliament, or representative body, will give the maximum benefit to our people. In dealing with this problem, we have to look at our country in the context of a West African scene; realising that at no distant date in the future Nigeria will become a unit in a West African Federation.

Certain forms of local government there must be, and local government boundaries may, so far as practicable, take account of tribal affinities. But nationally there must be one State. What powers should be given to local government units will, of course, be determined by a freely elected Nigerian parliament.

It may well be that in deciding on the areas of the local authorities the Nigerian parliament will use linguistic groups as a basis, so that wherever it is found that a given territory is predominantly inhabited by people of one language, that territory will form a local government

unit; and if within such a unit there are still other minority linguistic groups which inhabit areas that can reasonably be defined, these too could be formed into sub-units of the larger region. Within each linguistic region, however, certain governmental responsibilities must be entrusted to districts, towns, and villages, to be discharged by them through their respective councils popularly elected, so that in the government of our country every adult Nigerian may play an effective part.

We value the cultural development of the various tribes. And within a free Nigeria every opportunity should be given to each, no matter how small or how big, to expand according to its own historical development. None should be stifled or dominated, none should be pushed aside. What Professor Eyo Ita said of West Africa as a whole, is equally true of Nigeria. He said: "Though we all spring from the same womb we need not be identical offspring. God knew that the only way to produce a rich dynamic West Africa capable of a lofty civilisation was by introducing varieties in our make-up so that each one with his own unique talent and capacity might make a distinctive contribution to a rich abundant life in West Africa."

Too much play has been made of the so-called "differences" between the Nigerian tribes as if this condition were peculiar to Nigeria.

The Ijaws are no more different from the Igalas than the Scots from the Irish, and the Yorubas are no more different from the Tivs than the Welsh from the English. The four communities that make up Great Britain are not descended from one common stock. The English are Anglo-Saxons, the Scotsmen are Scots, the Welsh are Celts, and the Irish are a mixture of Picts and Scots. They have different histories, different cultures, and different traditions. Their languages are as different from one another as the languages of the Nigerian tribes. Yet these communities have joined together to form one single State, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which is today ruling Nigeria.

The U.S.A. is made up of a conglomeration of peoples of different nationalities, the English, the Irish, the Jews, the Greeks, the Negroes, the Italians, and several others; but still they manage to live together and to form the great country we know as the United States of America.

Canada is a bi-national State, made up of two communities, the English and the French, than whom no two peoples could be more different; yet Canada, as a single State, is forging ahead among the nations of the world today.

Other instances can be cited.

But the most remarkable of them all, and the perfect example of the multi-national State, is the U.S.S.R. That country has no less than 178 different peoples, who not only speak different languages and have

different national cultures, but have different colours of the skin as well. In the U.S.S.R. the Georgians remain Georgians, the Turkmenians remain Turkmenians, the Armenians Armenians, and so on. But they are all united together to form one State, the mighty Soviet Union, whose territories cover one-sixth of the earth's surface.

All these countries, despite the differences in the peoples constituting them, have each built up a strong and independent State. Nigeria can do the same. There should and must be one Nigerian State.

Within it the fullest opportunity should be given to every tribe, or every cultural unit, to develop and expand its life. In such a unified Nigeria there must be complete tribal equality in all forms. " A State law based on complete democracy in the country is required, prohibiting all tribal privileges without exception, and all kinds of disabilities and restrictions on the rights of tribal minorities."

We should have one Nigerian citizenship, so that every Nigerian should have the same rights as his fellow-countrymen no matter where he may be. Thus a Nigerian may make his home in any part of the country he pleases; if he does so he does not thereby become an alien but he will have the right to join in the work of his locality and discharge his duties as a citizen there. In other words, in a free Nigeria, what should govern a person's rights and duties should be the locality in which he makes his home, not the tribe to which he belongs.

The problems of our country today, even before independence is won, can only be solved on a Nigerian level. Even independence itself cannot be achieved except by organisations that are nation-wide. No one section of our people can do it.

The standard of life of our people, for example, cannot be improved except by actions taken by all Nigerian workers together. Wouldn't it be ridiculous if, for instance, all workers of Nupe origin in the P.W.D. were to form their own P.W.D. workers' union and then start to agitate for more pay for themselves while the rest of their fellows sat looking on? Or if all Jekris on the railways were suddenly to begin to ask for better canteen facilities for Jekri workers without waiting for the help of their other comrades?

And no one could seriously suggest that the trade union movement in Nigeria would become anything but a farce, if its organisations were based not upon trades but upon tribes; or even if the leaders were to allow any element of tribalism to creep into their activities. If that happened, the trade unions would simply be immobilising themselves! " We know whither the division of workers along national lines leads. The disintegration of a united working-class party, the division of trade unions along national lines, the aggravation of national friction. When the workers are organised according to nationality they are isolated within their national shells, fenced off from each other by organisational partition. The stress is laid not on what is common to

the workers but on what distinguishes them from each other. In this type of organisation the worker is primarily a member of his nation. Therefore the national type of organisation is a school of narrow-mindedness and prejudice."

In Nigeria today there has been a mixing of peoples. In their search for livelihood large numbers of Ibos are permanently stationed in the North, large numbers of Yorubas have made Iboland their home, and large numbers of Hausas are domiciled all over the country. Any attempt therefore to build independent States upon the basis of tribes is bound to fail, because " it proposes artificially to draw into a single nation people whom the very march of events, of real events, is disuniting and dispersing to every corner of the country ". It is better to ensure that these dispersed people, wherever they may be, will have the same rights of citizenship as they would have had in their homes of origin.

We are convinced that with the dawn of the industrial age in Nigeria, the character of our country will radically change. People will become more mixed than ever. Tribes will become less important. Therefore, in planning for the future, account must be taken of these dynamics of history, and the structure of our country should be based upon sound, living realities.

CHAPTER VII

A PROGRAMME

As we see them, the issues before our country can be grouped under the following heads:

POLITICAL

(i) Secure immediately complete freedom for Nigeria, that is to say, full democratic self-government based on a Parliament elected by universal adult suffrage. The Parliament to be fully responsible. This is the paramount issue.

(ii) Replace the Native Administrations with instruments of popular government based on the same democratic principles. Representative councils to be elected for the village, town, province, and the region.

(iii) The Government to consist of members to be elected by the Nigerian Parliament from its own members and responsible to it.

(iv) The elected responsible government of Nigeria to develop an African civil service and military forces such as it considers necessary.

ECONOMIC

(v) Preserve the existing communal ownership of land, and prevent the alienation of the land directly or indirectly from Nigerian hands.

(vi) Full use to be made of Nigeria's agricultural resources with mechanisation, using the most modern methods.

(vii) Press forward the industrial development of Nigeria on the general lines indicated in Chapter II; with all control in African hands. Particularly the immediate building up of an engineering and machine-building industry.

(viii) Withdraw all Native Administration investments and other public funds from abroad and invest them in industries at home.

(ix) Stop all further payments of royalties to the U.A.C., as successor to the Royal Niger Co.; the Government to take over all existing mineral leases. All future mineral development to be run as public corporations on behalf of the people, on the lines of the Enugu Colliery and the Cameroons Plantations.

(x) The Government (that is, of Nigerians) to have monopoly of foreign trade; and any foreign trading concerns to be allowed to operate in the country only on the conditions fixed by the Government.

(xi) Develop and expand the co-operative movement, both consumers and producers, with special assistance to farmers' co-ops.

(xii) Encourage the workers to organise all workers not yet organised into trade unions, particularly in the mining areas of the North, and in mercantile undertakings.

SOCIAL

(xiii) Intensify the drive against illiteracy; transfer the control of primary and secondary education to local authorities, who should set about providing adequate schools to meet the needs of their areas. Establish a system of universal free education. Improve the status of all teachers.

(xiv) Increase immediately to a minimum of 1,000 a year the number of scholarships to universities abroad—most of them to be for the training of Nigerians for work in modern industrial and agricultural enterprises. At the same time develop a higher educational network for academic and technical training for Nigerians at home.

(xv) Prepare an immediate plan for the building of more hospitals and dispensaries with a view to the establishment of adequate and free medical services. Rapid training of adequate numbers of medical staffs, in Nigeria and abroad, to be undertaken immediately.

(xvi) Government to assume full responsibility for the fight against leprosy; and in the fight against diseases generally, special priority to be given to tuberculosis and leprosy.

(xvii) Provide for fresh water supply to all towns and villages.

(xviii) Work out immediate plans for more extensive electrification of the country.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLE CAN WIN FREEDOM

THE victory of the Nigerian people in their fight for freedom is inevitable. Nothing can stop it. But how soon that will be, and whether the battle will be short or long, painless or painful, will depend on the degree of organisation we have in our country, and how deep and broadly based it is.

Almost all politically conscious Nigerians, men and women, now recognise the fact that the highest political aim is to fight for the independence of one's country; and they now realise that it is their sacred duty to join in the struggle for our country's liberation. There is no other alternative. To do this effectively, however, one must necessarily attach oneself to some organisation, be it a political party, a national union, a trade union, or a co-operative society, and there make one's contribution. Individuals by themselves can do very little, only when they are organised is their force irresistible. "One coal cannot make a fire; but where a number of coals are heaped together, the heat which is latent in each is kindled into flame, emitting light and warmth."

In the fight for freedom the role of our organised working class is of especial importance. It is our working class, with its greater experience, gained in its constant struggles in the industrial field, and its greater degree of compactness and militancy, that must lead the rest of our population. Experience in other countries where people have fought, and are fighting, victoriously for freedom has shown that always it is the working class, organised in its political party, that has pushed forward the people's liberation movement, and has given that movement its necessary coherence, consistency and incorruptibility.

We have faith in the masses of Nigeria, it is they who constitute our strength. Their power and vitality, which have never been in any doubt, have been displaed on several occasions in the past and will be

A Free Enterprise Program

A Plan for Peace

An American Federation, a European Federation
and an Asiatic Federation Coordinated
in one World Organization

(A modified UNO)

32-20-6

War or Peace

John Foster Dulles
(P. 19)

The Unifying Force for Europe

Paul Reynaud
(P. 26)

The Crucial Battle for Asia

Carlos P. Rómulo
(P. 32)

"EL GRAFICO" – BOGOTA

OPINIONS REGARDING THIS PLAN

GOVERNMENT

«It is a source of great comfort and encouragement to me to have further evidence of the growing world-wide determination to peacefully preserve and strengthen the liberty and freedom of all countries».

ZALES N. ECTON
United States Senator

«Free enterprise and wide collaboration are two principles in which I firmly believe. I cannot therefore but express my best wishes for the success of this commendable movement».

ALBERTO TARCHIANI
Ambassador of Italy to U. S. A.

«The motto: Freedom - Productivity - Justice, that you have choosen, if put into practice, could save mankind from the flagellum that threatens her».

GUSTAVE LARAQUE
Ambassador of Hati to U. S. A.

CHURCH

«I am very happy to acknowledge your letter because the idea of a close American Federation is one that has been advocated by committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace».

Rev. R. A. McGOWAN
Director National Catholic Welfare Conference

«By all means let this triple federation movement be thoroughly explored. It becomes increasingly apparent that the UNO as at present organized is almost hopelessly crippled. Some new approach to "One World" will have to be found».

Rev. A. H. BALDINGER
Ex-Moderator of the United
Presbyterian Church of North America

«I am in accord with the plan and would be pleased to see it in operation. Certainly at this time when the world is so confused it seems that Freedom, Productivity and Justice for all men are nothing less than right».

Rev. R. FARLEY FISHER
General Secretary
African Methodist Episcopal Church

(Continued on inside back page)

Invitation to Promote a World-wide Offensive for Peace

«Limited policies inevitably are defensive policies, and defensive policies inevitably are losing policies».

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Let us organize a great offensive of Free Enterprise with a concrete and constructive plan to give freedom, productivity and justice to mankind, and in this way, eliminate the political power of Communism and orient the world toward creative freedom.

It is much safer to take the initiative that will fortity the Free Enterprise, than to await in a defensive attitude an uncertain and dangerous future, that may bring crisis and confusion, destroying the nerve and resistance of Free Enterprise.

This offensive, under no circunstances, ought to be stopped, but on the contrary, it must be strengthened, every day with increased vigor, until the task of a world organization that guarantees durable peace, has been accomplished.

For this task the most essential is not the gratuit distribution of money, but a powerful and tactful leadership to destroy, without complaisance, the prejudices and vested interests that maintain mankind in a low standard of living.

If we Americans want world reorganization, we must stress the development and unification of our own continent. With the example, experience and power resulting from this Union, we will be in better capacity to help and orient the world. The same can be said by Europeans and Asiatics, thus coordinating in team-work the efforts of the entire world to find welfare, happiness and lasting peace for mankind.

Summary

This program calls for the establishment of an American Federation, which in cooperation with similar European and Asiatic Unions, all united in one World Organization (a modified UNO), could assure permanent world stability and peace.

The first step should be the promotion of total production in the three continents, profiting from the creative initiative of a Free Enterprise or Capitalistic system which enjoys freedoms and guarantees. Once production has been fully developed on a continental basis, industry should be coordinated under a skillfull and modest supervision of each Federal Government, in order to avoid crises of overproduction, correct the inequalities of Capitalism and create a social organization which offers the greatest possible security and happiness for the members of society.

From an individualistic Capitalistic system whose principal virtue is production, toward a coordinated Capitalism by the State to complement this production with economic stability and social justice. Everything within democracy and liberty.

Freedom - Productivity - Justice

Bases of World Peace

A Plan for Peace

"We have come to the time when, if liberty is to be preserved and extended, its upholders and defenders must be prepared to lead the way to the next stage of political organization. The world is waiting for a new application of the federal principle".

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

32-20-8

Communism VS. Capitalism

The world today is confronted with two alternatives: either the triumph of Communism as represented by Russia, or the triumph of Free Enterprise as represented by the United States. The system that can influence public opinion most and offer greater advantages to the most important segments of humanity will eventually win out.

Communism employs powerful weapons, such as propaganda which exploits the discontent and deplorable conditions that exist in most of the world. There are many people who want to change their living conditions in any way possible and will follow the system that promises them most, although these promises may not at all correspond to reality.

The only practical weapon of Capitalism is that of increasing progress and material welfare and proving by means of action that it is capable of developing industry and the world economy for the benefit of all.

For this reason, Capitalism must, at least, be assured of sufficient freedoms and guarantees for development. Without these rights, Free Enterprise cannot function successfully and cannot provide the abundance which it is capable of creating. Therefore, conditions favorable to the flourishing of Capitalism must be encouraged so that this system may have the opportunity and sufficient force to combat Communism.

Crises of Overproduction

Another major problem of Capitalism is that of crises of overproduction, which can completely disorganize the system and maybe cause its downfall, as the Communist hope.

Extended crises of overproduction can be solved by new oconomic development, either in new industries or in undeveloped territories. Thus, as long as it can expand on a large scale and develop freely, the Capitalistic system remains prosperous and secure, in spite of temporary crises.

Once Capitalism has been completely developed and has no further fields of expansion, the only means of averting crises of overproduction is by limiting investment to the funds necessary for replacing worn-out capital, for changes justified by new inventions, and for expansion brought about by the growth of populations needs. The surplus power of investment must be distributed among the consumers by the lowering of prices, increased wages, reduction of hours of labor, or by the extension of vital social services. The purpose

of all this would be to improve the general standard of living by increasing consumption to balance production.

In order to achieve this objective, a fully developed Capitalism should be coordinated under the modest and skillful supervision of the State which would balance investments, production and consumption. This coordination should be accomplished under a criterion of social justice and the maintenance of all essential individual freedoms. According to such a plan, the State would have complete control over an independent and autonomous economic system and would regulate economic relations with other systems. If this were not done, many uncontrollable factors which could cause crises might arise.

32-20-9

Conditions for the Success of Capitalism

Two conditions leading to the success of the Capitalistic system must be created.

First: Capitalism should possess ample fields of action, complete with guarantees and freedoms, in order to develop a strong and well-rounded economy of mass production and distribution uninterruptedly and on a large scale. While this possibility lasts, there would be no insolvable crises of overproduction, for it a crisis ocurred, it would be short lived, because conditions could soon return to normal through new developments.

Second: These fields of action should enable Capitalism to become self-sufficient and eventually develop a Federal Government with enough authority to coordinate the whole economy. Once Capitalism has been fully developed and it becomes necessary to balance investments, production and consumption, the Federal Government should be able to coordinate the Free

Enterprise system without interference from foreign governments or other economic systems which could prevent coordination and bring about conflicts and wars. In other words, the plan calls for economic self-sufficiency and a Federal Government with the capacity to coordinate the whole system.

Three Alternatives: World Federation; Three Continental Federations; or Status Quo.

In order to accomplish all this, we must consider these possibilities: Forge the world into one political and economic entity; divide it into three continental entities (America, Europe-Africa and Asia-Oceania); or divide it on the basis of existing nations.

Organizing it on the basis of existing nations would be ineffective, since the world's population is very badly distributed and some nations have too many resources while others have too few. Futhermore, no nation has all the resources necessary for organizing a self-sufficient economy. Therefore, in order to organize their economies, the different nations of the world would continue to engage in conflicts and wars for resources and territories.

Another system would be to create a World Federation. This would be the ideal solution, for it would provide the largest possible field of action for the development of Free Enterprise, and would be completely self-sufficient and free from outside interference to coordinate the economic system. However, in spite of the facility of communications, the world is still too large and still has too many differences in races, customs, national outlooks and living standards to be unified in one entity under the control of a

Federal Government. If immigration were entirely free, for example, the Asiatics, with their systems of uncontrolled population growth, would be able to flood the world with inhabitants and lower the living standards of all.

The middle way between the two systems explained would be that of creating a European Federation, an Asiatic Federation and an American Federation coordinated in one World Organization (a modified UNO).

Under this plan, each Federation could offer Free Enterprise an immense field of expansion, without the danger of crises of overproduction for a long time. Later, once Capitalism has been fully developed and requires coordination, each federation would already possess a self-sufficient economy controlled by a Federal Government capable of coordinating the whole system.

32 - 20 - 10

Arguments Against Three Continental Federations and its Refutation

First: The population of the world is badly distributed and as soon as one continent has insufficient resources in relation to its population, it will seek to expand or conquer other territories for its surplus people.

Solution: Since America requires additional inhabitants, immigration to this hemisphere must be encouraged until there is a population large enough to develop its resources. Futhermore, by practicing moderation in procreation, as is the case in the United States, and other countries, it is possible to maintain an adequate balance between population and natural

resources. Under a system of voluntary birth control, the three main continents can live independently, without having to seek other regions to dump their surplus population. If one continent should permit the disproportionate growth of its population, this continent would bear sole responsibility for its resulting low standard of living. Since the obvious solution would be the education of its inhabitants in moderation in procreation, there would not be the slightest justification for dumping its excess population on other continents and endangering the proper balance in all.

Second: The continents do not have sufficient resources to be self-sufficient and provide abundance for their population.

Solution: The three continental groups do possess all the resources necessary for building up self-sufficient economies capable of providing abundance for all. If, during the war, countries such as Germany were able to organize relatively self-sufficient economies with the assistance of synthetic industries, there is no reason why a continent cannot accomplish much more. Even if self-sufficiency should not be entirely attainable, there is no reason why a barter system cannot be adopted in order to exchange necessary materials and services. Such a controlled system would not unbalance the coordination of the autonomous economies of the three continents.

Third: If the world is organized in three blocs, wars will still be possible.

Solution: It is highly improbable that a self-sufficient, democratic federation capable of bringing prosperity and happiness to its inhabitants would seek conflicts with other equally powerful federations, con-

flicts that could only result in mutual destruction. Besides, the three federations would be coordinated in one World Organization which would have the monopoly on armaments and would maintain the tribunals necessary for mediating any conflict or dispute that might arise. Finally, if the organization of the world into three federations should not prove fully satisfactory, the people could strive for world unity or World Federation. The material and cultural development which the establishment of the three federations would bring to the entire world, would surely produce such an extremely high level of culture and living standards for all mankind that world unity would be facilitated.

For these reasons, world reorganization could be planned upon the basis of three continental federations coordinated into one World Organization, which would surely offer positive perspectives of stability, peace and abundance for mankind. This objective is both feasible and practical and is, at the same time, a great step toward the ideal of One World.

32-20-11

Present World Trends in International Relations

In contemporary international relations, we can observe tendencies toward world unity and toward continental federations. The United Nations Organization can evolve into a World Federal Government or can become an agency that could coordinate the three federations. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements, the International Trade Organization and other international agencies tend toward world unity, whereas the European Union, the Pan Asiatic Congresses and the Organization of American States tend toward continental federations. However, the extension of world

trade, universal monetary stabilization and similar measures favoring world unity have been impeded by bilateral treaties, barter systems and controlled economies which restrict international commerce. The efforts being made to establish the European Union and regional pacts tending to integrate the economies and politics of the world into three federations seem to be more practical.

Urgent Need for a Concrete and Positive International Policy.

The Policy of Washington, which actually leads the free world, seems to be oriented toward world unity, although it also supports European Union and sympathizes with Pan Americanism. This policy is confused and ineffective, because it supports entirely different objectives. If, instead of following an ambiguous and overly ambitious policy, the United States strove to establish an American Federation and at the same time supported equally self-sufficient and independent European and Asiatic Unions, all coordinated in one World Organization (a modified UNO), it would surely be easier to create prosperity, stability and world peace. With this concrete program, we could withstand the expansion of world Communism.

Naturally, in order to achieve world reorganization, all interests must be considered, including those of the defeated countries, which are important components of mankind. If we disregard them, they would almost surely be forced or tempted to ally themselves with Communism, thus forming an invulnerable Soviet bloc capable of conquering the rest of the world.

If, in spite of the unlimited possibilities in our

power, we should allow Communism to conquer the world, Free Enterprise with its ideals of freedom would have passed into history. All the progress of free society, all the wars won at the cost of so many sacrifices and all our dreams of a new civilization working for man's welfare and freedom would have been in vain. In view of these disastrous possibilities, it would be criminal not to employ all our talents, all our energies and all our resources in the cause of freedom.

Instead of waiting complacently for war and in the meantime spending enormous sums on military defense, let us exert our greatest efforts in a constructive battle for world reorganization in order to eliminate the political potency of Communism and with it the menace of a new, infinitely destructive war. This positive and far-sighted action would be more effective than the piling up of thousands of atomic bombs and other ghastly weapons and would be more in accordance with the Christian and progressive ideals of the American people. Several years of really strenuous effort and work can produce the beginnings of a New Era of freedom, abundance and social justice, in which the happiness of man is assured, and war and fear no longer have any reason for existing.

32-20-12

A Program of Free Enterprise for the Americas

"We shall hasten with the keenest interest to establish for ourselves the American pact which, by forming one political entity from all our republics, will give to America an aspect of majesty and greatness unprecedented in ancient nations".

BOLIVAR

(This plan is for America, but similar programs, with the necessary modifications for meeting different conditions, must be encouraged in Europe and Asia to establish a world-wide action of Free Enterprise).

— I —

Establishment of an American Federal Government and support of a European Union and Asiatic Union. Coordination of these political spheres within one World Organization (a modified UNO) to assure permanent world stability and peace.

— II —

Promotion on a large scale of carefully chosen

European immigration in order to develop and industrialize the entire hemisphere and unify the population of the two Americas, thus preparing the way for an American Federation.

— III —

Freedom of enterprise in every state in the hemisphere and full guarantees for the industry and capital that contribute to progress. Abolition of laws that obstruct the normal development of Capitalism. Once Capitalism has been developed to its limit, a logical coordination of the economy under a skillful and modest supervision of the State, in order to avoid crisis and distribute income more equitably.

— IV —

Freedom of trade in the hemisphere. Elimination of all barriers that interfere with free exchange of goods.

— V —

Enactment of a law in each American State by means of which any citizen of any other American nation will be considered its own citizen, with the same rights and obligations and with the prerogatives of entering, residing and leaving freely. This law can be extended on a reciprocal basis

— VI —

Establishment of a sound and stable uniform monetary system in the hemisphere, to be directed by an Interamerican Monetary Board.

— VII —

Formation of a continental army to protect the

hemisphere against the possibility of attacks from third parties and to back up the international and internal politics of the Federation.

— VIII —

Freedom of religion, speech, press and meeting.

— IX —

Equality before the law of every human being, regardless of race, nationality, religion or sex.

32-20-14

— X —

Universal education which would enable every citizen to assume his social and democratic responsabilities.

— XI —

Democratic governments expertly organized to render the best possible service to their citizens.

— XII —

Complete elimination of colonial systems in America, and efforts to abolish them in the rest of the world.

— XIII —

The best possible standard of living for the worker, without endangering the capitalization necessary for industrial development.

— XIV —

A program of social insurance that would control the risks that make life uncertain, such as sickness, unemployment, old age and childhood.

— XV —

Adoption of a uniform metric system and other standardizations of rules, codes, etc.

— XVI —

Establishment of a Continental University of Social Philosophy and Administration with branches in the different countries of the hemisphere. Here the future leaders of America would not only receive a thorough education in the social sciences, but would be taught how to apply their knowledge in an administrative capacity, so as to help solve the problems of society.

— XVII —

Promotion of a language to be used as a means of communication for the different countries of America and also in their relations with the other continents. The political, social, cultural, and commercial relations would become easier if a great part of men, beside their own language, spoke a universal one understandable to all. The most appropriate would be English, because it is the most extended in the world.

EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK

War or Peace

By John Foster Dulles

(Reproduced through the courtesy of
The Macmillan Company)

32-20-15

Our Spiritual Need

Mankind will never win lasting peace so long as men use their full resources only in the tasks of war.

While we are yet at peace, let us movilize the potencialities, particularly the moral and spiritual potencialities, which we usually reserve for war.

We are not generating the dynamic faith, the ideas, needed to touch the spirits and to arouse the hopes of the peoples of the world who are the prey of predatory Communism.

We seem to have lost the spirit which animated Lincoln when he said of our declaration of Independence that it gave "liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men".

Our vision seemed to contract and our sense of mission to lessen. Others began to think of us more as a possible source of money and material things and less as a source of inspiration and guidance.

While our influence and our security have been declining, those of Soviet Communism have been rising. That is not primarily due to the fact that Russia as a nation has great power, although the Red Army is a background threat. It is rather due to the fact that Soviet Communism has a creed, a creed of world-wide import.

We cannot successfully combat Soviet Communism in the world and frustrate its methods of fraud, terrorism, and violence unless we have a faith with spiritual appeal that translates itself into practices which, in our modern, complex society, get rid of the sordid, degrading conditions of life in which the spirit cannot grow.

Equally, we must clearly see that a society of freedom is not a society of incordinated self-seeking individuals. It is a society that is coordinated. But the bonds are primarily the bonds of fellowship which derive from belief that men are destined to be brothers through the Fatherhood of God, that each man is his brother's keeper, and that we should love our neighbors as ourselves.

There is no use having more and louder Voices of America unless we have something to say that is more persuasive than anything yet said.

United Nations and Interamerican Association

It is, of course, important to have a world organization that is universal in its scope and its interests. It should never be pushed into the background by regional concerns. But it is at the universal level that cohesion is most slowly achieved. It would be folly to say that that slow pace must govern even regional action.

It is, however, important to realize that the United Nations Charter, by article 51, gives such flexibility that when it is timely, the nations can have more and tighter systems of collective security. There is little doubt that there will be future occasions to take ad-

vantage of the inmense possibilities developing world order within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

At Rio there was signed on September 2, 1947, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. It embodied the Chapultepec pledge of "One for all-All-for one". It bound the parties to participate in an "Organ of Consultation" which in the event of aggression either from within or from without the Americas, could by a two-thirds vote require action, including economic sanctions, by the member nations. However, "No State shall be required to use armed force without its consent".

The area of the Americas was charted. It included Canada and Greenland, although neither the Dominion of Canada nor Denmark, the sovereign of Greenland, was a party to the pact.

The Rio Pact was a significant development in American foreign policy.

European Union

Both the European Recovery Act and the North Atlantic Pact have had a single basic purpose; that is, to promote a unity that will itself promote strength. However, so far, the idea of unity of the West remains only an ideal.

The European Recovery Plan has been, in essence, an oxigen tent put over the nations of Western Europe. It has kept them breathing, but it has not cured them. The symptoms of economic and monetary disintegration are still acute.

What we have done has been worth doing because it gives us opportunity to do more. But what we have done will be a futility unless the opportunity we have gained is used to create in Western Europe a greater degree of unity than is now in prospect.

It is hard to think of condition more illogical, more

costly, and more dangerous than the continuing disunity of the West.

There is nothing in the differences of the European peoples that prevents their getting along together.

These 200.000.000 and more people have, in Europe and in their African colonial possessions, a great part of the world's natural resources. Coal, iron, copper, gold, potash, phosphate, uranium, are only a few of the many mineral resources found in greatest richness within the Western-controlled area, a natural wealth that cannot be matched either in the Soviet Union or in the United States.

Why should an area that possesses such tremendous resources, human and material, be a poorhouse where the people live in a state of weakness which is frightening to them and their friends and a source of delight to their foes?

There is only one reason. All the great qualities and assets possessed collectively must be discounted because they are not possessed unitedly. Disunity alone prevents Western Europe from being a great —perhaps the greatest— distinctive area of spiritual, intellectual, economic and military power.

This diagnosis of the case of Europe is nothing novel. It as been long accepted by all. Today, the leaders of Europe repeat the same refrain. Attlee says —or until recently said— "Europe must federate or perish". Churchill leads a movement for European unity. President Auriol of France said:

"Europe must unite herself if she wishes to recover and live, and is she does not want American assistance to be a gesture without future or a humiliating charity".

De Gasperi of Italy, Spaak of Belgium, and Adenauer of Germany say the same.

All words make a chorus with scarcely a discordant note.

The United States now has the opportunity to bring about peacefully what every Western leader, without regard to nation or party, recognizes ought to be done, but what will not be done unless there is friendly but firm outside pressure.

The investment of blood and treasure give us certain right and need to speak. Also we have unique qualifications to speak. Most of our American people derive from Europe. There is a blood relationship between our people and the peoples of Europe. We know the racial differences that are involved, for they are part of the very lifeblood of our own nation.

Futhermore, we know by our own experience what can and should be done when danger looms that only unity can avert. We invented our federal system when we were in a condition like that of Europe today, faced with a like danger. Our thirteen independent sovereign States were threatened by the despotic rulers of the then great empires of Britain, France, and Spain. Those citizens who were farsighted saw plainly that the States, divided, were subject to strife among themselves and weak in the face of danger. They knew that, as put by Alexander Hamilton in words that have become classic:

> To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighborhood would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.

We have not only the moral right, we have not only the experience, we have not only the worthy motive, but also the responsibility.

Today we are helping to finance the reconstruction of Western Europe. We can not avoid responsibility for the result. The prewar structure was a structure that repeatedly had burst out into flames. The human and material losses over the years have been colossal and irreparable. After each past conflagration, the structure has been rebuilt substantially as before. Shall we make ourselves responsible for repeating that folly?

Socialization and "planning" demand insulation. The movement in that direction has not yet gone so far that it prohibits a biginning of unity. However, the trend is one which, as it goes on, makes it more and more difficult for governments to take part in a larger, freer society.

There is not good solution of the problem of Germany unless Germany, or at least as much of it as is free, is brought into the framework of the West as an integral part of the West.

Age-old disputes between France and Germany, such as the one over the Saar, cannot be permanently solved in terms of a choice between French nationalism and German nationalism.

We have already seen that a revived nationalistic Germany, would have ominous bargaining power between East and West; that the defense of Europe requires a defense of Germany, and that it is difficult to conceive of a successful defense of Germany that does not involve participation by German man power.

These problems can be solved if Western Europe draws together, politically and economically, so as to give birth to hopes and aspirations that are larger than any single nation, and if the Germans are part of them.

Association of the Free Nations of Asia and the Pacific

In the past the United States policy in the East rested on the foundation of friendly relations with China.

After the war, that policy collapsed, and China has become the spearhead of Soviet Communist policy in Asia and the Pacific.

We must build a totally new policy towards Asia, and it is necessary to build under conditions when the historic friendship between the United States and

China is supplanted by the enmity of those who now rule most of China.

Any policies regarding Asia and the Pacific must be a logical development of the policy of peaceful evolution to national independence. They should reenforce, not undermine, the indepedence of the new nations.

Another general consideration is that any policies for Asia and the Pacific must recognize the distinctive religions and cultures of Asia.

If we adhere loyally to the two principles above indicated, then we shall be qualified to help establish a permanent Association of the Free Nations of Asia and the Pacific. It would not, at least in the beginning, be an essentially military alliance, as the North Atlantic Treaty turned out to be. That military alliance was the culmination of much that went before, and without the prelude the alliance would have meant little. An Association of Asia and the Pacific would best start as a consultative council of those who have a common concern for national indepedence and human freedom and want to do something about it.

Already the United States has special responsibilities towards certain Eastern countries which it must make good. In doing so, it can set an example which will be influential throughout Asia and the Pacific, and can recapture some of its lost prestige.

Our particular opportunity and responsibility in that respect is Japan. We can, if we will, help Japan to be an exhibit in Asia of what a free society can develop in spiritual and intellectual richness and material well-being. "Conduct and example" are more effective, in the long run, than either propaganda or force. Japan, because of its geographical closeness to China, gives us this opportunity to an exceptional degree.

The Unifying Force for Europe

By Paul Reynaud

(Reproduced through the courtesy of «Foreign Affairs»)

Many Europeans, particularly on the Continent itself, have understood the need to build a united Europe. Following my return from captivity, in 1945, I, for one, went to see Sir Alfred Duff Cooper, then British Ambassador to France, and told him that this was one of the conclusions I had reached during the years of meditation that I owed to Adolf Hitler. The 1948 Congress of Europe at The Hague, of which Winston Churchill was the moving spirit and in which nationals of all the Western European countries participated except Germany, Spain and Portugal, gave powerful expression to the desire of Europeans of every party except the Communist to build a single Europe. The Governments were obliged as a result to create a Committee of Five, in which France, Great Britain and the Benelux nations were represented, to study the question. This Committee of which I was a member, met in Paris in December 1948 and January 1949 under the chairmanship of Mr. Herriot. The British Government instructed its representatives in such a fashion that it was impossible to reach agreement, and the Committee had to submit to the respective Governments the resolution of the British delegation on the one hand and that of all the other

delegations on the other. The British resolution stipulated that the Consultative Assembly should consist of only 40 members and that each delegation should have as its chief a minister empowered to cast the vote of the whole delegation. Mr. Churchill, for example, would thus have to allow Mr. Morrison to vote in his, Mr. Churchill's, name against one of Mr. Churchill's own motions.

The Governments did reach agreement on May 5. 1949, upon a statute similar to that originally opposed by the British. With the addition of the Scandinavian countries, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Turkey, the Consultative Assembly now has 101 members belonging to 12 nations, and each member has the right to vote as he pleases. The members are appointed either by the parliaments, as is the case in France and Italy, or by the Governments, as is the case in Great Britain and Belgium. The only right enjoyed by this assembly is that of discussion. Here too it is limited. For the present it may debate only such subjects as have been accepted for the agenda by the Committee of Foreign Ministers. It may not encroach upon the functions of existing agencies such as the O.E.E.C. nor concern itself with problems related to national defense. It can merely submit recommendations to the Committee of Foreign Ministers which, in turn, submits them to the respective Governments. The latter are free to accept or reject them.

As we have seen, Great Britain agreed to the creation of the Council of Europe with extreme distrust. Under these circumstances and with these very limited powers the Assembly met at Strasbourg for a month, from August 10 to September 9, 1949. At the time, Léon Blum expressed surprise that no Mirabeau rose up in the Assembly to demand extensión of its powers. Mirabeau was able to say to the Marquis de Dreux-Brézé, the Grand Master of Ceremonies who came in the name of the King, with his hat on his head, to invite the Assembly to disband: "We are here by the will of the people and we shall not leave except at the point of the bayonet". Léon Blum forgot that

this was because Mirabeau had been elected by the people. If Mr. Churchill had spoken in such terms, his opponent, Mr. Morrison, would have answered: "Why no, Mr. Churchill, you are here by the will of Mr. Attlee". The weakness of this Assembly lies in the method by which its members are chosen.

At the Congress at The Hague I pointed out how difficult it would be to make the interest of Europe prevail over the selfish interests of each nation, and declared that the only chance of success was to shock public opinion in all countries. I said that we must therefore appeal to the peoples through the democratic mechanism of elections. I proposed that the Assembly should be elected by universal suffrage, with one deputy for each million inhabitants voting not as Englishmen, Frenchmen or Italians but as Europeans. This proposal was rejected by an overwhelming majority. A Conservative British M. P. objected with the old French proverb: "Make haste slowly". To which I retorted that this was strange advice to give to a drowning man trying to grasp a branch. A French Socialist, former Premier Paul Ramadier, accused me of being "ahead of the times". I accepted his criticism in good part, remembering what price my country and the world had paid for the mistakes of those who, before the war, were behind the times. Today a current of opinion is forming in favor of repairing this initial error; but it seems unlikely that the British Government will allow itself to be convinced.

On the economic level, the advantage of a united Europe is that it would make possible a great single market and, consequently, a redistribution of labor, with each country henceforth producing what it can best produce. It would also give a strong impulse to the necessary organization of Africa, Europe's prolongation to the south. This process of redistributing industry and labor would result in a lowering of European production costs. It would be a painful process because it implies the transfer of manpower from one industry to another, after a period of adaptation during which the least favored industries may

be stricken by unemployment. This is the inevitable disadvantage of the plan — the present evil for the sake of the future good. Several Labor representatives at Strasbourg expressed the view that one of them summed up in these terms: "If in creating a united Europe you create unemployment, we workers will say to you: Go to the devil with your Council of Europe and give us back our jobs and our wages". To which I answered that these workers seemed to believe that the choice lay between the status quo and the reconstruction of Europe, while the truth was that the status quo cannot last, since it is possible thanks only to American aid which must soon come to an end. I added that, as I listened to these speakers, I could not help thinking of Bismarck's phrase that Germany's unity would be forged only by blood and iron, and also of the formula of our own French historian, Jacques Bainville: "In order to build a federation there must be a federating state". There is such a state in Eastern Europe. Are we in Western Europe incapable, I asked, of achieving by an act of our own will what, in another part of the world, is imposed by a dictator?

I am afraid that the answer must be in the affirmative. Competition with countries whose production is less heavily burdened by wages, social security and taxes implies a temporary lowering of the living standards of the privileged nations. The authority of a democratic state is too weak to force the people to accept this. Only economic constraint is strong enough. When a democratic state says: "Let me first bring about a levelling of prices by levelling cost and tax burdens, then we will build Europe", it is really saying: "Let me first do something impossible". It seems unlikely that, in order to build a united Europe, the countries whose costs are now lower than others will agree to raise them, thus putting their own exports at a disadvantage and engendering a rise in living costs that might lead to social unrest. And the countries whose costs are higher will find it very difficult to lower them. The internal policy of each country is at stake—that is to say, the electoral platform of the

parliamentary majority. Only competition brings down price by forcing down costs, and no government, even if made up of the best men, will open up the national borders and oblige its citizens to meet foreign competition unless outside pressure forces it to do so.

But this outside pressure does in fact exist. It is the threat of the withdrawal, or substancial reduction, of Marshall Plan credits. I am aware of the scruples which Americans feel at the thought of interfering in the internal affairs of European countries, but a purpose as lofty as this requires that this delicacy be overcome. Last October, at the meeting of the O.E.E.C. Council, Mr. Paul Hoffman stated the argument in favor of unification in terms of refined courtesy, but the argument was nonetheless compelling. It is true that the results achieved after the speech were limited. The resolution adopted by the O.E.E.C. Council was ambitious in its preamble but modest in its conclusions. To eliminate 50 percent of the quotas on imports in private trade was a wise decision, but one step only toward a return to the state of affairs that existed before the 1929 economic crisis. It represents a very slight effort on the part of the British since, because of state trading and various restrictions, it applies only to about 10 porcent of Britain's total imports.

As for the rest, there was merely a promise to "study the question". True, there was talk in the lobbies of a "Fritalux", to include France, Italy and Benelux. (The latter has not yet achieved its objective, principally because of the conflict between Holland's managed economy, on the British pattern, and Belgium's liberalism.). There is no doubt that a "Fritalux" would be far superior to a Franco-Italian customs union, which is so limited that it offers the disadvantages of unification without its advantages. But is it wise to exclude Germany from such an enterprise? Is "Europe" conceivable without Germany? If we exclude her will we not goad her to turn toward the east? It would seem that a Franco-German discussion of the eventual creation of a Western European coal-and-iron-ore pool as well as

the problem of dual prices (Ruhr coal costs the French manufacturer five dollars more per ton than the German manufacturer) is a necessary preliminary to the building of a continental bloc.

Furthermore, I am not one of those who accept Great Britain's present attitude. In a unified Europe, France and England together could balance Germany's economic power. And if a single Europe is to be created, it would be better to subject Germany to one effort of adaptation than to a series of crises. The British delegates to the Strasbourg Assembly seemed to favor the objective in principle when they proposed to extend to the Continent their egreements with the Commonwealth; for the Commonwealth countries would be friendly to the plan because of the influence wielded in most of them by the United States. On the other hand, the devaluation of the pound in September, which was followed by a wave of panic on the Continent, seemed a defiance of the very idea of a united Europe. Yet it is unwise to harbor resentment in politics. No matter how difficult Britain's managed economy makes European economic union, the project must be pursued with determination. There can be no "Europe" without a close understanding between France and England. America's contribution should be to help create this. If she brought the British and French together, and then encouraged them both to reach agreement with Germany for the creation of a great, single market, the other countries of Western Europe would inevitably follow the lead. Such a great and sustained effort to aid in the creation of a new Europe would be not only sound politics but a fresh claim to glory for the American people.

The Crucial Battle for Asia

By Carlos P. Rómulo

(Reproduced through the courtesy of

«New York Times Magazine»).

.....

The importance and the probable consequences of the Communist triumph in China cannot be minimized. Whatever its cause, it stands forth as the most decisive development in Asia since the defeat of Japan. It is bound to affect the balance of power not only in Asia but throughout the world. It undermines the security of the free states of Asia and strengthens the Communist movements within their gates. It opens up the grim prospect of Communist ascendancy over the entire region.

The free states of Asia are keenly aware of the danger, and they are making efforts, separately and in concert, to guard against it. It is a difficult, explosive problem. China occupies a central position in Southeast Asia. It is the biggest nation in the region. Given the requisite unity, discipline and organization, China has the size, the resources and the manpower to become the dominant power in Southeast Asia.

Under a democratic, non-aggressive government, China could be the foremost stabilizing force in Asia. Under a militant Communist leadership, subserving

the Soviet concept of world revolution, it would be a disruptive rather than a constructive and stabilizing influence.

As the Communist power waxes in China, the free states of Asia find themselves pressed ever closer to the horns of a terrible dilemma. Unlike the democracies of the West, they cannot indulge in the luxury of regarding the China problem as an academic question, which may be pigeon-holed to await solution at their leisure. China is their neighbor. They cannot ignore it; they have to live with it. Their great problem is to find some means of living with a Communist-ruled China without losing their freedom in the rising flood of its power.

One answer to this problem has come from the Philippines. President Elpidio Quirino, who visited the United States recently as a guest of the American Government, has proposed the formation of a Southeast Asia Union, the function of which would be to preserve the freedom of the member nations through mutual help and common action.

There is now a growing movement to strengthen the bonds of cooperation that were first forged during the New Delhi conference on Indonesia. The basic intention is to formalize the informal method of consultation that was envisaged in New Delhi in the shape of an organization or union of the free countries of Southeast Asia in order to promote the common political, economic and cultural interests of the member states. No military commitments are contemplated, mainly because it is considered that there is yet time to preserve the freedom of the countries of Southeast Asia by non-military means, specifically by raising the living standards of the peoples of the region and strengthening their resolve to resist the advance of totalitarian influence.

President Quirino has seen fit to entrust this delicate and vital task to me, and as this is being written the first steps are being taken in order to secure the consent of the interested countries to the

nolding of a conference in Baguio City in the Philippines.

Following the instructions of President Quirino, I have secured the support of the two opposition parties in the Philippines for a nonpartisan policy in furtherance of this objective. Thus a bulwark of the peace and freedom of Southeast Asia is now taking shape.

Asia hoped for a new life after the war. Without exception the peoples of Asia looked forward to a new dispensation based on the Four Freedoms and the promise of the Atlantic Charter, of which the United States appeared as the foremost champion.

That promise was never fulfilled except in the Philippines. Elsewhere the hope it had aroused was betrayed or held in abeyance.

The consequent disillusionment has had a profound and far-reaching effect in Asia. In lieu of peace, the peoples of Asia found themselves involved in new conflicts. The new life of freedom under justice for which they had fought did not materialize; instead, they were subjected to fresh attempts at domination.

They found their interests subordinated, as in the years before the war, to the interests of Europe, their wishes ignored when these ran counter to the demands of power politics; slight regard given to their fate as they were forced to revert to their age-old role of pawns in the new struggle for world domination.

Even their modest hopes for the reconstruction of devastated areas, and a measure of relief from the crushing burden of poverty imposed by the destruction caused by the war and the limitations of their own feudal economy were destined to disappointment, as the recovery and security of Western Europe took prior claim on the funds and resources that might have been their salvation.

As with economic assistance, so with security from attack or subversion. Coincident with the grand sweep

of the Communist armies to the Yangtze, a Europe-first policy went into effect. American forces in Asia were reduced or withdrawn to "safer" positions, heightening the feeling of abandonment among those who had looked to them as tokens, if nothing else, of their own security.

The upshot of all this has been to deepen the Asian peoples' awareness of their common needs and problems, and to heighten their sense of common danger and common destiny. Out of the crucible of Asia's travail has emerged a strong feeling of regional kinship and unity.

The dream of Asian unity is an old one. I was one of its advocates in the Philippines, years before the war.

In 1945, at the San Francisco Conference, I pointed up the role that a free and united Asia could play as one of the stoutest pillars of peace. The formation of a regional association of Asian states, working in equal partnership with like-minded groups of nations to safeguard human liberty and foster its growth under a regime of enforceable world law, has always been one of the major objectives of Philippine foreign policy.

It was not until 1947, however, when the Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi, that the ideal of Asian unity began to take definite shape. At this conference the peoples of Asia through their spokesmen recalled their ancient heritage of wisdom, dignity and freedom, and defined Asia's role in world affairs as an exponent of the moral factor, a mediator between embattled ideologies, a firm and consistent advocate of peace in a world divided into hostile camps.

These precepts were applied faithfully in the first practical test of Asian collective action. The New Delhi conference on Indonesia last January, acting strictly within the framework of the United Nations, brought moral pressure to bear on the just and speedy solution of the Indonesian problem.

The conferees followed this up by putting the question on the agenda of the General Assembly session last spring, and by keeping it on the agenda of the forthcoming session, pending the outcome of the negotiations between the Netherlands Government and the Republic of Indonesia.

The New Delhi conference envisaged an association of Southeast Asia states dedicated to peace and pledged to use their combined influence in support of freedom and justice. This would make the Southeast Asia Union conceived in New Delhi the first born within the United Nations to operate strictly in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter, without benefit of military pressure but only with the force of embattled conscience. The over-all objective is to throw the collective weight of Asia behind the United Nations effort to establish a workable system of international cooperation and security.

With regard to the problems of communism and colonialism in Asia, the projected Southeast Asia Union could develop into an effective counterpoise against the menace of a renascent imperialism on the one hand and of an aggressive totalitarianism on the other.

This would also be its role in the struggle between the great powers for world supremacy. It is significant that no Communist delegate took part in the New Delhi deliberations. The evolving Southeast Asia Union would be non-Communist rather than anti-Communist, democratic according to the new pattern of a free society, the better to enable it to perform the all-important work of synthesis in a divided world.

It remains to be seen how long and how effectively it can play this role under increasing Communist pressure on the one hand and waning or indifferent Western support on the other. It would seem to be the wisest course for the Western powers, particularly the United States, to give every encouragement to the non-Communist states in Asia who are willing to stand for their freedom.

In keeping with her own history and traditions, America should seek to befriend, influence and guide the forces of freedom and social progress in Asia along democratic channels instead of trying to contain them within the inflexible mold of a negative anti-Communist policy.

There are signs that United States policy is now being geared along these lines, and our hope is that the hour is not too late for such reorientation. President Truman's Point Four is one of these hopeful signs, and it should be possible, as undoubtedly it is wise, to extend every assistance to the non-Communist countries of Asia in order that they can achieve a measure of economic progress under an integrated regional plan of development. Such assistance, to be effective, must be adequate and timely, and it must be given in a form and under conditions acceptable to those countries.

Another sign is the heightened feeling of optimism that has developed as a result of Secretary Acheson's masterful participation in the recent meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris, and the ratification of the North Atlantic Pact by the United States Senate. If, as a result, we could look forward to a stabilized situation in Europe, then we may with equal confidence look forward to a coordinated effort to strengthen the security of Asian countries under the guiding and steadying hand of Mr. Acheson. This hope has been heightened by the appointment of a committee of consultants, headed by Ambassador Jessup, on the new American policy toward Asia and the Far East which is now being formulated.

Significantly, President Truman, after President Quirino's visit in Washington, expressed sympathy for the efforts of the peoples of Asia to preserve their freedom.

The battle for Asia is not yet over; it has just entered the crucial stage. Even if all of China should fall under Communist control, it does not necessarily follow that the rest of Asia will go Communist. China

itself is too vast and populous a land, too massive and unwieldy, too heavily overgrown with the traditions of individualism and tolerance to be recast in the iron mold of a doctrinaire ideology.

There will be a time —a long time, it is almost certain— of internal reorganization and adjustment, of agrarian reforms and reforms in government, but the basic characteristics of the Chinese people will reshape instead of being shaped by the mold of imported systems.

In the meantime, the free, non-Communist peoples outside China can still be rallied under the banner of a strong and positive policy.

The tides of change in Asia have not yet congealed into set patterns; everything is fluid, and no possibility should be ruled out, including the maintenance of a union of free Asian states dedicated to the defense of freedom and the promotion of peace in the region.

There is a mighty race for the still fluid and indeterminate loyalties of Asia. Those loyalties have today only one thing in common: nationalist sentiment and the desire for freedom.

The regional spirit which has but recently sprung up among the Asian peoples is an extension of that sentiment and desire. The methods and principles of Western democracy have a special appeal to countries like the Philippines that have had some experience of democracy. But the methods and principles of communism have an appeal no less to those peoples who, from their condition of colonial bondage, may be led to believe that they have nothing to lose from aligning themselves with communism, which generously promises plenty for all and loudly professes its irreconcilable antagonism to the colonial system.

Asia can still be saved for freedom and democracy; it would be folly indeed to write it off or to let it go by default.

UNIVERSITY

«Needless to say, I am in complete sympathy with your objectives».

LYNN WHITE Jr.
President Mills College

«I want to thank you for sending this very stimulating pamphlet».

R. R. RENNE
President Montana State College

«I like the idea very much and shall be in conference and discussion concerning it».

EARL A. ROADMAN
President Morningside College

PRESS

«I have been reading with great interest your pamphlet "An Idea Regarding World Reorganization". I think it is splendidly conceived and might properly be carried out».

DWIGHT MARVIN
Editor "The Record Newspapers"

«In the main I believe your movement is in the right track».

L. EARLE DAVIDSON
Colwater Daily Reporter

«Already we have commented editorially on the matter, following receipt of your data».

R. H. FACKELMAN
The Morristown Sun

LATIN-AMERICA

«All this coincides with my campaign in favor of freedom, democracy, defense and greatness of America».

RAFAEL LARCO HERRERA
Ex-Vicepresident of Peru

«In view of the objectives of freedom and progress that pursue the American Federation Movement, I am ready in a unconditional way, to cooperate as far as I am able to do so».

JUVENAL VIÑAS MORALES
Magangué, Colombia

«I acknowledge receipt of the program of the American Federation Movement. In my opinion this is the beginning of something that will satisfy the human ambitions».

ALFONSO CHAVES
Pereira, Colombia

FREEDOM - PRODUCTIVITY - JUSTICE
FOR ALL MEN

ASIATIC - AMERICAN - EUROPEAN
FEDERATIONS

Coordinated in one World Organization
(A modified UNO)

Ask for our complete program and with pleasure wo will send it to you, free of charge.

If you sympathize with this movement and wish to cooperate, please write us.

MOVIMIENTO PRO FEDERACION AMERICANA

(AMERICAN FEDERATION MOVEMENT)

EDIFICIO CRANE. OFICINA 200

BOGOTA - COLOMBIA

Museum Albert Kahn

LE CERCLE DE PARIS

DES AMIS

DES LETTRES FRANÇAISES

ORGANISE

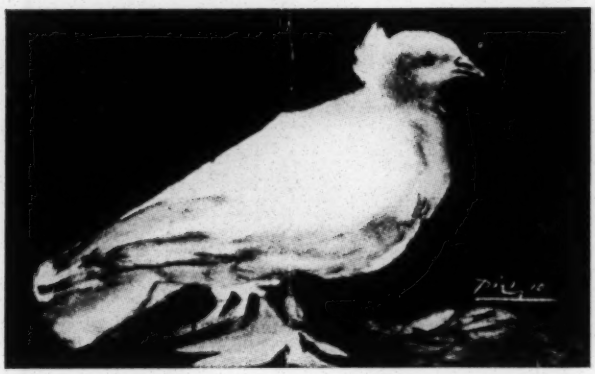
LE

GRAND DINER

DE LA

PAIX

25 AVRIL 1949



AU

PAVILLON DAUPHINE

BOIS DE BOULOGNE

32-24-26

Menu

Consommé de Volaille aux Pâtes

Vol-au-Vent de Fruits de Mer

Poulet Cocotte Grand'Mère

Petits Pois à la Française

Salade de Laitue Nouvelle

Fromages Variés

Bombe Glacée Prâlinée

Pâtisseries "RUC"

1res COTES DE BORDEAUX

BOURGOGNE ALIGOTÉ

FLEURIE 1947

MOULIN-A-VENT 1946

CAFÉ

LIQUEURS

LE GRAND VATEL
275, Rue St-Honoré

L'UNIVERS
Pl. du Théâtre Français

PATISSERIE CHIBOUST
Pl. du Théâtre Français

LE RUC
2, Rue de la Pépinière

PATISSERIE RUC
2, Rue de la Pépinière

PAVILLON DAUPHINE
Avenue Foch

REBOUL & FILS
IMP. PARIS

58 YEARS OF CONGRESSIONAL PERJURY

F. B. MORRIS

2725 WEST KIOWA STREET COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.

APRIL, 1949

DEMOCRACY'S GAINS AND LOSSES

When the Fathers who wrote the Constitution found themselves unable to agree on qualifications for voters, they left the matter to be decided by each State for itself. All of them already had qualifications which restricted the right to vote to one man out of every four or five.

Thinking these qualifications would never be lowered or abandoned, the Convention adopted Sec. 2, of Art.1: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors [voters] in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature," or representatives in its Lower House.

The Fathers underestimated the democratic spirit of the people. They took advantage of the loophole left them. They figured that if a State had a constitutional right to fix qualifications, it had an equal right to have none at all, if it wanted to. That is what all of the States did, one by one, and that is the way we got such democracy as we now have.

When the Civil War began there was full **white** manhood suffrage even in those States in the South which now have voters' qualifications. Negroes voted, after the war.

In 1868 a Republican Congress and Republican Administration wrote and pushed through to adoption the 14th Amendment, conferring citizenship and political rights on Negroes. Sec. 2 of the amendment reads thus:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the **executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof,** is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State." (Emphasis supplied.)

Amendments 17 and 19 bring within the meaning of the section the voting of women and the election of United States Senators.

This section is the Constitution's first approach to democracy. Sec. 2 of Art. 1 is not repealed, but is conditioned. The States are told that if they place any of their citizens in a second class, they shall themselves be placed in that class. This would result in the loss of 40 or more Representatives by the poll-tax States alone, of seniority rights on House committees, of practically all Federal patronage, and of many minor political jobs at the disposal of Representatives.

Punishment does not reach the Senators. Art. 5 provides that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

This section gives a severe jolt to the claims of the States' righters. It asserts the right of the general government to interfere in State political affairs. It lays down the rule that the conduct of the internal affairs of a State is not the concern of that State only, if it affects the interests of other States. Not severally and individually, but as the States United, they may act constitutionally to protect the general interest, which is to have stable, just government under which the political rights of citizens are defended equally.

Furthermore, the section declares that the right to vote is an indivisible one. Voters have the same right to elect the principal officers of their States that they have to choose Presidential Electors, Representatives and, under Amendment 17, Senators.

Of the very first importance is the fact that the section puts the franchise on a truly national basis. It no longer is granted or withheld by 48 separate political units. The Constitution itself, supreme over all the States, establishes voting rights on a basis uniform throughout all the States. The qualifications are uniform: Citizenship, age, and under Amendment 19, sex. The disqualifications also are uniform: Rebellion and crime.

State elections are brought within the jurisdiction of Federal laws. Qualified citizens become United States voters in State elections. The Federal government may intervene for the protection of the voting rights of citizens, may place watchers at polling places, may observe every political activity from the registration of voters to the casting and counting of the final ballots, and may punish violators of election laws.

Enforcement of the section would vastly improve our moral position abroad. When a Secretary of State from poll-tax South Carolina, aided by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman from poll-tax Texas, was forcing defeated Axis nations, in peace treaties, to guarantee through their central governments full voting rights to their citizens, without discrimination on account of race, religion, language, etc., political units of the United States were disfranchising some 10,000,000 U. S. citizens by discriminatory laws. And we were boasting then, as we do now, that this is a democratic nation. It is not, nor cannot be, until the right to say who shall vote is vested in the national government.

The section makes Congress a law-enforcement body. It does not say the basis of representation **may** be reduced if citizens are denied the right to vote. It says the basis **shall** be. That is a mandate, and Congress is the branch of the government designated to carry it into effect.

Since 1891, every Congress up to the present one has been a perjured body.

The condition of farmers had become so desperate in the 1870s that they began to organize for political action. First was the Grange, followed by the Farmers' Alliance and then by the Populist Party, which sent five Senators and ten Representatives to Washington in 1892.

Negroes and whites recognized a community of interest. They voted the same ticket, sometimes marching to the polls in mixed groups. Their solidarity became so alarming to the Bourbon Democrats that they had to take drastic action to keep themselves in power. They began to disfranchise a majority of the voters by making payment of a poll tax a qualification for voting.

Florida led, in 1889, followed by Mississippi and Tennessee in 1891. This made them liable to the punitive reapportionment prescribed in Sec. 2 (14). When Congress showed that it did not intend to obey the mandate, the tax was

adopted by Arkansas, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Texas and Georgia. North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Georgia later abandoned the tax, which is retained now by the other seven States.

No Republican Congress has tried to enforce the section for the same reason that the Lodge "force bill" of 1890 was killed. A great deal of Northern Republican money is invested in the South, and it is highly important to retain that section as a reservoir of cheap labor. The same reason holds good with Southern Democrats, and no Democratic Congress would try to enforce because the party would lose the votes of the Solid South in the Electoral College.

THE ANTI-POLL-TAX MEASURES

If there are good reasons why the people should demand enforcement of Section 2 (14), there are as many why they should withdraw support from the proposed bills and amendments to abolish the poll tax.

First, they divide, by statute law, voting rights which the Constitution declares to be indivisible. For example, take a look at H. R. 29, which was filibustered to death in the 1948 special session of Congress. It declares that "No State, municipality, or other government or governmental subdivision shall levy a poll tax or any other tax on the right or privilege of voting" at "primaries or other elections for President, Vice President, Electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives."

The bill concerns only the election of Federal officers, although Members of Congress are nothing of the kind. It does not attempt to interfere with the right of the State to disqualify voters in State elections, yet it is in them that the full franchise is needed most.

It is not bad Federal laws nor their administration that oppress the people of the South any more than elsewhere. It is bad State constitutions and statute laws and administrations that keep the majority in a condition of near-serfdom from which they can escape only by choosing their own law-makers and administrators of laws.

They are oppressed by laws relating to tenancy; crop liens; mortgages; interest; debts; price, wage and hour discriminations; weights and measures; court actions; accountancy methods. By every law relating to the ways and means of living and of making a living.

If these victims of Congressional perjury could vote in Federal elections; and if they were to elect another Lincoln or Roosevelt; if they were to send their very best men and women to Congress, and none but the very best, it would not do them any direct good. Their officials in Washington would not be able to correct intra-State abuses.

State political freedom is precedent to national freedom, but the anti-poll-tax bill, if made into law, would greatly strengthen the hold that greed has on them now. It would be a reaffirmation of the authority of the aristocratic rule of Sec. 2, Art. 1.

It might be argued that punitive reapportionment would not give the ballot to those now disfranchised. And it might not, at first. But the States which thus were put into a second class would not endure its disadvantages long. To regain their full representation, they would submit to the Constitution. Their own people would force them to do so.

In the second place, abolition of tax qualifications would not give the ballot to anyone who does not have it now. Attention has so carefully been kept on the tax that people generally have not learned that it is only one of several ways by which voting is restricted, and that the South has other ways in reserve.

Applicants for registration who pay the poll tax may be required to read and "explain" some part of the Constitution. Or to name State offices, or State officials, and tell what their functions or duties are. There is the trick question Henry Wallace told about: How old are you in years, months and days? Try that, and see if you can answer it offhand.

Election officials may restrict the right to vote to "persons of good character who understand the duties of citizenship." Are union and co-op organizers, officers and members, either white or Negro, "persons of good character"? Southern votes in Congress say they are not.

Do they understand the "duties of citizenship?" The law does not answer those questions. They are decided by local officials, and appeals become "moot" because the courts cannot act on them until after elections are over.

Louisiana does not impose the poll tax, but other restrictions keep the vote there lower than it is in some States which have the tax.

There is no poll tax in Georgia, but there was a purge of the registration lists in 1946 that removed more than 20,000 names. Again, in 1948, the lists were purged, sometimes for no other reason than "poor hand-writing."

Sheriffs would summon registered voters to hearings to show cause why their names should not be stricken for illiteracy, bad character or a criminal record. The names of those who did not or could not appear were taken off the lists.

The Legislature passed a bill to strike the names of all voters and require them to re-register in 1949, with such wide powers of discrimination given to county boards that they can reject whom they please. Tests of literacy, "knowledge" and ability to read or write the U. S. or Georgia constitutions "intelligibly or legibly" are set up, with local officials the judges. How can abolition of a poll tax in other States remedy injustices in Georgia?

The restrictive measures there are unofficially declared to be for the purpose of disfranchising Negroes only, but that was what was said about the poll tax in all the States which adopted it. Then more than 60% of the white voters discovered later that they, too, were barred from the polls for failure to pay the tax.

The laws in Georgia dare not say they are aimed at Negroes, because of the "must not" of Amendment 15. Discrimination is permitted against **any** citizen—white, Negro, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, liberal — whom election boards think will not vote "right".

In Alabama, what was known as the Boswell amendment required registrants to be able to "understand and explain the U. S. Constitution." Judges, lawyers and law-makers have been arguing about proper "explanations" of the Constitution ever since it was written, and as the U. S. Supreme Court has made decisions which were resented by the South a board of ignorant hill-billies might, under the Boswell amendment, disfranchise members of our highest court if they applied for registration.

The Supreme Court has declared the amendment unconstitutional, and now, **in addition to paying the poll tax,** registrants are **only** required to be able to read the Constitution, and **to own property worth $300!!**

How are citizens disfranchised by the tax? By their inability to pay it out of incomes that do not afford more than a bare existence. Is it to be supposed that if they cannot do that they will be able to own property worth $300, low as that sum may seem to you? What benefit will they derive then from abolition of the tax?

If there ever was a valid reason for a literacy test it was before our public-school system was started and before the emancipated slaves had been given a chance to learn to read and write. The test is unfair today for two reasons:

First, because it is the duty of the State to make its citizens literate, and it is unjust to penalize illiterates for a fault of the State.

Second, because the radio now informs the illiterate what is going on in politics, so that he can vote as wisely as his literate neighbor.

With all the voting restrictions which are used, or which can be used if necessary, in addition to non-payment of the poll tax, it is not at all strange that when the 81st Congress met the South was willing to compromise on the President's civil-rights measures.

The Southern Congressional bloc was ready to permit the passage of anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching bills if the rest of the program was abandoned. The reason was clear. Southern States have been passing anti-lynching laws of their own, and with all the other voters' restrictions which are in use now, or which might be adopted later under the provisions of the anti-poll-tax bills, the tax is not needed to control elections.

The president of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax has declared that the issue is one of "free elections in America." That definitely is untrue.

Abolition of the tax would not make State elections free. A majority of the citizens would remain in a second class. The political machines which now control primaries and name the candidates for Federal and State offices would remain in full power. Until they are broken there can be no free political action by the people. Even if removal of the tax were to permit free voting in Federal elections, they would have their candidates selected for them.

Abolish the tax, and all the other restrictions on the free ballot in Federal elections would remain. Then succeeding the Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax there would have to be, one after another, national committees to abolish the

Explain the Constitution test,
Good character test,
Duties of citizenship test,
Literacy test,
Hand-writing test,
Knowledge test,
Property-ownership qualifications,

And committees, one by one, to abolish any other restrictions which might be conceived by the political gangsters as they were needed.

Sounds silly, doesn't it, when all the time there is a law in the books — needing application only — which declares those restrictions to be unconstitutional if they be not paid for by reduced representation.

If every Congress since 1891 up to the 81st had not perjured itself there would have been no filibuster in 1949. Nor a landlords' rent-control bill, nor a real-estate-sharks' housing bill. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act would not be worrying members of organized labor, for there would not have been any such act to repeal,

There would not have been a Dixiecrat ticket in the last election, nor a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. Farm labor would be covered by the Social Security Act. The minimum wage would be determined by need and not by the NAM and kindred groups.

Perjury has made us hypocrites in the eyes of the rest of the world. We ought to be absurd in our own eyes, for what can be more so than to propose making some of our people first-class citizens of the U. S.—on paper only—while leaving them second-class citizens of their States?

Tax abolition is made to appear as the only means by which 10,000,000 citizens of the South may be given the right to vote. Has this been done to keep people from looking for some other plan?

Is it because many people outside the South are either indifferent or hostile to the rights of Negroes that the poll-tax issue has been generally represented as purely one of race and color?

The white citizens barred from voting in the poll-tax States far outnumber the Negroes. More than 60% of the white potential voters are robbed of their political rights. It is unfair to both races to confuse the issue the way it has been done, ignorantly by some propagandists, deliberately by others.

Passage of the tax-abolition bill would be a step backward. It would leave Sec. 2 of Art. 1 the effective national franchise law. The right of States to fix qualifications would not be impaired except by adding to the four Constitutional "must nots"—race, color, previous condition of servitude (Amend. 15) and sex (Amend. 19)—the statutory "must not" of failure to pay a tax.

SUBVERSION

The tax-abolition bill is evil from legal standpoints.

Sec. 2 (14) describes a crime: robbing male citizens of the right to vote. Female citizens are robbed of what Amend. 19 "guarantees" to them.

The section prescribes the punishment to be inflicted on States which commit the crime.

Congress is commanded to pursue the robber States, and to inflict the punishment.

In no part of the section, in no other part of the Constitution, is Congress given the option to do anything else but **inflict the punishment.**

When it does anything else but that, it compounds a felony.

It nullifies by statute law a part of the fundamental law.

The tax-abolition bill takes cognizance of the crime. But instead of pursuing the criminals and inflicting the punishment, it proposes to take action against only one of the weapons, letting the robber States go free from punishment and permitting them to continue their criminal course with other weapons.

When Congress, as it has for years, assumes the right to determine that some part of the fundamental law shall not be enforced, we are well started on the way to subversion of Constitutional government.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1833 decision of the Supreme Court in Barron vs. Baltimore (7 Peters 243), that no part of the Bill of Rights is binding on the States, never has been reversed. This

decision is unknown to most people, and explains why the Attorney-General declared that "We may as well be frank about it; the real guarantor of civil liberty is the State."

Within recent years the liberalized Court has separated Amend. 1 from the rest of that decision by declaring that it is made binding on the States by Amend. 14. (Jones vs. Opelika, 319 U. S. 103 and related cases.) This wedding of amendments does not affect the 1833 decision so far as Amends. 2 to 9, inclusive, are concerned. The States may grant or deny the rights enumerated in them, and it is to their States only that the people may look for protection.

To get it, they must have the full, free right to choose members of amending conventions. They cannot attain that right through passage of an anti-tax measure. Enforcement of Sec. 2 (14) offers the best chance—probably the only chance, the process of Constitutional amendment being what it is.

This point must be noted: Abolition of the tax is a highly debatable question. The claims of States' Righters make it so. Enforcement of Sec. 2 (14) is debatable only on the point of whether the Constitution shall be upheld or ignored, honored or held in contempt. A vote against enforcement would be a vote against the Constitution itself. A filibuster would assume an aspect different from anything yet. On the question: Shall we or shall we not have Constitutional government? the people would be apt to resent the opposition.

IT'S UP TO THE PEOPLE

The President may advise, but cannot compel enforcement.

The Judicial Branch will not. Two cases brought by the Southern Electoral Reform League have been thrown out as not judiciable because they were political. (Saunders vs. Wilkins, pet. for writ of cert. denied 66 S. Ct. 1362 pet. den. 67 S. Ct. 119 (nem). Colegrove vs. Green, 66 S. Ct. 684 (nem), 66 S. Ct. 1198, 67 S. Ct. 118 (nem), 67 S. Ct. 199 (nem).

The job of enforcement is up to the people. If they prefer constitutional government to government by the whims of Congress, they must exert their influence on the only branch they have a direct voice in choosing.

They must remember that it was by authority of Sec. 2, Art. 1, that some Southern States have been able to set up what Stetson Kennedy avers to be Fascist governments. And that their own States are open to attack unless Sec. 2 (14) is made the effective franchise law of the land.

POLITICAL A-BOMB

After what they saw Congress do in March, it ought to be evident to the people that, under the political **status quo**, they have nothing to hope for in the way of legislation to meet their needs. There has been a breakdown in popular government. It was caused by the perjury of every Congress from 1891 to 1949, resulting in the confusion that exists in political parties. Until they are straightened out so as to mean something definite, there will be rule by a minority. Not merely the filibustering minority in the Senate, but the Big Money minority of the nation.

The people have been beaten by the Congressional coalition of Republicans, nominal Democrats of the South and Dixiecrats. There is no difference between the two last named except on the ballots.

The people will continue to take a licking unless the Coalition is broken.

If the people will use their political power intelligently, they can break the Coalition by forcing Congress to obey the mandate of Sec. 2 of Amendment 14.

Their political power now is dissipated by the efforts of groups which concentrate on different objectives: Rent control, housing, Taft-Hartley repeal, veterans' pensions, minimum wage, social security, river-valley developments, consumer protection, civil rights, FEPC—everything in the way of security from fear and need and want.

No matter which party elects a majority of the 82d Congress, the Coalition will control if representation in the Lower House continues to be on its present basis in violation of Sec. 2 of 14.

The Constitution mandates a reapportionment after each decennial census. It makes no difference whether Congress perjures itself in 1951, as it did after the 1920 census by refusing to make a reapportionment; and again when it reapportioned in 1929 **before the 1930 census**; or whether it reapportions under the provisions of the 1789 section of Art. 1, the Coalition will be kept alive.

If the people do not want this to happen they cannot start a fight against it too soon. It ought to be made by a nation-wide, non-partisan organization having as its single purpose the enforcement of Sec. 2 of 14.

Such an organization should bring together all the groups now working separately for things they never will be able to gain as long as the Coalition survives.

If those groups will only recognize that fact, they will give to enforcement of the section priority over everything else. They will make it campaign issue No. 1.

There are two circumstances in their favor. One is that the Communist and Socialist red herrings cannot be used to confuse the voters. The Republican parentage of the amendment is too well known for that. If there were any starry-eyed dreamers around in 1868 they were the GOP stalwarts who very practically put the South under carpet-bag rule. If the amendment is globaloney it was manufactured in a Republican packing plant.

The other advantage is that the question of constitutionality cannot be raised, as it is against all the people's legislation that has been defeated by the Coalition. The section cannot be unconstitutional because it **is** the constitution.

It is that fact which would make it hard for the Republicans and many of the Democrats. If it were only **proposed** for adoption its defeat would be easy. But the fact that it was adopted 79 years after Sec. 2 of Art. 1 renders opposition to it very difficult.

Later laws are held to transcend earlier ones relating to the same things because they are supposed to be written in the light of experience. The Republicans of 1868 wrote the section because experience had shown that the 1789 section was not a good law for the people of later years.

The issue will rest on the single point of whether the Constitution shall be obeyed and enforced. That will put both the old parties up against it.

Will the Republicans support their Dixiecrat partners by taking a stand against enforcement? Then they not only oppose the Constitution, flout it, hold it in contempt—they repudiate their own party. Their position will be that while it was wrong for States to deny full voting rights to their citizens in the years following the Civil War, it is right for

them to do so now, when democracy has become a burning issue in the world at large, and when we are holding our government up as a model of that kind. Will the GOP be able to sell such a right-about to its rank-and-file members?

But if they should swallow the bitter dose, and vote in Congress for enforcement, they will lose the support of their buddies from the South, and that will bust the Coalition wide open.

Democrats of the East, North and part of the West would hardly dare vote against enforcement. Their grievance would be that it would give the Republicans a majority in Congress.

Well, who has it now?

The Democrats cannot elect enough members of the 82d Congress to have a majority over the Coalition. The record of the present Congress forbids. They promised more than they could deliver, and the voters will remember it.

The number of Representatives from every Southern State would be greatly reduced, not those alone from the poll-tax States. Some, possibly all, of the border States would suffer losses. Enforcement would hit every State which disqualifies for any reason other than rebellion or crime.

Of course the Republicans would have a majority in the House, but **they have it now,** by combining with the Dixiecrats.

In organizing the House in 1951 they would name the chairmen of committees. But the seniority system put Southern "Democrats" at the head of the most important committees in 1949, and so far as legislation is concerned that was the same in effect as a Republican organization of the House.

It may be safely assumed that the Democrats in Congress from States outside the South would not dare vote against enforcement. That is, **against the Constitution.** They would have to stick by it to keep the party in existence. Then the break between the Northern and Southern wings would be complete.

That would leave the Dixiecrats nowhere to go unless the Republicans were to repudiate the Constitution and their own party.

Blasting the Coalition would bring about new political alignments more quickly than can be expected from conflicts within the old parties. Until people know what those parties stand for and what to expect from them, they will be the victims of their own votes. As they are now, after electing a Democratic Administration only to learn that it is helpless against the Coalition.

If the people were to force a reapportionment under the terms of Sec. 2 of 14, what would be the probable result?

The States affected would have their choice of retaining their voters' restrictions at the cost of losing more than half their representation in the House; or of abandoning the restrictions in order to retain full representation.

If they clung to the restrictions, they would lose the $15,000 salaries of many Representatives and also those of the many jobs they have at their disposal now: secretaries, typists, clerks, clear down to watchmen and scrub-women. The money loss would be very considerable, but that would not be all.

As second-class States, they would be unable to get their men into high appointive offices in the government. The politicians of the first-class States would not permit it. Second-class Texas, for instance, the biggest State in the Union but only second class, a Texas undergoing punishment, a Texas unable to deliver in the Electoral College to either the Republican or the Democratic party, would not be able to put one of her sons in the Cabinet.

Politicians and office-seekers from second-class States would be no more than second-class politicians and office-seekers, with second-class claims for patronage and about tenth-class satisfaction of those claims.

Could the South stand it? For a while perhaps. There would be die-hards who would hold out against abandonment of voters' qualifications. They would prefer to sacrifice the gravy they have been getting from the Federal government, and try to keep the local political machines going on a reduced basis with the support of the corporations they long have served. Their smaller representation would be composed, as it has been, of members who only recently climbed down out of a tree, and the anthropoidal character of their Senate bloc would remain unchanged.

If people outside the South have the notion that its white population is composed entirely of primitives just learning to walk on their hind legs, it is due to the kind of men that section has put into the highest offices since the end of the Civil War.

There are plenty of men and women there who know as well as anyone what year this is, and the purpose of restrictions on voting is to keep them out of office. Once in a while a Black, or a Pepper, or a Kefauver can edge past the barrier, but it needs the full freedom of election to change the character of the Senate.

Given enough time, the South might develop conditions approximate to those prevailing in, say, South Dakota, or Michigan, or Illinois before the 1948 election. But the initial result of free political action would be the election of State governments and members of Congress devoted to the interests of the people.

Opposing the last-ditchers there, who might even propose another secession, would be others who would want to keep all the gravy accruing from full representation, at the price of the free elections which would wipe out the rotten political machines and the corrupt State administrations.

It would mean much more than that. Ellis Arnall has said of the Southern hate peddlers that they peddle at so much per hate. They and the machines and the State administrations get most of their financial support from their Northern owners. Free elections would shut off the flow of that money, for corporations are not going to finance men out of office, who cannot deliver a **quid pro quo.**

The South would capitulate, but whatever it might decide to do, the rest of the nation—yes, and even the South itself —would derive great benefits from enforcement.

The people have it in their power to wreck the Coalition and force a realignment of political parties.

They can do it by making obedience to the Constitution their No. One objective, giving it priority, placing it at the head of all other issues.

They can do it by organizing as if it were to save our form of government.

And that very well may be what they would do.

N E W S B U L L E T I N

Published by TANJUG (Telegraphic Agency New Yugoslavia)
36, Central Park South, New York 19, N.Y.

No.5 New York, April 20, 1949

THE STAND OF THE YUGOSLAV DELEGATION ON THE ITALIAN COLONIES

Speech by Dr.Joza Vilfan, yugoslav delegate in the UN Political Committee, on April 18, 1949.

The matter we are now considering, the question of the future of the former Italian colonies in Africa is of great importance. Its significance is derived from the bearing it will have both on the destiny of the populations involved and on peace and international security.

As the discussion so far has shown there is a general agreement that th UN trusteeship system be applied to the former Italian colonies. This is, after all, the meaning of the Italian Peace Treaty providing, in Annex 11, for a solution of the question "in the light of the whishes and the welfare of inhabitants and of the interests of peace and security". That means that the basis for the settlement of the issue is primarily the UN Charter, particularly Chapters XI and XII containing the "Declaration ragarding non-self-governing territories" and provisions for an international trusteeship system.

Besides, the four powers Commission, sent by the Deputy Foreign Minister to the former Italian colonies to compile the necessary data for the purpose of a correct application of the above principles, has submitted its report which is now available to UN members.

However, despite the existence of all necessary conditions the question still remains unsolved. We are viewing the fact with concern as a reflection of the existing international relations. But to some people it causes satisfaction. Thus, for instance, in the New York Times, of April 1949, we can reac "In retrospect it seems fortunate that the former Italian possessions were not disposed of when the Peace Treaty with Italy was written".

Now, how is it that they sould be disposed of today?

The USA and Great Britain suggest, first of all, very dissimilar settlements for the various parts of the former Italian colonies. Thus Libya is to be divided into three parts - Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fesan, and - "the Committee and eventually the Assembly must be prepared to find separate solutions for those separate parts of Libya".

For the time being we only know that Great Britain has decided to remain in Cyrenaica. Fesan is generously being offered to France who will probably not refuse the offer. Regarding Tripolitania, the British representative says he would not refuse it should the Assembly make the offer. Eritrea is to be divided into two parts and placed under two different regimes. As to Somalia the authors of the proposal did not have much trouble since no claims were put forth, so it was given to Italy. However, since no over-all decision has yet been reached on the fate of the former Italian colonial empire, it is impossible to know as yet what claims have been layed to the various parts thereof, or the extent to which such claims are to be satisfied.

Now, can it be said that such a disruption and repartition of the former Italian colonies has been made "in the light of the wishes and the welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security"? Are, under such a partition, the interests of the inhabitants "paramount"? Are the interests of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and international security in Cyrenaica different from those in Fesan, or again from those in Tripolitania? How can this be brought into accord with the main data and the basic conclusion in the four powers Commission's Report to the effect that the inhabitants of the territories involved, are without exception, resolutely opposed, to any partition and breaking up of their territory?

It is clear that the Anglo-American proposal is far from being an implementation of the principles which we had, after all, agreed were to form the basis of a settlement. These principles are equally applicable to all territories and to all parts of the territories and if they were adequately applied, the solution would be far simpler and more uniform.

The motives uderlying the plans to partition Italy's former colonies are of quite a different order, they relate to interests which have nothing in common with the true interests of the inhabitants and with the true interests of peace and international security. We cannot, namely, separate the Anglo-American proposal from the whole complex of Anglo-American policy relating to Africa, a policy of economic expansion and of military-strategic designs.

Now, let us consider first the economic aspect of the plan to partition former Italian colonies. It is a matter of common knowledge that Africa has now been included in the Anglo-American plans of economic expansion. In an attempt to find a way out of their difficulties the Anglo-American ruling circles are attributing great significance to Africa. We shall in this connection quote but one opinion which particularly of late if very often met with in the press, in statements, in commentaries, and is expressed by Anglo-American ruling circles and especially in big business circles:"Economically the farsighted have realised for a long time that the dark continent is the hinterland of Europe, an outlet for its surplus population and a storehouse of raw materials for its industries..." (New York Times, September 15, 1948). It is further well-known that the British intend to create their new empire in Eastern and Central Africa and that they are making preparations for the purpose.On the other hand, it is known that the program of future American policy envisages American economic expansion to involve "undeveloped areas". The authors of that plan and particularly American business circles anticipate the plan will be even "more ambitious than the Marshal Plan" (New York Times, of March 29,1949).

The meaning attached to the term "undeveloped areas" and the significance of this American policy, will best be seen from the commentaries, echos and

expectations that the program has provoked in American business circles. In their interpretation such an "improvement of undeveloped areas" means a "creatio of a business climate in other countries more attractive for private investment.. the sending of US technicians abroad ... increasing the production of strategic materials in foreign countries".

The plan, is primarily to involve Africa in which the first goal are the Italian colonies whose disposal is today to be decided upon:"Surely here (in the former Italian colonies) is a place to make a start under international auspices, on the ""bold new program"" proposed by President Truman" (New York Times of April 9, 1949). Such combinations are being made regarding Italy's former colonies on the basis of official plans at the very time, when our Committee is emphasizing that the basis for a settlement of the question should be "the wishes and the welfare" of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and international security".

The only conclusion to be drawn is that, instead of an application of Charter principles by means of a trusteeship system, we are today faced with a new partition of the African continent which resembles the "scramble" for Africa in the second part of the XIX century, with the sole difference that this time attempts are being made to legalize it thourgh the General Assembly of the UN. That is why the Delegation of the FPRY, consistent in its anti-imperialist attitude is resolutely opposed to the Anglo-American proposal which, it considers, is an expression and a result of such a policy.

The Delegation of the FPRY cannot agree that today, when the task of the improvement of the political economic and cultural development of non-self-governing territories in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter and under a trusteeship system has been placed before the UN, we should witness a revival of colonial designs in disregard of international obligations and of the justified claims and interests of the inhabitants involved.

In order to discerne the true motives and interests underlying the Anglo-American plan may we draw attention to another aspect of the plan i.e. consider it from the point of view of the strategic plans of American and British military circles.

It is a well fact that these circles attribute a great strategic importance to Libya and particularly to Cyrenaica within the framework of the "Africa conception" of their military strategy. Their attitude has moreover been, above all, determined by considerations of such a strategic nature; this can be seen from a report in the New York Times of November 26, 1948:"Considerations of military strategy that were discussed and decided on at a meeting of high military officials in Washington about two weks ago have determined the attitude that the US delegation here has adopted on the question of the Italian colonies, - diplomatic circles said today".

In accordance with such "considerations" the Americans, in agreement with the British, occupied -as we know - in January 1948 Melaha, the greatest air base in North Africa. According to other reports, British personnel has been replaced by American personnel in the airports Castel Benito, Tripoli, Benina, Bengazi and Tobruk, while a large number of American engineers are engaged in putting these airports in operation. Very eloquent is the explaination that "These bases are within bomber range of North Greece, Trieste, Turkey,of Russian cities and industries" (US News, January 30, 1949).

We cannot separate the Anglo-American proposal regarding the Italian colonies from these plans and this is why the Delegation of the FPRY, consistent in its opposition to any form of warmongering policy of preparations for a new war, resolutely rejects the Anglo-American plan. Under cover of the aims and

principles of the UN trusteeship system, attempts are being made to carry on a policy which does not correspond to the interest of peace and international security in that part of the world and which is likely to bring not welfare but only misfortune to the inhabitants of the territories in question. It is the African countries above all which should weight the consequences of such plans.

In rejecting the Anglo-American proposals on the former Italian colonies, the Yugoslav Delegation deems it necessary to emphasize two facts. First, in the light of the present proposals, it becomes clear that the policy of procrastination in the settlement of the question was due to Anglo-American plans of economic expansion and military bases; accordingly the responsibility for the delay rests first of all with the Governments of Great Britain anf of the USA. Second, in the light of the present proposal it is clear how justified and reasonable was the reserve which, at the time, the Government of the FPRY expressly made regarding its definitive attitude on this matter.

Nor can the Yugoslav Delegation accept today the French proposal that the former Italian colonies be returned to Italy.

First of all the Italian Government has fully conformed its policy to that of the Anglo-American bloc, by submitting to the economic expansion of that bloc and accepting its war plans. The Italian Government has already become an accomplice in the strategic policy of the USA and Great Britain, designed to turn North Africa and the former Italian colonies into a base against the European peoples. Thus, for instance, Mr.Sforza stated at a press conference when he arrived here to sign the Atlantic Pact, that "his country will be glad to make bases available on Italian soil to its allies in the Atlantic Pact in time of common peril. He said this would apply not only to the Italian mainland, but also to Italy's war lost African colonies, providing she gets them back on a trusteeship basis".

Well, this is how Mr.Sforza, even before Italy has been given a trusteeship, proposes that Italy should fulfil her obligations as a trusteeship power under the Charter by ceding further military bases on those territories to the Anglo-Americans. The Italian Government has violated the aims and principles of the Charter in relation to trusteeship, even before it has been invested with such an important and responsible function.

This statement of Mr.Sforza, moreover, confirms our conviction that the placing of the former Italian colonies under Italian trusteeship would not mean a trusteeship granted to Italy or to the Italian people, but to the USA. In view of that fact we can hardly be expected to accept a solution which would result in giving the Americans the bases which are admittedly directed against us and the other Eastern-European countries.

Besides, the Yugoslav Delegation has another reason to oppose the placing of any part of the former Italian colonies under Italian trusteeship. It is the non-fulfilment by the Italian Government of the Peace Treaty, particularly or one question which is characteristic for the attitude of the Italian Government towards the allogenous populations.

Under Article 15 of the Peace Treaty with Italy has assumed definite obligations towards the Slovene national minority which has remained in Italy. The Italian Government now denies these rights. It does not grant the Slovene minority schools in its national language; the Slovene language has been barred from all public institutions; cultural meetings of the Slovene minority have been rendered impossible; Slovenes are often persecuted when they use their language. We accordingly consider that there is no guarantee that theItalian Government will improve the "political, economic and cultural development of the population under trusteeship" as provided for by Article 76 of the Charter.

Here remains the Soviet proposal The Delegation of the FPRY considers that under existing international conditions this proposal presents the most satisfactory solution. The interests of the population in all parts of the former Italian colonies are the same; it is also the express desire of the population that the unity of the territories be not disrupted. Therefore a solution envisaging the trusteeship system for all the territories and maintaining their unity constitutes it itself a positive approach to the problem. Moreover the Soviet proposal takes into account of Ethiopia's needs for an outlet to the sea to the extent required by her economic and political development.

Another advantage the Soviet proposal possesses over the other proposals is that it presents a solution which under the present international relations, offers the greatest possibility of an agreement and therefore corresponds to the interests of cooperation among the Great Powers.

Finally the establishment of a UN trusteeship for the former Italian colonies, as envisaged in the formal suggestions of the Soviet delegation in Document A/C I/433, would favorably affect the future development of the other non-self-governing territories under trusteeship. This, all the more as the Soviet proposal provides for the participation in the Advisory Committees of representatives of the local population and envisages the granting of independence to Libya and Eritrea after a period of 10 years.

For the above reasons the Delegation of the FPRY will support the proposal of the delegation of the USSR regarding the future of the former Italian colonies.

* * *

TELEGRAM OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT'S CONGRESS TO THE WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE

The third Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia has sent the following greetings to the Preparatory Committee of the Congress:

"The People's Front of Yugoslavia, gathering in its ranks the broadest masses of the working people in our country and having a membership of about 8 million, supports firmly the efforts which the peace-loving and democratic forces are today making against them attempts to provoke a new world war and to determine the relations among peoples and states by force.

The peoples of Yugoslavia are the more firm and resolute in supporting the struggle for peace as they had to make in the last war, in the struggle for freedom, a sacrifice of 1,700.000 lives and as their country was devastated by the invader.

Devoted to a peaceful socialist work for the reconstruction and building of their country the peoples of Yugoslavia resolutely support every action aiming at a consolidation and the independence of their country.

Long live the peaceful cooperation among peoples!
Long live the congress for peace!
Long live the freedom of the people!"

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND YOUTH AND YUGOSLAV ARMY SOLDIERS TO FINISH THIS YEAR THE "FRATERNITY AND UNITY" HIGHWAY.

A few days ago a first group of 40.000 youts and soldiers of the Yugoslav Army began the construction of the last 240 kilometers of the modern cement highway connecting Belgrade and Zagreb. During the ten months necessary for the completion od the "Brotherhood and Unity" highway, connecting the two main cities of Yugoslavia, two hundred thousands working-class and peasant youths, students, soldiers and officers of the Yugoslav Army will work to complete the job started in 1947/ At the same time with the help of professional construction workers they will build along the highway restaurants, garages, gas stations etc. In the course of the ten months of work, it is estimated that about 230 thousands car loads of material will have to be brought to the highway, which is more than was necessary for the construction of the 200 mile long "Youth railway' from Samac to Sarajevo.

Long before this season's work began, special Army and youth brigades began the preparations for the reception of the work brigades. By April 1st, when the work started, all the camps were built, the food and clothing accumulated in necessary quantities and the machinery and tools were in proper order. It is expected that by the middle of May, when the pouring of cement will start at seven different places along the highway, there will be 80 thousand youths working on it. Each youth brigade will work two months. The students will spend one month of their vacation working on the highway in various capacities connected with the profession they are specializing in. The working day will last seven hours. After that, two hours will be devoted to study and cultural activities.

A copy of this material has been filed with the Foreign Agents Registration Section, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. where the registration statement of TANJUG, 36 Central Park South, New York 19, N.Y., as an agent of TANJUG, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, is available for inspection. The fact of registration does not indicate approval or disapproval of this material by the Government of the United States of America.

Committee on Foreign Affairs

REVISED WITNESS SCHEDULE, MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1949

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers
3535 Springland Lane, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ely Culbertson, Chairman
Citizens Committee for United Nations
Reform
16 East 62nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Council on African Affairs and
American Continental Congress for Peace
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. John M. Costello
American League for an Undivided Ireland
2737 Devonshire Place
Washington 8, D. C.

Mr. Frederick C. McKee
314 Ring Building
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Clark Foreman, Director
National Council Arts and Sciences Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Frederic C. Smedley
11 East Main Street
Waterbury 22, Conn.

Mr. Richard Morford, Executive Director
National Council of American Soviet Friendship
114 East 32nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. William Stringfellow, Chairman
United Student Christian Council
42 Day Avenue
Northampton, Mass.

Mr. Luke Wilson
Washington Representative
Progressive Party
Room 519
930 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Arnold Johnson
Communist Party
35 East 12th Street, 9th Floor
New York, N. Y.

39-9-8

Amer. Negroes

Continued from Page 1)

Africa. It soon had a membership of 2,000 whites and blacks. It collected a library and some specimens of African art; entertained visiting Africans and students, raised relief funds for starving Negroes in South Africa, issued a monthly bulletin and arranged lectures.

Then in 1949, without a hearing or chance for defense, the Council was listed on the Attorney-General's "subversive" list. It remained under attack and most of its support faded away.

Visions of Gold

In the industrial world the significance of Africa increased. Today out of Africa come 95% of the world's diamonds; 80% of the cobalt; 60% of the gold; 75% of the sisal hemp; 70% of the palm oil; 70% of the cocoa; 35% of the phosphates; 30% of the chrome and manganese; 20% of the copper; 15% of the coffee; an increasing part of the uranium and radium, and large amounts of tin, iron and spices.

Naturally American investment in Africa has increased: in the first half of this century it rose from $500 million to $1,500 million; South Africa asked us in 1949 for a loan of $50 million, eventually got nearly twice as much. Morgan, Rockefeller and Ford interests have been investing in South Africa. General Motors, Firestone, General Electric have followed suit. General Clay, who headed the "Freedom Crusade" among us, once also headed a mining company in South Africa which netted $9 million profit in three years.

In 1950 the U. S. Consul General to South Africa said: "This

(Continued on Page 9)

PEACE

The women of the world call upon the political and social experts of all nations to renounce the mass murder techniques of military armaments and declare that necessities of the times compel us to replace threats, violence, and mass murder with the admittedly more difficult, but more honorable, and positive talents of reconciliation, compromise, self-sacrifice, and most constructive of all, uncompromising self-criticism. So-called impractical idealisms have now obviously become the only way out of man's dilemma. Our great Nation must lead the world in a revolutionary dedication to moral principles. Civilization is at a cross road and we alone must trade good will for distrust, food for guns, our long-standing promises for action, and hope for fear. Let us prepare not for war but for peace.

I have touched briefly on the main thought of my testimony and would like very much if I might, Mr. Chairman, to include in the record the Hiroshima Declaration of Peace.

Chairman KEE. We will be very glad to do that.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

HIROSHIMA DECLARATION OF PEACE

(Read at the foot of the Memorial Tower of Peace at Hiroshima by Shinzo Hamai, mayor of Hiroshima City, on August 6, 1948)

Three years ago today—this very morning—the inhabitants of Hiroshima and its neighborhood had a most terrible experience. No sooner had they seen an enormous flash like lightning come down trailing mysteriously from a corner of the sky than they were startled by the tremendous sound of terrific explosions. In the twinkling of an eye, this historic town of nearly 400,000 souls was blasted and shattered to pieces. The terrible atom bomb had done its work! The whole town was razed to the ground. There was nothing left but ruin and disaster all around the city. No one can give a full account of the awful sufferings and grievous miseries this single bomb brought to the living as well as the dying, and more than 100,000 innocent people lost their lives on that occasion. The fear and trembling we experienced are, indeed, quite beyond description.

32-35-23

Today, however, suppressing deep sighs and mournful sobs, we, the survivors, have come together to meet on this spot to hold a commemoration service of this memorable event in order to renew our solemn vows to contribute our bit to the peace of the world. We are already determined to do our best for this purpose by faithfully discharging our own duties at our posts wherever we may be. We are convinced that such is the most appropriate way of consoling the dead and their bereaved families.

With regard to war, we must say that a war of any kind is, at is best, inhuman and destructive by nature, disgracing humanity with the ostentatious name of patriotism. Needless to say, nothing so wastes human life and precious materials as war, and it destroys the moral life of the people whether they are belligerent or not. And very often one war begets another which is still more dangerous and far more destructive.

Such being the case, we solemnly declare that the peace of the world will never come out of the bellicose spirit of people, and that the development of armaments, however perfect, will never bring peace to the world. Anything effective for the peace of the world will come only out of a national awakening against principles of retaliation on the one hand, and a national-wide movement in favor of laying down arms at any cost on the other. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to do our very best to permeate the world with these fundamental thoughts and principles of peace.

The new Japan, to which we now belong, declares in its constitution the renunciation of war in these words: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes." And, "we, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources."

There may be some, however, who entertain apprehensions concerning the possible existence of a country without a single soldier or airplane or man-of-war to defend itself. To those who quote that "the weak go to the wall," or "the strong will prey on the weak," we reply that this is not the destined end of history. History, as we understand it, is nothing but the manifestation of the divine will. Contrary to popular views, it teaches us very solemn lessons regarding both the development of humanity and the progress of freedom. It also teaches us that against God's will no country or principality can exist. And to our great sorrow, we have learned the object lesson too well this time by our complete defeat in the war.

Unlike mercy which is said to bless "him that gives and him that takes," the unmercifulness of war consists in the fact that suffering and misery are brought not only to the belligerents but to all mankind. Even the victorious suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Learning these serious lessons from history, we have now come to aspire to international peace and to declare at home and abroad that "we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of peace-loving people of the world." May God Almighty forbid that any country should wage war for war's sake on such a peace-loving nation. God in history will not suffer such an outrageous act to be done with impunity.

Various wonderful inventions and improvements recently made on the weapons of war—such as poison gas, and the atomic bomb—clearly show that all humanity might possibly be exterminated, if the belligerents should make a free use of these deadly weapons. On the other hand, we are sure that if the same effort as is made for war-like preparations were applied to the promotion and preservation of peace, the realization of the dream of world-wide peace would not be impossible at all.

Such being the case, it is not wrong to say that the essentially good elements of the atomic age could be harnessed to the benefit of mankind in working for lasting peace. And if so, it is not too much for us to say that those lives were sacrificed on the 6th of August 1945, may not have been in vain. On those and other grounds we, the people of Hiroshima, are determined to observe most faithfully the provisions made in the new constitution regarding international peace by keeping our hands free from any kind of armaments. And so we declare to the world:

We will firmly believe in the Divine will manifested in history and will trust in the justice and faith of the peace-loving people of the world.

We will establish the noble ideals of true peace on the earth on the one hand, and we will do our best to root out all sources of war and rumors thereof, renouncing war itself and all the terrors and evils thereof, on the other.

Hereby, with awe and reverence, we read this declaration of peace at the foot of the Memorial Tower of Peace at Hiroshima, on the 6th of August 1948, the third anniversary of the first advent of the atomic bomb.

Chairman KEE. Are there any questions?

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I have one.

Chairman KEE. Mr. Fulton——

Mr. FULTON. Suppose you had a country that would not cooperate on making agreements, or on checking by inspection to see that arms were controlled, and then after the greatest war in history, continued to maintain the greatest force the world has ever seen, and refused to disarm when the other nations did come back and let their people out of service to return to peacetime endeavors? If you had that situation, would you think it safe for the nations which did disarm and put their weapons into moth balls, then, to just lay the arms down completely?

Mrs. MALLERY. I think we have that situation today, but I think we have it with two nations, with Russia and with the United States. I think we cannot say what would happen if all of the nations of the world except one disarmed, because that situation has never existed before. I, speaking for myself, am perfectly willing to find out what would happen. I think we would be surprised.

Mr. FULTON. You know Russia has not disarmed, while we have cut our forces down to a bare minimum?

98 King Henrys Road,
London, N.W.3.
11/4/50.

My dear Dr. Dubois.

I find it difficult to tell you what it meant to me to get your letter. It brought the first real tears since Peter went away. Strangely enough I have often wished I could talk to you for I felt you would have said the wise things I have often needed. Peter's going was hard to face & the change in him still seems incredible. The changes it has brought in my life feel horribly unreal - nightmarish even now. Life feels quite meaningless alone, though I know it's not right to feel like that, but with him I seemed more able to do things that were worth while. I suppose it is always worse for the one that is left behind. But things like your note do give one strength & make one fight to be worthy of one's friends. It is something warm & real even from the other side of the Atlantic.

With my very warm love & thanks

Dorothy Abrahams.

12/4/50. Please forgive the delay. I have not been well & my letters got put aside. D.

24-6-1

March 17, 1950

Mrs. Dorothy Abrahams
98 King Henry's Road
London N. W. 3
England

My dear Dorothy:

I have just got your address and I want to write to say how pleasantly I remember our brief meeting, and to offer you every hope and encouragement for the future.

I am quite ashamed of Peter.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-16

Box 150

Beg. to send Article

TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

May 22. 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am enclosing a reprint of a recent article in the hope you will find it of some interest.

I have recently completed my Ph.D. thesis on the development of Negro life 1876 to 1916 and am now preparing an article based on the private papers of the late John B. Rayner of Texas. I would very much appreciate an opportunity to meet with you briefly regarding possible sources of information for some of the leading figures in Negro life in the early 1900's and a discussion of my interpretation of the rise and role of Booker T. Washington.

24-5-20

I appreciate the fact that you are occupied with many other affairs and I will be all the more grateful if you can find the time to see me.

Sincerely
Jack Abramowitz

May 31, 1950

Mr. Jack Abramovitz
Box 150
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Abramovitz:

I am glad to know of your work which you outline in your letter of May 22, and hope you will go on with it.

I regret to say however that I am so busy with literary commitments just now that I am afraid I cannot make an appointment with you. If I can later, I will be glad to let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-21

Dr Bell's

October 2, 1950

Advance Printing Company
324 East 24th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me 500 sheets of the enclosed sheets with envelopes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-47

African Aid COMMITTEE · 23 WEST 26TH STREET · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Chairman, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois • Secretary, Victoria Garvin • Treasurer, Dr. Walter N. Beekman

Vice Chairmen: Charlotta A. Bass • Bishop James A. Gregg • Rabbi Max Felshin • Mary Church Terrell • Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

January 5, 1950

Copy of letter sent to 15 members of Exec. Comm.

To: Executive Committee Members
African Aid Committee

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As we start the New Year, 1950, I wish to advise you of the status of our Committee's work and offer two specific proposals for your immediate consideration.

Since the establishment of the Committee last May materials on the purpose and need of the Committee's work have been printed and mailed to some 5,000 people throughout the country. As indicated in the financial summary below, there has to date been a total income of $1236.82 from contributions in response to this mailing and appeals voiced through New Africa, published by the Council on African Affairs. About two-thirds of this amount, $804.42, has been expended in defraying part of the heavy initial printing and mailing charges, leaving a balance of $639.33 in obligations still to be paid. Except for stationery, there are sufficient printed materials remaining on hand for this year's work; hence, no new expense for this need be incurred.

The members of the Executive Committee who have been able to meet together from time to time - Dr. Beekman, Rev. England, Mr. Goshal, Mrs. Garvin, and I - agreed that, having paid off a good part of the Committee's indebtedness, they should henceforth allocate one-half of further income toward defraying the balance of indebtedness and current expenses, sending the other one-half to Africa in support of causes approved by the Committee.

It is in this connection that I wish to propose, first, that the sum of $200 be sent immediately to the Nigerian National Federation of Labor for use in aiding members and families of the African miners' union, twenty of whom were killed and thirty-one hospitalized as a result of the police firing upon them at Enugu last November, during their strike for an 8¢ a day wage.

My second proposal is aimed at bringing the Committee's program more directly before the public and enlisting the support of organizations of various types. Little work of this type has been possible thus far because of the lack of a person who could devote time and attention to it (the staff of the Council on African Affairs, which has been voluntarily giving our Committee considerable assistance, has more responsibilities in its own field of work than it can well take care of). It is my belief that a salary investment in a suitable and qualified person to handle this public relations job would open up new and much wider channels of contributions. Increasing American attention to Africa and the objective conditions of the African people today seem to me to insure the success of our

in

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE SPONSORS

ELISHA BAILEY
Panama

LOUISE R. BERMAN
New York City

DR. PHILLIPS BROOKS
Brooklyn, N. Y.

PETER B. BROWN
Chicago, Ill.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM
Birmingham, Ala.

HUGH BRYSON
San Francisco, Calif.

CHARLES A. COLLINS
New York City

COUNCILMAN EUGENE P. CONNOLLY
New York City

EVELYN COOPER
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DR. OLIVER C. COX
Tuskegee Institute

BINDLEY C. CYRUS
Chicago, Ill.

WENDELL P. DABNEY
Cincinnati, Ohio

COUNCILMAN BENJ. J. DAVIS, JR.
New York City

E. A. DAVIS
Toronto, Canada

EARL B. DICKERSON
Chicago, Ill.

DEAN DIXON
New York City

DR. ARNOLD B. DONAWA
New York City

AARON DOUGLAS
Fisk University

ARNAUD D'USSEAU
New York City

REV. CHARLES C. S. ENGLAND
Brooklyn, N. Y.

HOWARD FAST
New York City

FREDERICK V. FIELD
New York City

ELINOR S. GIMBEL
New York City

BEN GOLD
New York City

KUMAR GOSHAL
Brooklyn, N. Y.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM
St. Albans, N. Y.

PERCY GREENE
Jackson, Miss.

EWART GUINIER
New York City

DASHIELL HAMMETT
New York City

WILLIAM HARRISON
Boston, Mass.

REV. DR. WM. P. HAYES
Newark, N. J.

DONALD HENDERSON
Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. CHARLES A. HILL
Detroit, Mich.

VELMA HOPKINS
Winston-Salem, N. C.

REV. J. L. HORACE
Chicago, Ill.

CHARLES H. HOUSTON
Washington, D. C.

CHARLES P. HOWARD
Des Moines, Iowa

REV. KENNETH de P. HUGHES
Cambridge, Mass.

LANGSTON HUGHES
New York City

DR. W. A. HUNTON
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ADA B. JACKSON
Brooklyn, N. Y.

LUTHER P. JACKSON
Virginia State College

DAVID JENKINS
California Labor School

REV. C. ASAPANSA JONHSON
Staten Island, N. Y.

DR. R. O. JOHNSON
Atlanta, Ga.

ALBERT E. KAHN
Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

ROCKWELL KENT
Au Sable Forks, N. Y.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
San Fernando, Calif.

RAY LEV
New York City

DOROTHY C. LYMAS
Philadelphia, Pa.

ALBERT MALTZ
Los Angeles, Calif.

DR. CECIL MARQUEZ
New York City

GEORGE MARSHALL
New York City

LARKIN MARSHALL
Macon, Ga.

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
Morehouse College

REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL
New York City

JOHN T. McMANUS
New York City

REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH
Brooklyn, N. Y.

HERBERT T. MILLER
Brooklyn, N. Y.

WILLARD MOTLEY
Chicago, Ill.

REV. CHAS. C. MOULTON
Panama

CAPT. HUGH MULZAC
Jamaica, N. Y.

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.
New York City

ESTELLE MASSEY OSBORNE
New York City

REV. GEORGE L. PAINE
Boston, Mass.

FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
Chicago, Ill.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
New York City

DR. H. T. PENN
Roanoke, Va.

DR. CHARLES A. PETIONI
New York City

MARTIN POPPER
New York City

ESLANDA G. ROBESON
Enfield, Conn.

PAUL ROBESON
New York City

DR. E. J. ROBINSON
Los Angeles, Calif.

REV. JAMES W. ROBINSON
New York City

THERESE L. ROBINSON
Washington, D. C.

O. JOHN ROGGE
New York City

PAUL SCHNUR
San Francisco, Calif.

PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
Williamstown, Mass.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS
Columbia, S. C.

FERDINAND C. SMITH
New York City

REV. STEPHEN G. SPOTTSWOOD
Washington, D. C.

MAX STEINBERG
New York City

DR. BERNHARD J. STERN
New York City

ELLA P. STEWART
Toledo, Ohio

DEEMS TAYLOR
New York City

REBECCA STILES TAYLOR
Chicago, Ill.

ALMA VESSELLS
New York City

HENRY A. WALLACE
South Salem, N. Y.

BISHOP WM. J. WALLS
Chicago, Ill.

DR. EDWARD K. WEAVER
Texas College

DR. GENE WELTFISH
New York City

DR. CHARLES H. WESLEY
Wilberforce, Ohio

LINDSAY WHITE
New York City

DR. J. FINLEY WILSON
Washington, D. C.

work if we can only go about it properly. Therefore, I recommend that we undertake to secure a person to accept the responsibilities of the work I have briefly outlined, starting out possibly on a half-time instead of a full-time basis.

I would greatly appreciate having your reaction to these two proposals so that we may proceed as promptly as possible in acting upon them. Any other suggestions or comments regarding our work will of course be welcome.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman
African Aid Committee

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE
Report to Executive Committee on Financial Status
January 3, 1950

Aid Committee Total Receipts		
To January 3, 1950	$ 1236.82	$ 1236.82
Total Expenditures		
Advance Printing Co.	651.90	
Lee Letter Service	110.17	
Petty Cash	41.85	
Bank charge (stamp)	.50	
	804.42	
Balance on Hand, Jan. 3, 1950		
In Bank	424.25	
Petty Cash	8.15	
	432.40	
		1236.82
Outstanding Obligations		
Advance Printing Co. (balance))	200.00	
Council on African Affairs for sums advanced for postage, supplies, etc. in launching the campaign - (Itemized accounts) given in Financial statements of June 8 and Nov. 30, 1949):	439.33	
	639.33	

~~Dear Miss~~

Dear ..... :

I would be very pleased to have you join me in a cocktail at my home this Sunday afternoon, April 16th, from about five to seven, and greet my friend, Dean Dixon, who has just returned from concert engagements in Paris.

He will tell us of hiss impressions overseas and about his immediate plans here, which include a most interesting program of Negro symphonic music at Town Hall on May 21st.

I hope you can be with us.

Very truly yours,

244-31-11

African Aid COMMITTEE · 23 WEST 26TH STREET · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Chairman, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois • Secretary, Victoria Garvin • Treasurer, Dr. Walter N. Beekman

Vice Chairmen: Charlotte A. Bass • Bishop James A. Gregg • Rabbi Max Felshin • Mary Church Terrell • Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

Hunton

April 18, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You are cordially invited to join us in a cocktail hour with Dean Dixon, who has just recently returned from Europe, on Monday afternoon, April 24, five to seven o'clock, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rudy Bruner, 22 East 10th Street.

Mr. Dixon will have some interesting things to say about a benefit concert for our Committee which he will conduct May 21 at Town Hall, presenting an unusual program of Negro symphonic music, including the work of an African composer never before performed in this country. Mr. Dixon will also tell us about his concert experiences in Paris and his plans for conducting this summer in Israel.

We do hope you will find it possible to be with us next Monday afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois
Freda Diamond
Shirley Graham
Joseph James
Estelle M. Osborne

R.S.V.P.- Murray Hill 3-6209

P.S. There will be no solicitation of funds on this occasion.

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE

W. E. B. DU BOIS, Chairman

23 West 26th Street MUrray Hill 3-6209

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE APRIL 24, 1950

A concert of Negro symphonic music will be presented Sunday afternoon, May 21, at 2:30 p.m., in Town Hall, 119 West 43rd Street.

The program will be performed by the New York Chamber Orchestra under the direction of the noted conductor, Dean Dixon. Mr. Dixon has just returned from a highly successful concert engagement in Paris.

It will be presented by the African Aid Committee, an independent, non-political agency enlisting the support of Americans to help meet the needs of the destitute men, women and children of Africa. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, leading Negro historian, is chairman.

24-8-40

The first full-length concert of its kind, featuring exclusively Negro composers, it will mark in many instances their American premiere.

Mr. Dixon announced that among the African, Latin American and American Negro composers who will be represented in the May 21 concert program are:

FATHER JOSE MAURICEO MUNES GARCIA, 1767-1830, Catholic priest, director of Cathedral of Rio de Janiero, and director of Music of the Royal Chapel.

FRANCISCO MANUEL da SILVA, 1795-1865, author of the National Anthem of Brazil, composed in 1831.

ULYSEES KAY, American Negro composer.

WILLIAM GRANT STILL, American Negro composer.

MICHAEL M. MOERANE, Bantu composer. Unable to secure any musical training at educational institutions for Africans in South Africa, the composer of "Fatse la Heso" studied and developed his art independently, except for one year of study under Prof. H.M. Hartmann, head of the music department at Rhodes University College.

While earning his livelihood as a science teacher in a Queenstown secondary school for Africans, Mr. Moerane has undertaken to develop for the first time in South Africa an orchestra of young African musicians.

His "Fatse la Heso" (My Country), which will receive its American premiere at the May 21 concert, was first performed by the British Broadcasting Company orchestra. It incorporates melodies based on songs of the people living among the Drakensberg mountains of Basutoland, his birthplace.

* * * * * *

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE CONCERT, MAY 21, 1950
FINANCIAL STATEMENT
(Incomplete - as of May 24)

INCOME

Sale of Tickets

	Total no. of seats (less press passes)	No. of tickets used (less press passes)	Gross Income (including tax)
$4.80	72	58	$139.20
3.60	562	230	670.60
2.40	406	346	729.10
1.80	326	315	552.45
			2091.35

Donations 736.50
(There were 3 donations of $100 each, 3 of $25 each. The rest were nearly all in amounts of $5 or less.)

TOTAL INCOME . . $2827.85

EXPENSES

(*indicates unpaid bill; (**indicates bill paid by and owing to Council on African Affairs)

Printing		
to Advance Printing Company		
8000 leaflets	131.86*	
4200 cards & envelopes	61.20*	
to Baron-Kahn Press		
4000 invitations & envelopes	165.00*	
		358.06
Advertising		
Amsterdam News (3 times)	44.10*	
Age (2 times)	16.00*	
Worker (2 times)	33.60*	
Guardian (once)	4.00*	
Times (once)	63.00	
Compass (once)	16.80	
Compass (once)	16.80**	
WQXR (twice)	40.00**	
		234.30
Music		
to Local 802, American Fed. of Musicians	1873.00	
to Carroll Drum Service - Rental & Cartage Percussion Instruments	84.80*	
to City Center of Music & Drama (rehearsal rental)	30.00**	
Copying music	70.00*	
(Statement of personal expenses of Dean Dixon not yet received)	———	
		2057.80
Postage		
Mailing of 4000 invitations	135.27	
Miscellaneous mailings	56.03	
		191.30
To Town Hall		
Rental	400.00	
Posters	26.00	
Tickets	25.68	
Chairs	15.00	
Recording	40.00	
		506.68
To Personnel Engaged for Concert		
Wm. Shiver	157.00	
Wm. Shiver	46.40**	
Sam Engler	100.00	
Clara Taylor	195.00	
Osborne Smith	19.50	
		517.90
Miscellaneous		
Photographs	15.30*	
Photographs	5.20	
Cables	6.55*	
Stationery	19.26	
Promotion, Carfare, etc.	50.98	
(Telephone Bill not yet received)	- - -	
		97.29
Tax due on ticket sales (estimated)	417.90 *	417.90

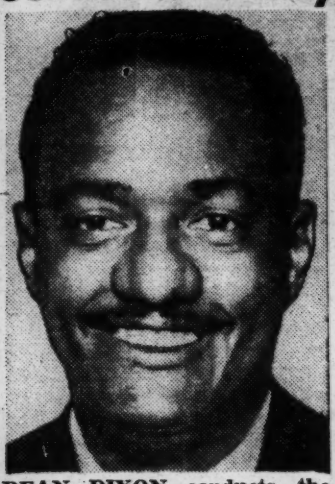
TOTAL EXPENSES . . . $4381.23
DEFICIT. 1553.38

In addition to the amount of $133.20 on bills paid by the Council, there is also a loan of $300, May 19, repayable to the Council on African Affairs. (Two other loans totalling $1200 on the same date have been repaid by the African Aid Committee.)

Total Indebtedness (as of May 24): (Outstanding bills - $1050.31) (Owed to Council - 433.20) $1483.51

24A-31-23

Conducts Sunday



DEAN DIXON conducts the New York Chamber Orchestra in a symphonic concert featuring works by Negro composers Sunday at 2:30 in Town Hall.

WORDS *and* MUSIC

By Harriett Johnson

Composers to Be Heard Sunday

The concert of symphonic works by Negro composers which takes place Sunday at 2:30 p.m. in Town Hall is the first of its kind ever to be played in New York, according to the African Aid Committee, sponsors of the event. Dean Dixon, the distinguished young Negro conductor, will be on the podium to lead the New York Chamber Orchestra.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, Negro historian and chairman of the committee, informs me that proceeds will be used primarily to support a health clinic directed by an African physician in the poverty-ridden Ciskei Province of the Union of South Arfica, and to further the cultural work undertaken by Michael M. Moerane, Bantu composer, who lives in Queenstown.

Mr. Moerane's piece, "Fatse la Heso" (My Country), a tone poem based on native folk material, will have its American premiere at the concert. While the composer earns his living as a science teacher in a Queenstown secondary school, he has undertaken to develop for the first time in South Africa an orchestra of young African musicians.

'Rebambaramba' Means Shindig

Another composition, which will have its first New York performance, will be 'La Rebambaramba," originally written as a ballet Suite, by the Cuban composer Amadeo Roldan (1900-1939). The title, which is a Cuban word of African origin, translated into its nearest American equivalent, means "Shindig.'

Also on the program will be "Four Characteristic Waltzes, Opus 22," by the American Negro composer, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912); Suite for Orchestra by Ulysses Kay, and the first movement of the Fourth Symphony, subtitled "Emancipation," by Ingram Fox. Both of the latter are contemporary Americans. Fox, though born in British Guiana, has lived here since 1931 and is an American citizen. The concert closes with "Old California" by William Grant Still.

An exhibition of authentic arts and crafts by African, West Indian, Haitian and young American Negro craftsman will be exhibited through the courtesy of the Afro-Arts Bazaar, Inc., in Town Hall at the time of the concert. Tickets, priced from $1.80 to $4.80, may be obtained at the Town Hall box office.

Hunton

MUSIC COMPOSED BY NEGROES HEARD

Dean Dixon Directs Chamber Orchestra in a Symphonic Program at Town Hall

A program of symphonic music by Negro composers from five countries was presented yesterday afternoon at Town Hall by the New York Chamber Orchestra under the leadership of Dean Dixon. The event, sponsored by the African Aid committee, drew an audience of nearly 1,000 persons.

It was advertised as the first all-Negro symphonic concert to be given in this city. Whether this claim goes unchallenged remains to be seen. But it was certainly a novel and interesting program and all the music had warmth, vigor and expansiveness.

William Grant Still and Ulysses Kay were the composers from America. The others were Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, who died in England in 1912; Amadeo Roldan of Cuba, Ingram Fox of British Guiana and Michael M. Moerane of the Union of South Africa.

Little Uniformity of Style

Since each of the six composers has been influenced by the musical idioms of the countries where they have found themselves, there was little uniformity of style. But there was a spiritual kinship, as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, chairman of the committee, pointed out in a brief talk after the intermission.

Besides the warmth and the vigor, there was a common love of broad strokes and plenty of color, of surging melodies and strong rhythms. And there was a tendency to make over-lavish use of orchestral resources to say essentially simple and straightforward things. There was kinship even in the instruments favored.

They all exploited the possibilities of the violins for lush, surging melodies. Drums and other percussion instruments were featured prominently and nearly every piece had plaintive passages for oboes or clarinets. The general impression was of a rich outpouring, but much of the dancing and singing was done in borrowed vestments.

Roldan's Rhythms Exciting

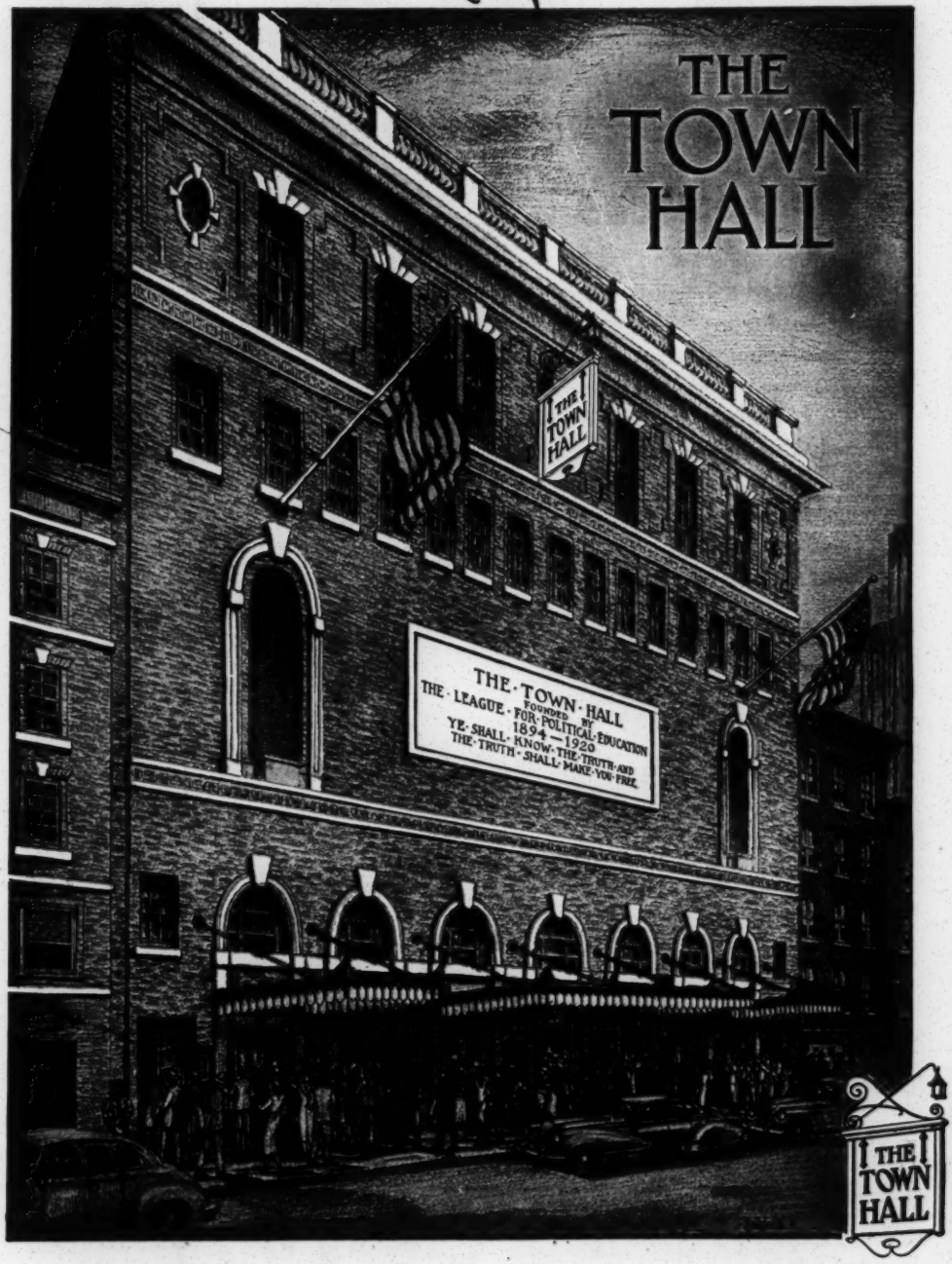
Roldan's "La Rebambaramba" sounded the least European of all the works. Its Afro-Cuban rhythms contributed the greatest excitement of the afternoon. They were in sharp contrast to Coleridge-Taylor's Four Characteristic Waltzes that were melodious and pretty in a style that no one dares write in now.

Mr. Kay's Suite was the most inventive and individual of the works, being cleverly orchestrated with each section being well set off from the other. In contrast, Mr. Still's "Old California" seemed a little old fashioned, though lively and successful in its own terms.

The longest of the works was "Emancipation," which is the first movement of Mr. Fox's Fourth Symphony. It had promising material but it was prolix. The American première was "Fatse La Heso," a ten-minute tone poem by Mr. Moerane that gave a sense of landscape and open spaces, but which had little originality. Like the other works, though, it had essential vitality.

R.P.

[1950] Hunston (African Aid Committee)



The Town Hall, Inc., internationally renowned recital hall; sponsor, since 1894, of a celebrated Morning Lecture Series; producer of the nation's favorite radio forum, "America's Town Meeting of the Air"; scene of study courses and seminars offered through its Short Course Division.

ALFRED SCOTT, *Publisher*, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. 288—5—21A—50

YOURS IS THE PRIVILEGE OF PRINCES

. . . to call together the great orchestras of our day . . . to summon the finest voices, the greatest virtuosos . . . for music of your own choosing at your own pleasure! On RCA Victor Red Seal records the truly great performances are yours to own . . . princely treasures within the reach of all. Select from your dealer's RCA Victor catalog and the new releases each month.

Only the royal courts and the fabulously wealthy could summon, for their private entertainment, the great musicians of their day. In our time, RCA Victor has brought this supreme enjoyment to all who love music.

All you need to enjoy the breath-taking new 45 rpm recordings through your present set! Trim and tiny as a jewel case, this plug-in player has the world's fastest changer . . . plays up to 10 records with one touch of a button! (9JY, AC).

THE WORLD'S GREATEST ARTISTS ARE ON

RCA VICTOR Records

TOWN HALL ANNOUNCEMENTS

MAY

21, Sun. 3:00 p.m.—Orchestra Concert, Dean Dixon, Conductor. Auspices African Aid Committee

21, Sun. 5:30 p.m.—Susanne Freil, *Soprano*

21, Sun. 8:15 p.m.—Lustige Fruehjahr's Parade

Continued on Page 5

An inspiring autobiography

Marjorie Lawrence's

INTERRUPTED MELODY

"As a story of inspiration despite cruel and almost unconquerable handicaps, it is exceptionally moving."—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

"From any angle . . . a book to have and to hold."—*Nashville Tennessean.*

Illustrated. $3.50 at all bookstores.

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS, 35 W. 32nd St., New York 1

CETRA-SORIA

LONG PLAYING RECORDS

★

For complete catalogue of long playing records write: CETRA-SORIA RECORDS 43 W. 64th St New York 23

—17th and 18th CENTURY ITALIAN MUSIC—

VIVALDI . . .	"Le Quattro Stagioni" ("The Four Seasons")	
No. 50004		$5.95
CORELLI . . .	Concerto Grosso in D major, Op. 6, No. 1	
GEMINIANI . .	Concerto Grosso in G minor, Op. 3, No. 2	
No. 50021		$5.95
BOCCHERINI . .	Quintet in C major for Strings	
	Pastorale from Quintet in D major	
VIVALDI . . .	Concerto in E major for Violin and Strings ("Il Riposo")	
	Overture to the Opera "Olympidade"	
No. 50022		$5.95
VIVALDI . . .	Concerto in B minor, arr. for Piano and Orchestra by Tamburini from Bach transcription	
	Concerto Grosso in D minor, Op. 3, No. 11 ("L'Estro Armonico")	
	Largo in C major for Strings	
No. 50023		$5.95

CETRA SORIA

"The Best in Italian Music"

Uninterrupted music at its finest . . on Columbia long playing records!

FOR AS LITTLE AS $9.95 this high fidelity, inexpensive Columbia Player Attachment adapts your present radio, phonograph or television set so you can enjoy the convenience, beauty, and economy of Columbia LP Records. (You continue using your present conventional records on your regular turntable.) Ask your record dealer to demonstrate. If you're buying a new radio phonograph . . . be sure it plays both LP and conventional records.

UP TO 50 MINUTES OF MUSIC PER RECORD!

Ask your dealer for the Columbia LP Catalog featuring both Long Playing Records and the convenient 7-inch Microgroove record for shorter classics and popular hits. Here are a few outstanding favorites you'll enjoy.

PUCCINI:

MADAME BUTTERFLY

(Complete Opera sung in Italian.) A METROPOLITAN OPERA ASSOCIATION PRODUCTION. *Eleanor Steber, Richard Tucker, Giuseppe Valdengo, Jean Madeira* and other distinguished artists, with *Max Rudolf* conducting the Chorus and Orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera Association. Set SL-4 (Manual) or set SL-104 (Automatic), 3 records. Only $14.55.

OFFENBACH:

Gaîté Parisienne

(arr. Rosenthal) and RUSSIAN MUSIC (6 single selections by Russian Composers), EFREM KURTZ conducting the Columbia Symphony Orchestra. ML 4233. Only $4.85.

THE

PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA

EUGENE ORMANDY, conductor. LISZT—Les Préludes and BRAHMS: Variations on a Theme by Haydn, Op. 56a. ML 2066. Only $3.85.

Beethoven Ninth:

Symphony No. 9 in D Minor, Op. 125 ("Choral"), BRUNO WALTER conducting the PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF NEW YORK with Irma Gonzalez, Elena Nikolaidi, Raoul Jobin, Mack Harrell, and The Westminster Choir (John Finley Williamson, Conductor), and BRAHMS: *Song of Destiny*, Op. 54 (Schicksalslied). Set SL-56 (Manual) or Set SL-156 (Automatic), 2-12" Records. Only $9.70.

SALOME

Richard Strauss—Final Scene. LJUBA WELITCH, Soprano, with FRITZ REINER conducting the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra and TCHAIKOVSKY: Eugen Onegin—Tatiana's Letter Scene, Op. 24 (Words by Pushkin), LJUBA WELITCH, Soprano, and The Philharmonia Orchestra conducted by Walter Süsskind. ML 2048. Only $3.85.

Because you prefer uninterrupted music...

COLUMBIA (LP) RECORDS

are the outstanding leader in record sales today!

insist on genuine

FLEXEES

WORLD'S LOVELIEST FOUNDATIONS

at leading department stores, specialty shops, and corsetieres

TOWN HALL ANNOUNCEMENTS

Continued from Page 3

22, Mon. 2:00 p.m.—Fifteenth Annual Catholic School Music Festival

23, Tues. 8:00 p.m.—"Town Meeting of the Air."

25, Thurs. 8:30 p.m.—St. Vincent's Hospital, Benefit Concert for Centenary Building Fund

26, Fri. 8:30 p.m.—The Dun and Bradstreet Chorus, John R. Jones, Conductor

27, Sat. 8:30 p.m.—Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society, Dr. Leo Kopf, Conductor. 27th Jubilee

28, Sun. 2:30 p.m.—Winners of Ukrainian Metropolitan Committee's Music Audition

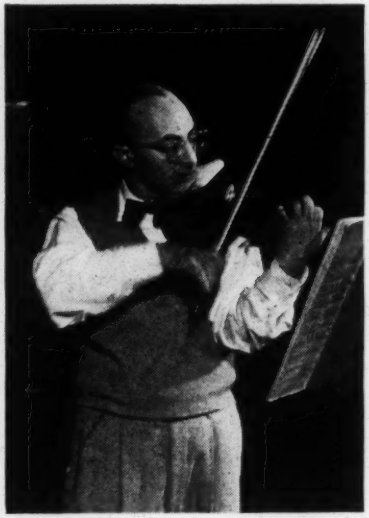
28, Sun. 8:00 p.m.—Fifth Annual Festival of Jewish Music, Sponsored by the Synagogue Light and B'nai Akiva of North America

29, Mon. 8:00 p.m.—Workmen's Circle Chorus

30, Tues. 8:30 p.m.—Jacob Konigsberg, *Tenor*

Capitol Classics
INCLUDING
CAPITOL-TELEFUNKEN

LOUIS KAUFMAN
PERFORMS
VIVALDI
SCORES



Capitol Classics—noted for its unusually large Vivaldi repertoire—now offers for the first time on records two violin concerti by the old Italian master. For Capitol-Telefunken in Europe, the world-famed violinist performs each of these difficult works with true virtuosity. Having written more than 400 violin concerti, Antonio Vivaldi (1675-1741) stands as one of the world's most prolific and significant composers for the instrument. An ordained priest, Vivaldi was considered a radical musical experimenter by his contemporaries. In his "Concerto in G Minor"—he was first to introduce woodwinds along with strings. His "Concerto in D Minor" is so contrived that, in order to play it, the solo violinist must tune the G-string up one full tone to facilitate fingering.

VIVALDI...

"Concerto in G Minor"
(for the Dresden Orchestra) and
"Concerto in D Minor"
("Senza Cantin")

LOUIS KAUFMAN, *violin, featured with the Orchestre Symphonique Nationale Paris; Roger Desormiere, conducting.*
78 rpm . . . $5.00 45 rpm . . . $3.35

Other Vivaldi Works on Capitol Classics

"CONCERTO GROSSO IN G MINOR, OP. 3, NO. 2"
A. Guarnieri conducting Orchestra of the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino
78 rpm—$3.75 . . . 45 rpm—$2.40 . . . 33⅓ rpm
(includes Scarlatti's **"Concerto Grosso in F Minor"**) . . . $3.85

"CONCERTO GROSSO IN A MINOR, OP. 3, NO. 8"
Mengelberg cond. Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra
78 rpm—$3.75 . . . 45 rpm—$2.40

Capitol RECORDS HOLLYWOOD

WORLD-FAMED CLASSICS ON ALL THREE SPEEDS: 33⅓...45...78 rpm

*As to 33⅓ rpm records, prices shown are suggested for record, package and excise tax, complete, excluding State and local taxes—for all other records, add excise tax. All prices are subject to change without notice.

CAPITOL'S MARK OF MUSICAL MERIT

Columbia Artists Management INC.

THE ROYAL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
of London, England
SIR THOMAS BEECHAM, *Conductor*

Series of Three Concerts
CARNEGIE HALL
Evenings at 8:30

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1950 SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1950
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1950

(Programs will include compositions by Berlioz, Mozart, Sibelius, Beethoven, R. Strauss, Rossini, Haydn, Debussy, Delius, Chabrier, Handel, Vaughan, Williams, Wagner)

Assisting Artists:
BETTY BEECHAM, Pianist (Steinway Piano)
THE SCHOLA CANTORUM OF NEW YORK, Hugh Ross, Director
(who will perform Handel's "Zadok the Priest" and Berlioz' "Te Deum")

Subscription Tickets: Parquet $10.80, $9.00; Dress Circle $9.00, $7.20; Balcony $6.00, $5.40, $4.80; Boxes $86.40 and $72.00
(now on sale at Carnegie and Steinway Hall Box Offices)

Single Tickets on sale only after October 7: Parquet $4.20, $3.60; Dress Circle $3.60, $3.00; Balcony $2.40, $2.10, $1.80; Boxes $33.60 and $28.80

Recital Management: COLUMBIA ARTISTS MANAGEMENT INC.
Tour Direction of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra:
COLUMBIA ARTISTS MANAGEMENT INC., 113 West 57th Street, New York 19

Representative for Sir Thomas Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra:
ANDREW SCHULHOF, 113 West 57th Street, New York 19

(RCA VICTOR RED SEAL RECORDS) (COLUMBIA MASTERWORKS RECORDS)

WHERE respect for Piano Excellence prevails, the STEINWAY is a prerequisite to a fine concert performance. And so these distinguished artists have chosen the Steinway for their Town Hall performances this month:

MARCELITA LOPEZ KABAYAO
ADI BERNARD
EUGENE LIST
ROSALYN TURECK
CAROL GLENN

STEINWAY & SONS
109 WEST 57th STREET, NEW YORK 19 • CIRCLE 6-1100

TOW
Season

FIRE NOTICE—Look around *now*
In case of fire walk (not run) to *tha*
to the street.

Sunday Afternoon, M

NEGRO SYM

NEW YORK CHA
DEAN DIX

For the Benefit of the AI

Dr. W. E. B. I

PRO

Four Characteristic Waltzes, Op

"Fatse la Heso" . . . . . .

(*America*

Program Continued o

new songs

HERBERT KINGSLEY. The
PAUL SARGENT. Stopping
ning. Medium . . . .
CHRISTOPHER THOMAS.
DANIEL WOLF. The Old W

New York 17: 3 East 43rd Street
Brooklyn 17: 275 Livingston St.

VN HALL
on 1949-1950

y and choose the nearest exit to your seat.
bat Exit. Do not try to beat your neighbor

FRANK J. QUAYLE, *Fire Commissioner*

May 21st, at 2:30 o'clock

MPHONIC MUSIC

AMBER ORCHESTRA
KON, Conductor

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE
Du Bois, *Chairman*

•

OGRAM

p. 22.....*Samuel Coleridge-Taylor*
(1875-1912) (English)

.....*Michael M. Moerane*
(Bantu)
can Premiere)

•

on Second Page Following

Green Dog. Medium-High .50
g by woods on a snowy eve-
. 50
. A Maiden. Medium . . .50
Woman. Medium 50

• MU 2-8100
• MA 4-5170

GSCHIRMER

Baldwin
The Superb Instrument for truly great artists

Renowned for its distinguished recognition by today's great artists

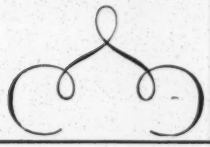
BALDWIN PIANOS
20 East 54th Street
New York 22, N.Y. • PL 3-7186

A VALUABLE MEMENTO

FRITZ KREISLER'S voice, as he spoke on the occasion of his 75th birthday dinner, has been recorded and is now available.

The set of two 10", 78 rpm records may be obtained by sending your check for $3 to the Musicians Emergency Fund, Inc., 113 West 57th Street, New York 19.

Columbia Artists Management INC.
PRESENTS

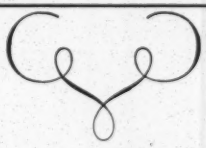


NEW YORK RECITAL DIVISION

Concerts handled in all leading auditoriums

For full information inquire:

RHEA POWERS
Manager, Recital Division



An Old World Spot in N.Y. off 5th Ave.

Cortile

37 West 43rd St. 36 West 44th St.
(Opposite Stern's)

Luncheon from 50c
Cocktail Bar Dinner from 75c
Banquet Facilities

ONE BLOCK EAST OF TOWN HALL
Tel. MU. 2-3540

SCHRAFFT'S for Good Food

Before or After Town Hall Affairs

HOME SIZE DRINKS
TOP QUALITY LIQUOR

ALL SCHRAFFT'S CLOSED SUNDAY

PROGRAM CONTINUED

•

Suite for Orchestra . . . . . *Ulysses Kay*

1. Fanfare
2. Three-Four
3. Scherzo
4. Olden Tune
5. Finale

INTERMISSION

•

Program Continued on Second Page Following

Chamber Music

RANDALL THOMPSON, Quartet No. 1 in D Minor
Study Score . . . . . 1.50 *Parts, complete* . . 2.50

NORMAN DELLO JOIO, Trio for Flute, 'Cello, Piano
Complete 4.00

PHILIP JAMES, Suite in Four Movements, for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn and Bassoon
Score and Parts 4.00
Score 1.50
Parts, each 50

CARL FISCHER, Inc. 165 WEST 57th ST., N. Y. 19
62 COOPER SQUARE, N. Y. 3

NATIONAL CONCERT and ARTISTS CORPORATION

Presents

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT SEASON 1950-51

•

ERNA BERGER

Soprano, Metropolitan Opera Company

In Three Programs of Lieder and Mozart arias

Town Hall — Sunday afternoons at three o'clock
FEBRUARY 4, 11, 18, 1951

"She sang superbly well . . . an immense and enthusiastic audience was long to leave the hall."—Olin Downes, N. Y. Times.

"The best coloratura singing heard here in many a year."
—Virgil Thomson, N. Y. Herald-Tribune.

•

Series tickets: Orchestra $7.20, $6.00; Balcony $6.00, $4.80;
Loge seats $9.00 (Tax included)

Mail orders: National Concert & Artists Corp., 711 5th Av., New York 22

Please enclose self-addressed and stamped envelope for return of tickets.

Steinway Piano *RCA Victor Recordings*

MORTON I. MASHIOFF

Distinguished Baritone

Authority on Voice Production

TENORS, BARITONES!

If you have difficulty singing (not forcing) high tones and your voice lacks flexibility I can help you.

Amazing progress assured in ten lessons

FREE TRIAL LESSON WILL CONVINCE YOU

Partial scholarship offered to outstanding but untrained Tenor or Baritone voice.

Studio 635 West 174th Street, New York City
Telephone WA 7-6333

Luncheon and Dinner
Before you attend the Concert at Town Hall
The Distinguished
FOUNTAIN ROOM
ENGLISH TAP ROOM

HOTEL Woodstock
Next to Town Hall
127 W. 43d St. T. J. Kelly, Mgr. Dir.

PROGRAM CONTINUED

La Rebambaramba ..... *Amadeo Roldan*
(1900) (Cuban)

1. End of First Scene
2. Interlude
3. Comparsa Lucumi
4. Comparsa de la Culebra

(*First New York Performance*)

Symphony No. 4, Movement No. 1 ..... *Ingram Fox*
Sub-title, "Emancipation" (British Guianan)

Old California ..... *William Grant Still*

See Insert Page for Notes on Composers and List of Sponsors of this Concert

DILLER-QUAILE SCHOOL OF MUSIC

NOW IS THE TIME **to plan your course of music study for the fall.**

Normal Course for those wishing to become teachers and for teachers who wish to modernize their teaching methods.

Adult classes in Theory, Sight Singing and Ear Training, Keyboard Harmony, Written Harmony and Counterpoint, Composition, Appreciation.

Catalogue on request.

Junior Department for children and young people 3 to 18 years of age.

66 East 80th Street, New York 21 • **BU 8-1050**

Biographical Sketches

• **MARCELITA LOPEZ KABAYAO**, Filipino pianist and the youngest of the Lopez Kabayao family, commenced the study of the piano at a very early age with her mother. Three years later she made her debut with orchestra playing Mozart's Coronation Concerto in D major. During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, together with her sisters and brother, she gave several benefit concerts to raise funds for civilian hospitals and during the liberation gave concerts for the wounded officers and enlisted men of the U. S. Army. She made her New York debut at Town Hall in May 1948 in a joint recital with her brother, and for the past two years she has been working with the eminent pianist and pedagogue, Clarence Adler.

• **SIDOR BELARSKY**, a graduate of the State Conservatory at Leningrad, Russia, and formerly leading basso of the Leningrad State Opera Company, came to America in 1930. Within an astonishingly short time, he was hailed as one of the leading artists of the day. It is not surprising that the art of Sidor Belarsky keeps reminding critics of the art of the late Feodor Chaliapin.

• **HERMAN BERLINSKI** studied piano with Professor Otto Weinrich, harmony with Siegfried Karg-Elert, and counterpoint with Guenther Raphael. He continued his studies in France where he associated himself with a group of French composers who called themselves Le Jeune France. This group included Daniel Lesur with whom Berlinski worked very closely, and Olivier Messiaen who, during this last summer at Tanglewood, became his teacher.

Institute For Avocational Music

A Non-Profit Making Organization

Board of Advisers:

Harold Bauer
Lucrezia Bori
Walter Damrosch
Myra Hess
Ernest Hutcheson
Jose Iturbi
Yolanda Mérö
Gregor Piatigorsky
Efrem Zimbalist
Artur Rubinstein
Rudolf Serkin
Alexander Smallens
Joseph Szigeti

ENRICH YOUR LIFE WITH MUSIC! It's NEVER too late and you are NEVER too old to get satisfaction in some form of musical expression. Study for the fun of it and forget about being a professional. We have the RIGHT teacher for you in all price ranges, in all musical categories and for all degrees of musical skill even if you have never had a lesson.

***Inquire:* Miss Gladys Douglas, Secretary**

Room 1204, Steinway Building Tel.: Circle 7-4108 113 West 57th Street

WANTED!

OLD SPECTACLES and Bits of Gold Scrap to help provide

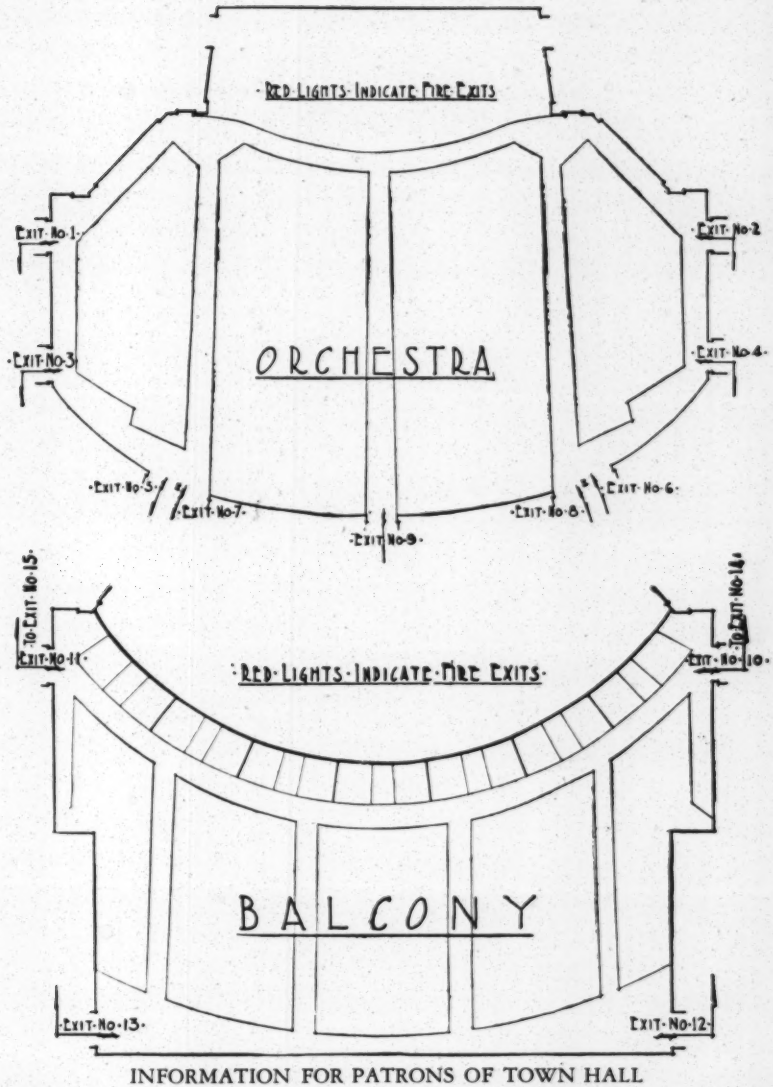
NEW EYES FOR THE NEEDY

Please Send to

NEW EYES FOR THE NEEDY, INC.

SHORT HILLS, NEW JERSEY

A Social Service sponsored by the Junior Service League of Short Hills



INFORMATION FOR PATRONS OF TOWN HALL

TELEPHONES: In Ladies' Room on the mezzanine; In Men's Room off main lobby (street floor) near Exit 6.

LOST AND FOUND: Inquire at Concert Department Office on the Mezzanine 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

SMOKING: Permitted only in the main lobby (street floor) during intermissions.

HEARING AIDS: Seatphones may be rented from the Box Office for limited number of equipped seats.

PHYSICIANS: and other patrons expecting 'phone calls may leave seat number with Box Office attendant.

BOX OFFICE: Open daily 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.; Sundays, 12 noon to 9:00 p.m. (to 5:00 p.m. only if no evening event scheduled).

For Information Regarding the Rental of Town Hall,
Address **DOROTHY DICKHAUT,** ***Manager***
The Town Hall, Inc., 123 West 43rd Street

CHESTERFIELD BRINGS YOU THE N.Y. GIANTS

ON RADIO **WMCA** ALL GAMES ON TELEVISION **WPIX** ALL HOME GAMES

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE CONCERT, MAY 21, 1950

FINANCIAL STATEMENT (as of June 15)

INCOME

Sale of Tickets

Total No. of Seats (less press passes)		No. of tickets used (less press passes)	Gross Income (including tax)
$4.80	72	58	$139.20
3.60	562	227	710.20
2.40	406	344	840.55
1.80	326	315	605.25
			2295.20

Donations	941.54	
TOTAL INCOME		$ 3236.74

EXPENSES (*indicates unpaid bill)

Printing		
to Advance Printing Co.	131.86	
to Advance Printing Co.	92.78*	
to Baron-Kahn Press	165.00	
to Federal Letter Co.	5.61	
		395.25
Advertising		
to Amsterdam News, Age, Worker Guardian, Times, Compass, WQXR		234.30
Music		
to Local 802, Am. Fed. of Musicians	1857.00	
to Carrel Drum Service	84.80*	
to City Center of Music and Drama	30.00	
To John V. Pinto	71.18	
to Carl Fischer, Inc.	30.00	
to H. W. Gray Co.	7.50	
		2080.48
Postage		209.30
To Town Hall		506.68
Expenses of Extra Personnel		517.90
Expenses of Bon Voyage Reception		80.44
Miscellaneous		
Telephone	80.90*	
to Layne's Studio	15.30*	
Photographs	5.20	
Cables	6.55	
Stationery	19.26	
Promotion, Carfare, etc.	50.98	
		178.19
Tax Due on Ticket Sales		435.30*

TOTAL EXPENSES	4617.84
DEFICIT	1381.10

In addition to the five unpaid items, totalling $689.09, there is a balance of $200 due the Council on African Affairs on a loan of $300 (May 19). Thus the total indebtedness as of June 15 is $889.09.

[Afro-American Newspapers]

September 18,1950

Mr. Carl Murphy
President, Afro American Newspapers
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore,Md.

Dear Carl,

Sometime ago I talked witha Presbyterian minister friend of mine in Harlem. He is Jim Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master. He is also chairman of Elmer Carter's Campaign Committee of Independent Citizens who oppose Adam Powell.

I told Jim that I was sorry that an outstanding minister like him could not head an independent citizens committee for Dr. Dubois because of Dubois's national and international standing which goes so far beyond partisan political considerations.

He thought about it and then he said, why don't you jot down a memo of what you have in mind for one of my sermons,which would enable me to show my deep respect for Dubois without in anyway compromising my position as chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee for Elmer Carter. I inclose a copy of the memo I sent him. He intends to use it sometime in the future.

The more I thought about it the more I thought about how his position parallels your own with respect to publicizing the activities of Progressive Party Negro candidates, the important consideration being that these are NEGRO candidates, and because of their fighting spirit, deserve notation from Negro papers wholly apart from the political views of the editors of those papers.

I think that the inclose memo, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ contains views which could easily have come from your pen. Further, I believe that if Jim saw these views in an editorial written by you, he would be even happier about quoting you in his sermon. He has not yet made use of the memo. I'll look in the editorial columns of theAfro few your answer. As I said before, I shall see you sometime shortly.

Sincerely,

24-14-27

Req for article

ESTABLISHED 1892 MEMBERS A. B. C

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN · WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN · PHILADELPHIA AFRO-AMERICAN · NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN · RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN · NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD

December 2, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Once again we are seeking your aid in forecasting events to come during the next fateful months.

With conservatives, both Northern and Southern, in firm control, do you believe the 82nd Congress will be any more friendly disposed to passage of civil rights legislation than its procrastinating predecessor?

Or do you predict a retreat on the part of President Truman on this issue so vital to our welfare? Is it your opinion that Republicans, with an eye to 1952, can continue to operate their coalition with the Dixiecrats? Or do you believe this unholy alliance will be broken during 1951?

Will the trend toward ever widening educational and occupational opportunities continue during 1951 with the stepping up of defense production, or do you think the pendulum will swing the other way?

Looking back to 1950, whom would you nominate as the most outstanding American? What do you think was our most significant achievement? In which field would you say we showed the most progress?

Please jot down your replies and forward them to us as soon as possible. We would like for them to be in our office no later than December 15. Your cooperation will be greatly be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

C. W. Mackay

C. W. Mackay
Managing Editor

cwm/w

245-29-33

My D. Wm. McKay:

My time is to taken up with my work to continue to Symposiums. If you desire an article at definite length to be ready for at your usual rates I might be able to take it on.

Yours truly

[AFRO-American Newspapers]

December 6, 1950

Mr. C. W. Mackay, Managing Editor
AFRO-AMERICAN
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

My dear Mr. Mackay:

My time is too taken up with my work to contribute to symposiums. If you desire an article at definite length to be paid for at your usual rates, I might be able to take it on.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

248-29-34

Cable Address "AFRARTS"

Artistic Gifts

Rec'd W/ sponsor

Afro-Arts Bazaar, Inc.

9 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

LEhigh 4-1867

March 14, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Cultural Committee of Afro-Arts is establishing the Countee Cullen Memorial Foundation to keep alive the interest in the rich heritage which Countee has left us.

The Foundation aims to establish scholarships for worthy young writers and to create workshops to assist aspiring writers. In addition, the Foundation will establish Countee Cullen Circles on a national scale to stimulate greater appreciation of fine literature.

At this time, we are interested in forming a committee of 100 to further interpret the aims of the Foundation and to assist in the implementation of its program.

To this end we are inviting you to a Coffee Hour at the home of Judge and Mrs. James S. Watson, 117 West 120th St., New York, on Sunday, March 26, from 4:00 to 6:00 P.M.

Very truly yours,

Estelle M. Osborne

Estelle M. Osborne
President

Thanks for invit
regret unable to
attend

24K-32-10

March 22, 1950

Mrs. Estelle M. Osborne, Pres.
Afro-Arts Bazaar, Inc.
9 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mrs. Osborne:

Dr. Du Bois thanks you for your kind invitation for Sunday March 26, but regrets his inability to attend due to a lecture engagement.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Complete letter

MRS. MAXWELL M. ALBACH 14 LASALLE ROAD MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

Dear Dr. DuBois: May I write the enclosed pay a personal word to you? I've just finished most of J.S. Redding's They came in Chains, I seem not to be satisfied with it because the tone is set for freedom in the millennium. But in the book I found your Niagara movement slogan of 1905, and this is what I have in my notes on the book:

What I get is that DuBois is a great American of all time, this slogan (see above) which dislodged B.T. Wash's tyranny over Negroes

24-1-46

can still be slogan of Negro, Jew and all Anglo-Saxonless minorities.

Did visit Israel last spring and it is a soul-freeing experience to stand on the soil that your forefathers walked in full freedom. I visited 14 other countries from which our Americans came, and inasmuch as these lands belonged to other Americans, they were also mine, and my soul expanded a little more for them.

Anglo-Saxons either do not or will not understand this kind of identification, and it is necessary therefore, for the DuBois and the Marcantonios to persist in them to the true meaning of the term America. Faithfully yours,

Oct. 26, 1950. Emma Schweibe, Albany

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M.D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUDUBON 3-5384

July 3, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

My wife and I wish to express our deepest sympathy in the passing of your wife and our good friend.

We have been saddened by the knowledge of her long illness and we are glad for her release and yours.

We hope that modern medical science possessed the means of reducing her suffering to a minimum.

Very sincerely yours,

E. R. Alexander.

Ernest R. Alexander, M. D.

B-72-27

Mars
Jupiter
Warm

July 6, 1950

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I thank you for the note of July 3, from yourself and your wife.

May I say that Mrs. Du Bois received excellent care and lived several months longer than the doctor expected. She was hospitalised for sometime at Montifiore and then for the last four years has been at home with a nurse.

The nurse came daily and promptly and was most sympathetic and efficient, so that Mrs. Du Bois had no bed-sores and very little pain. She spent her time quite comfortably reading and listening to the radio.

Her powers failed very gradually and the end came peacefully after her morning bath.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

b-92-42

LEWIS ALLAN

3095 Passmore Drive
Hollywood 28
California

May 26, 1950

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am the author of the words of "The House I Live In" and I also wrote the words and music of "Strange Fruit". I am enclosing a parody which perhaps may be useful in your work.

There is nothing more important than the question of preserving peace in the world today.

Sincerely yours,
Lewis Allan
Lewis Allan

24-55-17

(You Can Keep War From Comin')
IF YOU WORK FOR PEACE

To the tune of:(If I Knew You Were Comin') Parody by Lewis Allan
I'D'VE BAKED A CAKE

You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace,
Work for Peace, work for Peace,
You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace
Every day, every day, every day,

If you love little children
Better speak right out,
Not a doubt, get to shout,
If you love little children
Better speak right out,
There isn't any other way,

Now I don't know where you come from
And I don't know who you are
But we're facing stormy weather
So we'd better stick together
And shout out near and far,

You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace,
Work for Peace, never cease,
You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace
Every day, every day, every day,

If you love little children
Better speak right out,
Not a doubt, get to shout,
If you love little children,
Better speak right out,
Right away, right away, right away,

There are some who would rather
Make a cold war hot,
Cold war hot, get you shot,
There are some who would rather
Make a cold war hot
And drop an atom bomb today,

Now I don't know where you come from
And I don't know who you are
But we're facing stormy weather
So we'd better stick together
And shout out near and far,

You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace,
Work for Peace, work for Peace,
You can keep War from comin'
If you work for Peace
Right away, right away, right away!

34-5-18

July 21, 1950

Mr. Lewis Allan

3095 Passmore Drive
Hollywood 28, California

Dear Mr. Allan:

May I thank you very much for the verse which you sent me May 26. I have been hindered in acknowledging it before this.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-19

[Alpha Phi Alpha - Alpha Beta]

August 29, 1950

Mr. Clinton H. Lewis
106 West 143rd Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Mrs. Louise Patterson has turned your letter over to me to answer in regard to Dr. Du Bois' plans.

Dr. Du Bois has been invited to speak this Fall in Atlanta, Mississippi, (Jackson) and it is possible that he will also speak in Memphis, Tennessee. All of these dates I have made pending his return next week.

It is quite possible that Dr. Du Bois could speak for you in Talladega. You know of course that he charges a fee, since he is retired without pay. He is expected to return either the 5 or 6th of September.

I should appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience if you are interested in having him speak for you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:lm

106 West 143 Street
New York 30, New York
September 10, 1950

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

Because of a change of plans, I am leaving today for Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama and will be unable to keep my 2:30 P.M. appointment with Dr. DuBois on September 11th.

I shall write Dr. DuBois from school and try to make arrangements for his coming to us.

Thank you very much for your kindness in informing me of Dr. DuBois' plans.

Sincerely yours,

Clinton H. Lewis

Clinton H. Lewis

SAMUEL J. BROOKINS
President

CLINTON H. LEWIS
Vice President

ROBERT BROWN, JR.
Secretary

WILLIAM W. ANDREWS, III
Corresponding Secretary

THOMMY A. THOMAS
Treasurer

JAMES D. BENNETT
Chaplin

Alpha Beta Chapter
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

HERBERT L. HANNON
Financial Secretary

HENRY E. COOPER
Sergeant-at-Arms

LOUIS C. FRAYSER
Advisor to the Sphinxmen

ALBERT L. RUSSELL
Editor to the Sphinx

WILLIAM HARRIS, JR.
Historian

ARTHUR L. WILLS
Parliamentarian

September 14, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Brother DuBois:

I am sure that Mrs. Murphy has told you of our correspondence concerning an invitation extended to you to address the college family at Talladega by Alpha Beta Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

Mrs. Murphy arranged for me to see you on September 11th, but a change of plans made it necessary for me to be here early.

Mrs. Murphy wrote to say that you may speak in Atlanta and Memphis. We should also be glad to have you as our guest and to present you--admission free, as is the policy required by our administration--in either a thirty minute afternoon lecture or in an extended evening lecture. The choice of time would be yours.

We understand, of course, that you charge a fee. May we suggest $35 in addition to your traveling expenses from Atlanta and, of course, your expenses as our guest.

We understand, too, that your campaign for the United States Senate may determine the time of your trip south, but we shall be glad to have you speak at your convenience.

We are looking forward to an answer accepting our invitation and sincerely hope that you will be able to come.

Sincerely,

Clinton H. Lewis

Clinton H. Lewis

September 20, 1950

Mr. Clinton H. Lewis
Vice-President
Alpha Beta Chapter
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

My dear Mr. Lewis:

I have your letter of September 14, and regret to say that I am taking very few lecture engagements now, since I must give much of my time and strength to the senatorial campaign I cannot at present make any engagements at all.

It is fairly possible that I may speak in Atlanta in November. If I find that I can do this I will write you again and try to arrange to come to Talladega.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD: lm

248-33-47

SAMUEL J. BROOKINS
President

CLINTON H. LEWIS
Vice President

ROBERT BROWN, JR.
Secretary

WILLIAM W. ANDREWS, III
Corresponding Secretary

THOMMY A. THOMAS
Treasurer

JAMES D. BENNETT
Chaplin

Reg to Speech

Alpha Beta Chapter
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

HERBERT L. HANNON
Financial Secretary

HENRY E. COOPER
Sergeant-at-Arms

LOUIS C. FRAYSER
Advisor to the Sphinxmen

ALBERT L. RUSSELL
Editor to the Sphinx

WILLIAM HARRIS, JR.
Historian

ARTHUR L. WILLS
Parliamentarian

October 2, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Brother DuBois:

We are in receipt of your letter of September 20th. It is good to hear that you may speak in Atlanta in November and that you may be able to come to Talladega.

We shall be looking to hear more about your plans. Of course, if you do not come south in November, we shall still be glad to hear you whenever you reach our vicinity or to make plans to bring you from New York.

With every best wish, I am

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

Clinton H. Lewis

Clinton H. Lewis

[Alpha Phi Alpha - Beta]

BETA DELTA CHAPTER

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

STATE A. AND M. COLLEGE

ORANGEBURG, S. C.

March 15, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother DuBois:

Beta Delta Chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in making plans for the observance of National Education and Citizenship Week thought of you as principal speaker for a chapel program to be presented here during the week of April 2nd. Would you kindly consent to be our speaker?

Since details for the program have not yet been completed, we have tentatively scheduled you for Friday at our regular chapel program - 12:30 p.m. If it will be possible for you to be with us, kindly give us an estimate of what your cost of travel and fees will be.

I look forward to hearing from you at an early date.

Fraternally yours,

Christian Baker

Christian Baker, Chairman
Program Committee

$100 + Expense of Travel from Sc. to S. C & return

248-25-9

March 22, 1950

Mr. Christian Baker, Chairman
Program Committee
Beta Delta Chapter
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
State A. and M. College
Orangeburr, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Baker:

May I say that Dr. Du Bois will be glad to speak on your program, providing you can pay his fee of $100 plus traveling expense to and from South Carolina.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murp[redacted]
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

34-b-25-10

BETA DELTA CHAPTER

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

STATE A. AND M. COLLEGE

ORANGEBURG, S. C.

March 24, 1950

24L-25-20

Mrs. Lilliam Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

We are indeed grateful to Dr. Du Bois for accepting our invitation to speak here. We regret, however, that on account of the financial strain which our Chapter is undergoing to meet the forthcoming Southern Regional Conference of Alpha Phi Alpha, to be held here April 28-30, the Chapter is unable to meet the expense of bringing Dr. Du Bois here at this time.

It is our hope, nevertheless, that this will not in any way prejudice our cause for having Dr. Du Bois presented to our college audience at a future date.

Sincerely yours,

Christian Baker

Christian Baker, Chairman
Program Committee

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Nu Chapter
Lincoln University
Lincoln UNiversity, Penna.

March 29, 1950

W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am writing to inform you that you have been considered, along with another person, for the receivinf of the Alpha Medallion which is awarded annually by Nu Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. This award is given to the person who has, through his concern for the well-being of mankind socially, politically, and economically, done the most.

In the preceding years, such figures as Harold Ickes, Mary Anderson, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Congressman Dawson, have received this award.

I am requesting that you let me know whether you will be able to be present for the affair. From this information, the Brothers will be able to select one recipient. The date of the affair is May 5, 1950 at 7:30 p.m. here at Lincoln University. All expenses will be taken care of.

It is the wish of the Brothers and I that you will be free receive this cherished award.

Yours sincerely,

Samuel L. Mason

Samuel L. Mason
Secretary

Dr. DuBois can be present May 5 if desired

11-8-42

April 3, 1950

Mr. Samuel L. Mason, Secretary
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Nu Chapter
Lincoln University
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Mason:

Dr. Du Bois can be present

May 5, 1950 if desired.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

24-B-12

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1950 APR [illegible] 42

WESTERN UNION

(37)

24-8-13

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

[illegible] BROADWAY NY
MU-3-5298

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA206 PD=OXFORD PENN 18 1107A=

1950 APR 18 AM 11 40

DR W E B DUBOIS, COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

DR DUBOIS YOUR PRESENCE IS DESIRED FOR THE ALPHA MEDALLION AWARD. LETTER WILL FOLLOW=

ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Alpha-Phi-Alpha : Nu]

April 28, 1950

W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I trust that you received my telegram stating the Fraternity's desire for your presence at the Medallion Awarding on May 5, 1950. This program, which is to begin at 8:00 p.m., is expected to be approximately an hour long. There will be an awarding of a student scholarship, and two Medallion presentations. The other person to receive a Medallion is Mrs. Mary Mcleod Bethune.

The Brothers would like you to give a short talk(10-15min.) as a response to your receiving the citation.

Following this, there will be a reception, after which the Medallion Formal will be held.

I would like to know your plans for remaining here overnight and approximately what your traveling expenses will be.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Mason

Samuel L. Mason

348-33-25

May 1, 1950

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Lincoln University
Lincoln, Pennsylvania

Mr. Samuel L. Mason, Secretary:

On March 29, I received a letter from you requesting me to let you know whether or not Dr. Du Bois could be present on May 5, at Lincoln University.

On April 3, I answered your letter saying that Dr. Du Bois could be present if desired.

On April 18, I received a telegram saying his presence was desired and a letter would follow.

Todate we have heard nothing. May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM/m

24-8-14

May 3, 1950

Mr. Samuel L. Mason
Lincoln University
Lincoln, Pennsylvania

My dear Sir:

I shall arrive at Wilmington, Delaware Friday, May 5, at 6:24 Eastern Standard Time.

I shall spend the night and leave Saturday morning. I will be prepared to speak ten minutes.

The round-trip fare from New York will be $8.88.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lect.

May 10, 1950

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Nu Chapter
Lincoln University
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

To W. E. B. Du Bois, debtor

expenses to Lincoln and return, $8.80.

PLEASE REMIT.

24-7-2

24 Sh 26-12

May the thoughts of others

Who understand your sorrow

Give you strength today — —

and bring

New Comfort — For Tomorrow!

Mattie Allison

Wallace Brown INC.
MADE IN U.S.A.

AMERICA
NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY
329 WEST 108th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

September 22, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

24-20-15

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your note of September 18th enclosing a copy of Mrs. Monica Morrison's letter to you. The fact that she seems to think that the only hope of the colored races depends on Communism indicates considerable confusion in thought. Apparently the vast majority of American Negroes do not agree with her.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J.
Editor

RCH:t

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

May 24, 1950

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

May I recall to your mind a letter I addressed to you last February with reference to the library of the American Academy of Arts and Letters? It is our aim to build up our collection to the point where every member of the Institute--the parent organization of the Academy--is represented as completely as possible.

I regret to say that although you are a distinguished member of the Institute, there is no copy of any of your works in our collection. I should be exceedingly grateful if you would give the matter some thought, and let me know if you can assist us in our project to make the library a useful adjunct of the Academy and the Institute.

If you yourself are unable to present to the library such volumes as you would wish to have preserved as typical of your work and your career, will you not inform us how we may be able to purchase them for our shelves?

Yours sincerely,

Chauncey B. Tinker

Chairman, Library Committee

24-28-98

American Academy of Arts and Letters
633West 155th Stre
New York 32, N.Y.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
JUN 20
10:30PM
1950

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois

23 West 26th Street

New York 10, N.Y.

[Amer. Acad. of Arts and Letters]

June 20, 1950

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

As a footnote to our recent letter, I wish you to know that we have just purchased for the library: Darkwater, Some Notes on Negro Crime, Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans, and The Philadelphia Negro. If you have any spare copies of your other works, we should be very happy to have them.

Yours truly,

Hannah Josephson

In Charge of the Library

24B-38-97

July 21, 1950

Miss Hannah Josephson
The Academy of Arts and Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Josephson:

I have your letter about the books which I have written, for the library. Eventually I shall try to see if I can get some of them for you, but many of them are out of print and can only be gotten in second hand stores, however I will do what I can.

I am sending herewith:

"Dusk of Dawn"
"Color and Democracy"
"The World and Africa"

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

August 11, 1950

24-11-38

To the Members of the Institute and Academy:

At the request of the Library Committee, I send you herewith a copy of the address delivered by the President of the Institute, Mr. Douglas Moore, at the Annual Ceremonial held on May 25th, 1950.

Very sincerely yours,

Felicia Geffen

Assistant to the President

[Enc.]

Address delivered by the President of the Institute

Douglas Moore

at the Ninth Annual Ceremonial of The American Academy of Arts and Letters and The National Institute of Arts and Letters held on May 25, 1950

Coincident with the arrival of Spring on a realistic rather than a calendar basis it has become the happy custom for the Academy and the Institute to join together in a celebration of the arts. We meet as guests of the Academy in this beautiful building, remote from the studios and bazaars of our normal activity. And we are joined here by a distinguished audience, men and women of great achievement in the arts and affinitive professions, young and promising artists whose work it is our privilege to commend, and best of all by a generous company of nonprofessional friends whose presence attests not only their interest in us as individuals but their love and devotion to the arts. Together we are a demonstration of the communion of the human spirit, a reaffirmation of those beliefs which are fundamental to our existence. It is a moment to be savoured and to be remembered.

Americans, particularly those of us who fancy ourselves as belonging to the upper intellectual brackets are somewhat distrustful of ceremony. We tend to deprecate an occasion such as this and in our embarrassment to get it over with as quickly as possible. Some of our members object to being herded here on the platform to be looked at. A proposal recently made to the members that we dress in ceremonial robes was emphatically voted down. Few of us can be seen wearing our membership buttons in public. In fact, the idea of belonging to an honor society is a cause of vague discomfort in varying degree to most of us.

24-11-39

Unlike the French Academy upon which our societies were patterned, we have no official government standing although we hold our charters by act of the Congress. There is nothing we are asked or required to do about the function of art in America. We exist purely as an influential body of opinion.

And do you suppose for one instant that in a group of independent, vigorous, and unceremonious Americans who are together merely because each of them has achieved some measure of recognition in the arts there are many opinions which coincide? You should attend one of our meetings when the public is not present as a restraint upon behaviour to see how spirited and vast our disagreement can be. For we are a cross section of creative America and we probably include every prejudice, artistic, social, and political which is to be found in the entire country. And being artists we rather glory in the fact that we are more than ordinarily insusceptible to persuasion.

But this very incompatibility and conflict of viewpoint is a source of strength. For we do agree upon certain matters and our agreement is the result of a unity which lies deep within us. It is our belief in the vitality and importance of the creative arts in our national life. In our annual elections to membership and nominations for the honors and awards which we bestow there is a high sense of responsibility accepted in the vote of each member of the Institute. We realize that in decisions thus publicly recorded we are in fact attempting to hold before the American public standards of excellence in the arts. And we are willing to undertake the unenviable task of discriminating between lasting values and ephemeral success because we believe that the considered opinion of an association of artists such as ours is of importance to our fellow countrymen.

This meeting today has a deep significance for all of us, artists and lovers of arts. For it is here that we offer public testimony of the

agreements which we have reached together, an expression of that inner unity which we instinctively feel but seldom care to admit. We are here to do honor to American art and artists. Let us rejoice that in this confused and despairing world we are united and strengthened by a communion of the spirit in art, the imperishable glory and inspiration of mankind.

84-11-41

American Association
for the Advancement of Science

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
EXecutive 6060

September 13 1950

Doctor W E Burghardt DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10

Dear Doctor DuBois

It is my pleasure and privilege to tell you that, in recognition of 50 years of continuous membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Executive Committee at its last meeting voted to make you a fifty-year member.

From the practical standpoint, this means that you will hereafter be exempt from the payment of dues but may continue to receive the Association's journal of your choice, and that you will enjoy all the other privileges of full and active membership.

Cordially yours

Howard A Meyerhoff

Howard A Meyerhoff
Administrative Secretary

34-1-45

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

1515 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington 5, D. C.

Administrative Offices
Executive 6060 September 13, 1950

Dr. W. W. Burghardt Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

It is my pleasure and privilege to tell you that, in recognition of 50 years of continuous membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Executive Committee at its last meeting voted to make you a fifty-year member.

From the practical standpoint, this means that you will hereafter be exempt from the payment of dues but may continue to receive the Association's journal of your choice, and that you will enjoy all the other privileges of full and active membership.

Cordially yours,

Howard A. Meyerhoff
Administrative Secretary

Cleveland Meeting and Annual Science Exposition

December 26-31, 1950

A 24-1-34

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS

NATIONAL OFFICERS

MAURICE B. VISSCHER, PRESIDENT
FLOYD BANKS, SECRETARY
R. NEWTON MAYALL, TREASURER

NEW YORK BRANCH
4 EAST 9TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

THEODORE ROSEBURY, CHAIRMAN
HARRY GRUNDFEST, SECRETARY
ELEANOR GREENSPAN, TREASURER

January 29, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 1, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to thank you again for your helpful suggestions anent our project of surveying the status of Negroes in the social and physical sciences.

It would be of great assistance if you could suggest the names of several working scientists in New York who may be in a position to discuss and contribute to the problem of discrimination and restrictive practices in the sciences.

You will find enclosed a short brochure which describes the function, scope and program of our organization.

Very respectfully yours,

Edward S. Naidus

Edward S. Naidus

24-2-20

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Dr. THOMAS MANN
Rt. Rev. ARTHUR W. MOULTON
Vice-Chairmen
HON. HUGH DeLACY
Cleveland
REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Los Angeles
DOUGLAS HALL
Minneapolis
PEARL M. HART
Chicago
GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.
New York
HON. STANLEY NOWAK
Detroit
Chairman, Board of Directors
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.
Executive Secretary
ABNER GREEN
Administrative Secretary
HARRIET BARRON
Naturalization Aid Director
DOROTHY STRANGE
Counsel
CAROL KING
Treasurer
ISIDORE ENGLANDER

Sponsors
(Partial List)

Dr. Edith Abbott
Stella Adler
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
Emily Greene Balch
Hon. Elmer Benson
Edwin Bjorkman
Alice Stone Blackwell
Dr. James A. Blaisdell
Millen Brand
Van Wyck Brooks
Prof. Emily C. Brown
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Dr. Abraham Cronbach
Prof. John J. DeBoer
Hon. Earl Dickerson
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
Prof. Kasimir Fajans
Prof. Ernst Feise
Prof. Wendell H. Furry
Dr. Christian Gauss
Prof. Albert L. Guerard
Uta Hagen
Dashiell Hammett
Charles H. Houston
J. F. Jurich
Ray Lev
Hon. Robert Morss Lovett
Dr. Wayne McMillen
Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Prof. Clyde R. Miller
Dr. John S. Nollen
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Harriet Ida Pickens
Anton Refregier
Paul Robeson
Earl Robinson
Boardman Robinson
Dr. Bela Schick
William Jay Schieffelin
Budd Schulberg
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Dr. Laila Skinner
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Arthur Szyk
Prof. Ellen B. Talbot
Hon. Edward P. Totten
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Prof. F. W. Weymouth
Dr. Henry N. Wieman

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

Dear Sir or Madam:

We invite you to renew your service and accept as a Sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born during 1950, in the same capacity as you served during 1949.

This invitation is extended to you at this time because it is our practice not to use the names of individuals as Sponsors of our Committee for extended periods of time. It is our practice to give our Sponsors an opportunity to renew their Sponsorship.

We do hope that you will continue to serve as a Sponsor of our Committee, under the Honorary Co-Chairmanship of Dr. Thomas Mann and Bishop Arthur W. Moulton.

We enclose a copy of our REVIEW OF THE YEAR - 1949, which presents an extended summary of the Committee's work during the past year, as well as an audited financial report for 1949, and an outline program for 1950.

We enclose also a post-card, which we hope you will sign and return to us, indicating thereby your willingness to serve as a Sponsor during the coming year.

We are entering the 18th year of our work with greater responsibilities facing us than at any other time in the history of our organization. We look to your continued cooperation for our efforts to bolster the democratic rights of the American people by defending the constitutional rights and liberties of foreign-born Americans.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors

JWD:MB
uopwa
16-96

24-20-4

February 18, 1950

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors
American Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Sir:

I shall be very glad to serve as a sponsor for the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

I think that you have done an outstanding and important piece of work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-20-5

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
TO DEFEND THE
Bill of Rights

DECEMBER 2 and 3, 1950

Pythian Plaza · New York City

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Dr. THOMAS MANN
Rt. Rev. ARTHUR W. MOULTON

Chairman, Board of Directors
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.

Executive Secretary
ABNER GREEN

SPONSORS
(Partial List)

Dr. Edith Abbott
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
Dr. Kurt Anderson
Robenia Anthony
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Hon. Elmer Benson
Prof. Francis Bitter
Edwin Bjorkman
Dr. Frederick A. Blossom
Prof. Derk Bodde
Rev. John W. Bradbury
Prof. Frederick D. Bramhall
Millen Brand
James L. Brewer
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Rev. Burns Brodhead
Prof. Emily C. Brown
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Prof. Rudolph Carnap
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Dr. George A. Coe
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Dr. Abraham Cronbach
Prof. John J. DeBoer
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Hon. Earl Dickerson
Prof. J. Frank Dobie
James A. Dombrowski
Rev. V. W. Douglas
Prof. Arnold Dresden
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
Prof. Robert D. Feild
Clemens J. France
Rev. Paul A. Friedrich
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Louis Goldblatt
Dr. Marcus I. Goldman
Rabbi Dr. David Graubart
Prof. Albert L. Guerard
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach
Uta Hagen
E. Haldeman-Julius
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Prof. C. H. Hamlin
Dashiell Hammett
Hugh Hardyman
Prof. Georgia Harkness
William Harrison
Pearl M. Hart
Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
Prof. Mervin Jules
Prof. Louis C. Karpinski
Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Rockwell Kent
Carol King
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Alfred Kreymborg
Dr. Walter Landauer
Dr. Paul H. Lavietes
Ray Lev
Dr. Leo Loeb
Prof. Oliver S. Loud
Hon. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Elizabeth McCausland
John McLaren
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Prof. Thornton W. Merriam
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell
Prof. Philip Morrison
George B. Murphy, Jr.
Rev. Skillman Myers
Dr. Mary W. Newson
Rev. G. S. Nichols
Dr. Watson Nicholson
Dr. Gaspare Nicotri
Dr. John S. Nollen
Hon. Stanley Nowak
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Rev. Edward L. Peet
Harriet Ida Pickens
Anton Refregier
Dr. Bertha C. Reynolds
Boardman Robinson
Earl Robinson
Prof. Philip L. Schenck
Dr. Bela Schick
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton
Dr. Laila Skinner
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith
Prof. Willard A. Smith
Rev. F. Hastings Smyth
Prof. Pitrim A. Sorokin
Rev. Arthur M. Soule
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Fred W. Stover
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Arthur Szyk
Prof. Ellen B. Talbot
Dr. Alva W. Taylor
Hon. Edward J. Totten
Mrs. Clara M. Vincent
Eda Lou Walton
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Leroy Waterman
Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Prof. F. W. Weymouth
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe
Prof. Thomas Woody

October 5, 1950

Dear Sir or Madam:

This year our National Conference will be held in New York City, on December 2 and 3. A copy of the Program and Call is enclosed.

Since you have been receiving our material during the course of the year, you are well aware of the dangers of the deportation hysteria, and the threat to the rights and liberties not only of foreign-born Americans but to all the American people.

We invite you to attend and participate in this National Conference. If that will not be possible, we invite you to send a message of greeting to the Conference which will be read to the delegates.

With many thanks for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors

jwd/rl
uopwa
16-96

264

Civil Rights

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
TO DEFEND THE
Bill of Rights

DECEMBER 2 and 3, 1950

Pythian Plaza · New York City

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

November 6, 1950

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Dr. THOMAS MANN
Rt. Rev. ARTHUR W. MOULTON

Chairman, Board of Directors
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.

Executive Secretary
ABNER GREEN

SPONSORS
(Partial List)

Dr. Edith Abbott
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
Dr. Kurt Anderson
Robenia Anthony
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Hon. Elmer Benson
Prof. Francis Bitter
Edwin Bjorkman
Dr. Frederick A. Blossom
Prof. Derk Bodde
Rev. John W. Bradbury
Prof. Frederick D. Bramhall
Millen Brand
James L. Brewer
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Rev. Burns Brodhead
Prof. Emily C. Brown
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Prof. Rudolph Carnap
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Dr. George A. Coe
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Dr. Abraham Cronbach
Prof. John J. DeBoer
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Hon. Earl Dickerson
Prof. J. Frank Dobie
James A. Dombrowski
Rev. V. W. Douglas
Prof. Arnold Dresden
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
Prof. Robert D. Feild
Clemens J. France
Rev. Paul A. Friedrich
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Louis Goldblatt
Dr. Marcus I. Goldman
Rabbi Dr. David Graubart
Prof. Albert L. Guerard
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach
Uta Hagen
E. Haldeman-Julius
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Prof. C. H. Hamlin
Dashiell Hammett
Hugh Hardyman
Prof. Georgia Harkness
William Harrison
Pearl M. Hart
Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
Prof. Mervin Jules
Prof. Louis C. Karpinski
Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Rockwell Kent
Carol King
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Alfred Kreymborg
Dr. Walter Landauer
Dr. Paul H. Lavietes
Ray Lev
Dr. Leo Loeb
Prof. Oliver S. Loud
Hon. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Elizabeth McCausland
John McLaren
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Prof. Thornton W. Merriam
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell
Prof. Philip Morrison
George B. Murphy, Jr.
Rev. Skillman Myers
Dr. Mary W. Newson
Rev. G. S. Nichols
Dr. Watson Nicholson
Dr. Gaspare Nicotri
Dr. John S. Nollen
Hon. Stanley Nowak
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Rev. Edward L. Peet
Harriet Ida Pickens
Anton Refregier
Dr. Bertha C. Reynolds
Boardman Robinson
Earl Robinson
Prof. Philip L. Schenck
Dr. Bela Schick
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton
Dr. Laila Skinner
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith
Prof. Willard A. Smith
Rev. F. Hastings Smyth
Prof. Pitrim A. Sorokin
Rev. Arthur M. Soule
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Fred W. Stover
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Arthur Szyk
Prof. Ellen B. Talbot
Dr. Alva W. Taylor
Hon. Edward J. Totten
Mrs. Clara M. Vincent
Eda Lou Walton
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Leroy Waterman
Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Prof. F. W. Weymouth
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe
Prof. Thomas Woody

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th. Street
New York-10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We cordially invite you to address the Opening Session of the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights, which is to be held at the Pythian Plaza, 135 West 70th. Street, New York City, on Saturday morning, December 2, 1950, at 11:00 A.M.

This Conference is being called to mobilize public protest against the rearrests and denial of bail to some 45 non-citizens, who have lived in the United States for 25 to 45 years. We feel that the attack upon the right to bail, and the projected deportation of 3,400 non-citizens, are reminiscent of the Palmer raids of the 1920's, a page in our American history of which every decent American is ashamed.

We hope, therefore, that your schedule will permit you to address our Conference and that you will let us hear from you soon.

With many thanks for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

John W. Darr Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors

JWDvgm
uopwa#18

264

24-3-61

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
TO DEFEND THE
Bill of Rights

DECEMBER 2 and 3, 1950

Pythian Plaza · New York City

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Dr. THOMAS MANN
Rt. Rev. ARTHUR W. MOULTON

Chairman, Board of Directors
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.

Executive Secretary
ABNER GREEN

SPONSORS
(Partial List)

Dr. Edith Abbott
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
Dr. Kurt Anderson
Robenia Anthony
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Hon. Elmer Benson
Prof. Francis Bitter
Edwin Bjorkman
Dr. Frederick A. Blossom
Prof. Dark Bodde
Rev. John W. Bradbury
Prof. Frederick D. Bramhall
Millen Brand
James L. Brewer
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Rev. Burns Brodhead
Prof. Emily C. Brown
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Prof. Rudolph Carnap
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Dr. George A. Coe
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Dr. Abraham Cronbach
Prof. John J. DeBoer
Hon. Hugh DeLacy
Hon. Earl Dickerson
Prof. J. Frank Dobie
James A. Dombrowski
Rev. V. W. Douglas
Prof. Arnold Dresden
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
Prof. Robert D. Feild
Clemens J. France
Rev. Paul A. Friedrich
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Louis Goldblatt
Dr. Marcus I. Goldman
Rabbi Dr. David Graubart
Prof. Albert L. Guerard
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach
Uta Hagen
E. Haldeman-Julius
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Prof. C. H. Hamlin
Dashiell Hammett
Hugh Hardyman
Prof. Georgia Harkness
William Harrison
Pearl M. Hart
Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
Prof. Mervin Jules
Prof. Louis C. Karpinski
Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Rockwell Kent
Carol King
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Alfred Kreymborg
Dr. Walter Landauer
Dr. Paul H. Lavietes
Ray Lev
Dr. Leo Loeb
Prof. Oliver S. Loud
Hon. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Elizabeth McCausland
John McLaren
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Prof. Thornton W. Merriam
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell
Prof. Philip Morrison
George B. Murphy, Jr.
Rev. Skillman Myers
Dr. Mary W. Newson
Rev. G. S. Nichols
Dr. Watson Nicholson
Dr. Gaspare Nicotri
Dr. John S. Nollen
Hon. Stanley Nowak
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Rev. Edward L. Peet
Harriet Ida Pickens
Anton Refregier
Dr. Bertha C. Reynolds
Boardman Robinson
Earl Robinson
Prof. Philip L. Schenck
Dr. Bela Schick
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton
Dr. Laila Skinner
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith
Prof. Willard A. Smith
Rev. F. Hastings Smyth
Prof. Pitrim A. Sorokin
Rev. Arthur M. Soule
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Fred W. Stover
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Arthur Szyk
Prof. Ellen B. Talbot
Dr. Alva W. Taylor
Hon. Edward J. Totten
Mrs. Clara M. Vincent
Eda Lou Walton
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Leroy Waterman
Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Prof. F. W. Weymouth
Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe
Prof. Thomas Woody

Dear Sir Or Madam:

As a Sponsor, you will undoubtedly be interested in seeing the enclosed Summary Proceedings of the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights, which met in New York City on December 2 and 3, 1950.

We believe that you will be happy to learn that this National Conference was highly successful in gathering many forces from all parts of the country and developed an effective program for defending the democratic and constitutional rights of foreign born Americans.

Sincerely yours,
John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Co-Chairman

jwd/df
dpwa

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS
December 2-3, 1950 New York City

SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS

Opening Session

George B. Murphy, of New York City, served as chairman of the Opening Session. Mr. Murphy read a special message from Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, of Salt Lake City, Utah, expressing his regrets at not being able to attend the Conference.

The Conference adopted a Statement of Policy and Objectives to serve as a guide for the Conference discussion and deliberations. The Conference adopted messages to the following: Dr. Thomas Mann and Bishop Arthur W. Moulton; Esther Sazer, of Los Angeles; and to the eight non-citizens held without bail in Los Angeles, Seattle, Duluth, and Detroit. (The Statement, as well as all messages, are reprinted at the end of the Summary Proceedings.)

Speakers who addressed the Conference were: Clemens J. France, former head of the Department of Welfare of Rhode Island; Rockwell Kent, of Ausable Forks, New York, President of the International Workers Order; William Patterson, Executive Director of the Civil Rights Congress.

Carol King, General Counsel, and Abner Green, Executive Secretary, delivered annual reports on the work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Saturday Afternoon Session

Hon. Stanley Nowak, of Detroit, served as chairman of the Saturday Afternoon Session. The session was devoted to discussion by Conference participants.

Motion was made and seconded to print in pamphlet form the report delivered during the morning session by Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

During the afternoon session, a telegram was read from the Northwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born announcing the release on bail of Boris Sasief, of Seattle. The Conference greeted this announcement with the expressed determination to intensify efforts for the release of the seven non-citizens still held without bail.

The following Committee Chairmen were appointed: Resolutions Committee - Saul Grossman, of Detroit; Nominating Committee - Lillian Goodman, of Chicago; Credentials Committee - Alma Foley, of Minneapolis; Constitution Committee - Harriet Barrong, of New York City.

The Panel on Legal Defense, with 25 attorneys participating, met in panel session while the Conference was in session.

Saturday Evening Session - CONFERENCE BANQUET

Hon. Hugh DeLacy, of Cleveland, presided at the Conference Banquet. Speakers included: Bishop Mother Love Deborah, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Arnold Johnson, of the Civil Rights Congress; John Williamson, one of the 160 deportees, national labor secretary of the Communist Party; Hugh Bryson, of San Francisco, President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. Carol King introduced attorneys present in the audience, and Abner Green introduced deportees present.

An appeal for funds resulted in $4,500 being contributed and $4,000 being pledged for the work of the American Committee.

Sunday Morning Session

Pearl M. Hart, of Chicago, served as Chairman of the Sunday morning session. Delegates continued the disucssion on the reports. Reports were delivered for national group defense committee meetings, which were held on Sunday morning at 9:00 A.M.: Greek-American, Slavic-American, Jewish-American, Lithuanian-American. Written reports were submitted by representatives of state delegation meetings, which were held on Saturday afternoon: Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; New York State and New Jersey; New England.

Blanch Freedman, of New York, reported to the Conference on the discussion of Attorneys at the Panel on Legal Defense.

Sunday Afternoon Session

Abner Green served as Chairman of the Business Session of the Conference.

Alma Foley reported for the Credentials Committee; 356 delegates and observers, representing 163 organizations, participated in the Conference. The delegates came from 15 states and the District of Columbia; New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Washington, California and the District of Columbia. Participants came from Trade unions, and fraternal, women, Negro, church, educational, professional, national group and defense organizations.

Harriet Barron reported for the Constitution Committee and Saul Grossman reported for the Resolutions Committee. (The committee reports are reprinted at the end of the Summary Proceedings.)

Joe Weber, of Chicago, presented the report for the Nominating Committee, The following were elected by the Conference to serve during 1951:

HonoraryCo-Chairmen: Dr. Thomas Mann and Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
Co-Chairmen: Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., and George B. Murphy, Jr.
Executive Secretary: Abner Green
Administrative Secretary: Harriet Barron
Naturalization Aid Director: Dorothy Strange
Treasurer: Charles Musil
General Counsel: Carol King

Abner Green made concluding remarks for the America Committee, thanked the conference participants, urged intensified activity to defend the democratic and constitutional rights of foreign-born Americans, and closed the Conference at 4:00 P.M.

Messages Received

The Conference received messages from the following: Fred W. Stover, president, Iowa Farmers Union, Hampton, Iowa; Bishop Edward L. Parsons, San Francisco; Prof. Derk Bodde, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell University; Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Wellesley College: Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago; Uta Hagen, New York City: Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, New Haven; Bishop Walter Mitchell, Rancho Santa Fe, California; Francis Fisher Kane, Peace Dale, Rhode Island; Earl Robinson, Los Angeles; Bertha C. Reynolds, Stoughton, Massachusetts; Rev. Eliot White, New York City; Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Wilmington, California; Workmen's Circle, Branch 983, Los An-

geles; Russian American Society, San Francisco; Anna Ganley, Detroit; William Heikkila and Ernest Fox, San Francisco; Anthony Cattonar, New York.

APPENDIX

Constitution

The Constitution of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, adopted by the Fourth National Conference on May 3, 1940, in Washington, D. C., and amended by the Fifth National Conference on March 30, 1941, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, is amended to read as follows:

ARTICLE I
Name of Organization

The name of this organization shall be the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

ARTICLE II
Purpose

The purpose of the American Committee shall be to perpetuate for the foreign born the fundamental American concepts of equality, regardless of race, color, nationality, creed, or place of birth, and to preserve the fundamental ideals of liberty and hospitality which serve as the guarantees of democracy to all Americans.

The work of the American Committee shall be to promote better rel ations and understanding between native and foreign born by means of education; to encourage and facilitate the naturalization of non-citizens; to prevent discrimination against non-citizens or foreign-born citizens because of their nationality, political, economic or religious belief, or lack of citizenship; to prevent the destruction of American families by the threat of deportation; to maintain the traditional right of asylum for political and religious refugees in the United States and to actively work for the solution of the problems confronting the foreign born in the United States.

The American Committee shall be an unaffiliated, non-membership, independent, non-partisam body cooperating with all other organizations interested in any phases of its program.

ARTICLE III
Structure and Officers

The ultimate authority of the American Committee shall be the Annual Conference. The Annual Conference will delegate full responsibility to those individuals and bodies which, in its mature judgment, are best capable of carrying out the program, decisions and authority of the Annual Conference.

The Officers of the American Committee shall be: Honorary Co-Chairmen, Co-Chairmen, and Treasurer, elected annually by the Annual Conference.

The Administrative Officer responsible to the Annual Conference for the work and activities of the American Committee in between the Annual Conference shall be the Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary shall be elected annually by the Annual Conference.

ARTICLE IV
Amendments

The Constitution of the American Committee may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Annual Conference.

Messages Adopted

To Dr. Thomas Mann and Bishop Arthur W. Moulton:

As we begin the opening session of the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights, all of us assembled here at this critical time send you our sincere regrets that it is impossible for you to be with us. We had hoped to have the pleasure of telling you in person that throughout the United States there are great numbers of foreign-born and native-born Americans who, with us deeply value your continued leadership in the important work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

To Esther Sazer, Los Angeles, California:

Greetings on your fifty-first birthday from the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights. We hope that during the coming year the deportation proceedings against you and all other foreign-born Americans will be cancelled and that you will be able to enjoy many more birthdays with your children and grandchildren.

To: David Hyun, Harry Carlisle, Miriam Stevenson, Frank Carlson (Los Angeles)
Ernest Mangaoang, Boris Sasiof (Seattle)
Knut Hoikkinen (Duluth)
John Zydok (Detroit)

We who are assembled at the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights greet you in your sixth week of unjustified imprisonment by the Justice Department without bail. We commend your brave fight on behalf of the rights of all Americans. We shall not cease in our efforts until your freedom is won.

Pledge Adopted by Conference

In keeping with our firm adherence to the Bill of Rights and our unyielding determination to uphold American traditions of democracy and justice, we take this pledge to all of you good fellow-Americans who have been kept by the Justice Department, through no fault of your own, from becoming citizens of this, the country of your choice.

We shall never cease in our endeavor to defeat your deportation and to enable you to remain in this country, where you belong, among your family and friends. We shall support with all our resources your effort to become American citizens and to continue your contributions to the well-being of the American people.

Statement of Policy and Objectives

The National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights was called to consider the dangers to the existence of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution caused by the widespread attack on the democratic rights of foreign born Americans, naturalized and non-citizen. The Conference, in devoting itself to the rights of these Americans, recognizes that reaction in the United States seeks to use the foreign born as scapegoats, and seeks by acting against the foreign born to provide legal and political precedents for attacking the civil rights of all Americans.

The issues on which the Conference is resolved to act are:

The Justice Department's attempts to use the unconstitutional McCarran Law to establish concentration camps in the United States by illegally re-arresting 48 non-citizens and holding them without bail.

The Justice Department's announcement that it will arrest and deport more than 3,400 non-citizens on the basis of the deportation provisions of the McCarran Law.

The Justice Department's announced intention to revoke the citizenship of more than 1,000 naturalized American citizens.

The difficulties the Justice Department has placed in the way of thousands of non-citizens who have been tryihg for years to become American citizens without success.

These issues create serious dangers to the civil rights and freedom of every American, native as well as foreign born. This Conference, therefore, in order successfully to accomplish objectives of common concern, calls for support of its program of action by all Americans and all American organizations, regardless of political or social beliefs, or difference, that recognize the defense of the rights of foreign-born Americans as being essential to the preservation of democratic liberties in the United States.

The Conference reaffirms its attachment to the democratic aspirations of the American people, to the United States Constitution and to its Bill of Rights. It appeals to all sections of the American people to join together in defense of the rights of all non-citizens and naturalized citizens -regardless of their race, color, creed, national origin, or political belief- who have become, or may become, the victims of McCarran Law hysteria.

Resolutions

Delegation to Washington

Resolved, that a delegation be sent to Washington from this National Conference to lay before the Attorney General the resolutions adopted by the Conference on the Justice Department's illegal and inhuman treatment of the foreign born, and to call upon the Attorney General to release immediately the seven non-citizens still held without bail and to demand the discontinuance and cancellation of deportation hearings conducted in violation of rules of fair procedure.

"Fight Deportation" Month

Resolved, that this Conference designate the month of March 1951 as FIGHT DEPORTATION MONTH, during which the first week be devoted to local community conferences on the defense of foreign born Americans, the week of March 19 be devoted to delegations to Washington consisting of the American citizen families of those facing deportation; and the week of March 26 be devoted to mass meetings in all communities at which relatives of deportees can report on the results of their trip to Washington.

Deportation

Whereas, this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights has received reports of actions carried out by the Justice Department against non-citizens in recent weeks, including illegal arrests in minight raids, establishment of a concentration camp on Ellis Island, prolonged imprisonment of non-citizens without bail, denials of Constitutional rights, and denials of human rights; and

Whereas, the Justice Department has said it is ready to deport 3,400 non-citizens, and that it regards, 3,000,000 non-citizens as candidates for concentration camps; and

Whereas, the Justice Department is using or misusing provisions of the McCarran Law as the pretext for many of its cruel and illegal acts against non-citizens; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights demand that the Justice Department halt immediately its deportation drive which is destroying American families, damaging American rights, institutions and traditions of justice and fair play, and causing acute distress and fear among non-citizens and citizens, alike;and, further, be it

Resolved, that this Conference demand that the Justice Department release immediately on bail the seven non-citizens it has held for six weeks without bail in solitary confinement or in county jails in Los Angeles, Seattle, Duluth and Detroit; and, further, be it

Resolved, that this Conference demand that the Justice Department make no further arrests or molestations of non-citizens, that it conduct no further illegalities against non-citizens, abolish its concentration camp system, that it permit the victims of the present deportation drive to become American citizens and remain with their families and friends in this country where they have spent their lives; and, further, be it

Resolved, that this Converence call for unceasing efforts to obtain the immediate nullification and repeal of all laws for deportation for political opinion or association and particularly the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended by the Mc Carran Law.

Naturalization

Whereas, the naturalization of non-citizens benefits not only non-citizens but also their American families, their communities and the nation as a whole since it make possible more active participation in our economic and political life by the foreign born; and

Whereas, the Justice Department is using or misusing the McCarran Law to obstruct and hamper the foreign born in their efforts to obtain citizenship, to delay or nullify pending applications, and even to seek to take away naturalization already granted to more than 1,000 foreign born, and

Whereas, the Justice Department is trying to use the naturalization laws as a means of terrorizing and intimidating non-citizens, especially in the cases of those who are members of progressive social and fraternal organizations; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this Conference condemn as an attack on the rights of the foreign born the efforts that are being made by the Justice Department to interefere with and prevent the naturalization of non-citizens, and

Resolved, that this Conference go on record for the nullification and repeal of any provisions in the McCarran Law that may be held to obstruct the attainment of naturalization by the foreign born.

Deportation Hearings

Whereas, the Justice Department is now conducting wholesale, hour-long deportation hearings at the feverish rate of four a day; and

Whereas, the conduct of these hearings violates due process of law and other constitutional rights of non-citizens, and is contrary to the procedure ruled

essential for fair hearings by the Supreme Court; and

Whereas, in the current deportation hearings all of the persons who file and present charges, hear testimony, sit in judgment and render decisions are in the employ of the Justice Department and depend for their jobs upon the favor of the Justice Department; and

Whereas, the Justice Department uses in deportation hearings against non-citizens, professional witnesses whom it pays continuing fees for giving their testimony over and over again, and other witnesses who are kept in regular employment by the Justice Department for the purpose of testifying in any city at the bidding and will of the Justice Department; and

Whereas, the Justice Department has attempted to hold deportation hearings in secret at which the public would be denied the right to confront paid informants or provocative agents of the Justice Department; and

Whereas, the Justice Department's deportation hearings are altogether of such a nature as to be a travesty of justice, and bring into mockery law, Constitutional rights and every concept of democratic procedure and decency; therefore, be it

Resolved, that all past hearings illegally conducted be voided and cancelled, and

Resolved, that this Conference pledge itself to support such action before the public and the Congress and in the Courts as may be necessary to require the Justice Department to cease from all illegal actions and proceedings.

Right to Bail

Whereas, there is a great doubt as to the constitutionality of the statute heretofore relied on, and of the newly enacted McCarran Law, and

Whereas, all the non-citizens who have been arrested for deportation by reason of their political opinions have been in the United States for many years and have families here, and there is no danger of their not being available for deportation hearings; and

Whereas, the Justice Department has made repeated attempts to arrest non-citizens and hold them in prolonged imprisonment without bail, or to impose bail in highly excessive amounts causing hardships; therefore, be it

Resolved, that all non-citizens arrested for deportation and charged in violation of the Act of 1918, as amended, be released without bail and on their own recognizance.

Improper Places of Confinement

Whereas, the Department of Justice has imprisoned non-citizens for six weeks, and continues to imprison them in county jails which are dirty, verminous, and lack provisions for adequate comfort, sanitation, or the maintenance of health; and

Whereas, the Justice Department in such imprisonment only provides non-citizens with nauseating, inedible foods and denies non-citizens the right to receive food packages or purchase food outside the jails; and

Whereas, the Justice Department in such imprisonment denied non-citizens the right to medicines, exercise, fresh air, and the right to receive books, magazines and newspapers from the outside, and the right to have facilities for reading, writ-

ing, or assistance in preparing their own cases now under appeal in the Federal Courts; and

Whereas, the Justice Department in such imprisonment limits or denies non-citizens in receiving visitors of their choice, and otherwise subjects non-citizens to brutality, indignities and degradition; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights demand the immediate release of all non-citizens the Justice Department has imprisoned in county jails or other unsuitable places of confinement; and

Resolved, that the Attorney General be called on to order that no other non-citizens shall at any time be subjected to such inhuman imprisonment and inhuman denials of rights and decency.

Revocation of Citizenship

Resolved, that this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights demand that the Attorney General and the Justice Department cease questioning and terrorizing naturalized citizens of the United States; and

Resolved, that this Conference go on record for the repeal of any provisions of the McCarran Law and earlier statutes providing for the cancellation of citizenship of naturalized citizens of the United States.

Repeal of the McCarran Law

Resolved, that this National Conference considers the McCarran Law unconstitutional and subversive of the civil and human rights of all Americans, and calls for unceasing efforts to obtain its nullification and repeal.

Racial Provisions in the Immigration and Naturalization Laws

Resolved, that this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights call for the outright repeal of immigration and naturalization laws that discriminate against any people because of their race, color, or country of origin.

Mexican-Americans

Resolved, that this Conference condemn the treatment of Mexican-Americans as an inferior group by the Justice Department and urge the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to develop a special program of action for the defense of the rights of Mexican-Americans and for steps to facilitate their naturalization.

West-Indian-Americans

Resolved, that this Conference call for the fair and equal application of immigration laws to all immigrants seeking to enter the United States from the West Indies and demand that American officials at home or aborad cease discrimination based upon race or the color of skin; and

Resolved, that this Conference pledge its opposition to any laws which, while purporting to lift racial barriers in our immigration statutes, in fact establish or foster racial discrimination in areas in or about the West Indies or elsewhere.

Resvoled, that this Conference pledge its defense of the rights of West Indians in the United States and oppose all discrimination or denials of civil and human rights.

24-2-9

Greek Seamen

Whereas, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is conducting a virtual reign of terror against members of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions; and

Whereas, more than 300 Greek seamen have been excluded from entry into this country for normal shore leave and more than 50 members of the FGMU have been held in deportation proceedings; and

Whereas, the Justice Department is attempting to deport Nicholas Kaloudis, secretary of the American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, solely on the technical ground of entry, despite his marriage to an American citizen and his threatened separation from his American-born son; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this Conference go on record condemning the mistreatment and terrorization of Greek seamen and protest the attempt to deport Nicholas Kaloudis and foribly separate him from his American family.

24-2-10

Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt

Whereas, the indictment and trial of Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, leaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is the latest step in the perpetual harassment of Harry Bridges and his union; and

Whereas, this is the first time that an individual has been tried and cleared and tried again and again on the same charge; and

Whereas, the attempt to revoke the citizenship of Harry Bridges on a trumped-up charge of perjury and conspiracy is an intimidation of every foreign-born citizen in the United States and a warning that, unless he acts in accordance with the standards laid down by the FBI, he will be threatened with eventual deportation; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this Conference go on record condemning the Department of Justice and every government witness who cooperates in this monstrous proceeding and calls on the Justice Department to drop these proceedings against Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt.

The Case of Peter Harisiades

Whereas, the Justice Department has ordered the deportation of Peter Harisiades for past membership in the Communist Party of the United States under a law enacted after such membership had ceased; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights demand that the Justice Department cancel the warrant of deportation against Peter Harisiades, urge the Justice Department to grant him the naturalization for which he applied, go on record against attempts to apply ex post facto laws and Bills of Attainder to non-citizens, and calls for the repeal of all laws seeking to authorize deportation for political views and association.

Miscellaneous

Resolved, that this Conference wishes to express its deep appreciation to the clerical workers and all others whose assistance and cooperation have aided the Conference to carry out its deliberations and work effectively.

Resolved, that the Office Staff of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born be instructed and authorized to forward copies of all resolutions to all individuals and organizations who should be informed of their contents.

Resolved, that this Conference acknowledge with deep appreciation the messages received from individuals and organizations in all parts of the country and instructs the Office Staff of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to convey our appreciation to all those who forwardod messages.

dpowa

24-2-11

ERJ 64 E. 90 Ry 28

1-17-48

My dear Mr. Du Bois,

As Chairman of the Manhattan Women's Division of the Commission on Law and Social Action — a part of the American Jewish Congress activities, I am taking the liberty of writing to you relative to certain legislative matters in which the American Jewish Congress is interested.

These are:—

1) Your stand (pro) or con the Federal F.E.P.C. law (McGrath-Powell)
2) The revision of the present D.P. legislation
3) Repeal of the McCarran Wood law
4) Your position relative to the Naturalization procedures in

Germany. (VS.

This is asking a great deal of you but our membership would be most appreciative of a reply.

Cordially —

Elsa R. Tow

(Mrs) Abraham Tow

Du Bois, Senatorial Campaign

October 27, 1950

Mrs. Abraham Tow
64 East 90th Street
New York, New York

24-17-2

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of October 28, May I say that I am in favor of the Federal FEPC law with power of enforcement. I am in favor of the repeal of the McCarran law, and dislike intensly the Denazification procedures so far in Germany. I do not think that Nazi party members ought to be restored to power.

With regard to the displaced persons legislation, I am not familiar enough with the present situation to express an opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

STATEMENT ON WORLD PEACE
Adopted by

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
July 20, 1950

Since last we met, the peace of the world has been shattered by the outbreak of war in Korea. This war has been condemned by the U. N. as an act of lawless aggression by the Communist regime in North Korea; and the free nations of the world, under the banner of the United Nations, are now engaged in concerted military action to stop the aggressor and to restore international peace.

Our country, acting in pursuance of its obligations under the U. N. charter to maintain international peace and security, has taken the lead in the struggle against totalitarian aggression. It is committed to the task of maintaining the rule of law as against force in international relations. The Convention of the American Jewish Congress in November, 1949, "dedicated itself anew to a firm policy of working for and maintaining world peace by strengthening the authority of the United Nations." As Americans, concerned with the security of our country and the freedom and peace of the world, we reaffirm our unstinting support of our Government and the U. N. in meeting the challenge of aggression in Korea.

At stake in the outcome of the struggle in Korea is the cause of world peace to which we of the American Jewish Congress, as all freedom loving people everywhere, are deeply committed. It is only through the decisive defeat and punishment of the lawless forces which commit a breach of the peace that the cause of lasting peace can be advanced. We must therefore be on guard against those who use slogans of peace as a cover for acts of war. The so-called 'peace petitions' now being circulated in many parts of the world have their source in that power which has planned and executed the breach of the peace in Korea. They are designated to exploit mankind's natural love of peace in order to break down resistance to planned totalitarian aggression.

The American Jewish Congress has an increasingly important duty to perform for our country as one of the effective, liberal, democratic forces in the life of the nation. If we are to perform this patriotic duty we must not permit ourselves to be used or misused either by groups committed to the totalitarianisms of the left with its basic denial of the principles of human freedom and democracy or by those reactionary interests on the right which are seeking to exploit the fear of communist to destroy the democratic processes in America.

Office of: Ewart Guinier, Secretary-Treasurer, United Public Workers
2 Lafayette St. New York 7, N. Y. Tel: WO 4-7117
and
Chairman, Harlem ALP Council
Office of 11th A.D. ALP, 2132 Seventh Ave. N.Y.C.

September 7, 1950

INFORMAL MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION

Subject: Harlem A.L.P. Campaign

From: Ewart G. Guinier, Chairman, Harlem ALP Council

In this informal memo I shall attempt to give a summary of various discussions that have been held within the Harlem ALP Council with the officers of the New York County and State ALP, on the 1950 elections. The focal point of the entire discussion will be our work in the Harlem area (22nd C. D.), the jurisdiction of the Harlem Council of the ALP. For convenience, I shall divide the discussion into four parts, as follows:

I. Overall picture

II. Harlem-wide Perspective

III. 11th A. D. Assembly Campaign for Frances Smith

IV. Organizational Steps

I. Overall Picture: The overriding issue in the 1950 elections is the need to bring forth among the people, the desirability and practicability of enforcing a genuine peace in the world by the will of the people and in contradiction to those who preach and act along the lines of Secretary of the Navy, Francis Matthews - that war is inevitable and desirable. At the February, 1950 Convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago, peace was put forth as the main issue for the 1950 elections. Again, the National Committee of the Progressive Party, at its June, 1950 meeting, put forth peace as the main issue. Both of these actions have been endorsed by the New York State ALP and by our Harlem Council. We acted thus because we recognized that the fight for full-time jobs without discrimination, at trade union wages; for decent housing without restrictive covenants, for schools, health facilities, for freedom from police brutality and other manifestations of white supremacy; --all these fights are endangered if not completely nullified when there is a warmongering, chauvinist attitude abroad. We fight for jobs and equality at all times, but we know that without a consistent fight for peace at the same time, we are virtually tilting at windmills.

It will be our job, therefore, during the elections, to show how our needs are being sacrificed on the altar of the ideologies of the Francis Matthewses. At the same time, we must find the way to stimulate, lead and encourage many specific campaigns on the immediate problems facing the people, problems of high prices and inferior merchandise, no jobs or only menial jobs; starvation relief allowances; rent increase threats for fire-trap, rat-infested tenements, etc. etc.

The state-wide ticket of the ALP was consciously selected to further the fight in the manner indicated above. Our leading candidate will be Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for United States Senate. Dr. DuBois' candidacy will at once dramatize the striving and struggle of the Negro people for full equality now. It will point up the betrayals which we have suffered in the Senate of the United States by filibustering and shadow-boxing over civil rights by both the Republican 80th Congress and the Democratic 81st Congress. In addition, Dr. DuBois, who in 1900 stated that "the problem of the 20th Century is the question of the color line", and who during the succeeding 50 years, by his activities has shown the relationship between discrimination at home against Negroes, and colonialism abroad against people of the so-called "darker races", is the ideal symbol and embodiment of our Progressive

Party and ALP's program for peace and equality and against colonialism and discrimination. Dr. DuBois, in 1903 in his book "Souls of Black Folk", challenged the conformists' theory of accepting Jim Crow, - then propounded by Booker T. Washington who jeered Dr. DuBois as a man who would put a Latin primer in the hands of a Negro sharecropper. DuBois held to his idea, since amply justified, that no people can accept an inferior status at any time without damaging their entire fight for equality. His answer to Booker T. Washington was that the lowliest Negro share-cropper could have within him the potentialities of the greatest scholar.

In 1906 with a few other Negroes such as William Monroe Trotter, DuBois lead a pilgrimage to the tomb of John Brown where a solemn pledge was taken by the assembled few - never to give up the fight for full equality for Negroes. These men founded the Niagara movement which stimulated the founding in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois, founder of the NAACP, became its first Negro officer and full-time official and remained the editor of its official organ "Crisis" for 22 years.

24-17-22

After getting his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1896 as a result of his monumental study of the African slave trade, DuBois had fostered the Atlanta Studies relating to the problems of Negroes in various parts of the United States. Dr. DuBois, the only Negro member of the National Academy of Arts and Letters, is also the recipient of honorary degrees from several American Universities and is known throughout the world, especially throughout Africa and Asia, for his writings and work on behalf of all people, especially of colored peoples. He was present at the Versailles conference when the League of Nations was founded, and presided over a simultaneous International Assembly of Colored Peoples. He became the first Chairman of the Pan African Congress.

Today, he is Chairman of the Peace Information Center, formed last April to further the fight for peace in the United States. This organization has supplied Americans with materials and facts of various groups working to prevent a third world war, including the World Peace Appeal to Ban the A-Bomb; similar material from the International Red Cross and the International Council of Churches. Dr. DuBois has characterized the recent attempt by the Justice Department to hamper the work of the Peace Information Center by demanding that it register under the provision of the foreign agents act, as a "fantastic absurdity". "I can state categorically that there is no basis in fancy or in fact for the charge that the Peace Information Center is a representative in any way of a 'foreign principal'", said Dr. DuBois. He further stated that the Peace Information Center "is an entirely American organization whose sole objective is to secure peace, to prevent a third world war." He further declared that the attacks on the organization which he heads had but one purpose: "to intimidate those working for peace" but the attacks, "will not erase the 2 Million signatures already secured for the World Peace Appeal. I am sure," he said, "that these 2 Million signers and countless millions of Americans who hate war will defend the right to work and speak for peace."

Dr. DuBois was author of the NAACP 1947 "Appeal to the World". This document unsuccessfully sought to obtain the support of the United Nations for the fight being carried on in the United States against Jim Crow discrimination and for full equality for Negroes and other minority groups. It was Dr. DuBois' insistence on carrying through this fight despite the opposition of the official United States representatives to the United Nations, that brought about his disagreement with the present top leadership of the NAACP. Dr. Du Bois' position was then supported by numerable branches and leaders of the NAACP and has now been justified. How can a United Nations that refuses to concern itself with the intolerable Jim Crow conditions which Negroes suffer in the United States, be trusted to bring "democracy" to colored peoples in other parts of the world, including Korea?

The presence on our ticket of this tower of a man with his 82 years of wisdom and experience gained from world-wide travels to China, other parts of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, in addition to his life long fight for equality on the domestic front, will adorn our state ticket and bring dignity to our entire campaign as no other event could. This campaign, lead by Dr. DuBois, will be felt throughout the country and, yes, throughout the world. All of us must find the ways to get the pennies, nickels and dimes to ensure a vast radio audience that will bring his incisive analyses of current events and a program for peace, equality and abundance to all.

Dr. DuBois' running mates will be:

For Governor, John T. McManus, Editor and founder of the National Guardian, progressive weekly, former movie critic of Time and PM as well as former President of the New York Newspaper Guild.

For Lieutenant Governor, Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Chairman, Village LaGuardia ALP Club; Women for Peace, and Italian Americans for Peace.

For Comptroller, Michael A. Jiminez, Syracuse-Rome representative of the United Electrical Workers Union and a former Major in the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.).

For Mayor, Paul L. Ross, Chairman of the Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, the New York Tenants Council, and formerly Mayor O'Dwyer's Administrative Secretary, from which position he resigned rather than go along with the 10¢ subway fare deal.

The goal for which we should shoot is a minimum of 400,000 votes. Last year in New York City, our State Chairman, Representative Vito Marcantonio polled 356,000 votes.

II. Harlem-Wide Perspective: Harlem-wide (22nd C. D.), the ALP is the second party next to the Democratic Party. Despite the glamour surrounding him and his past activities, it is a fact that Congressman Powell has slipped tremendously in the past several months, especially since the Korean situation. Mr. Powell voted to cite the Secretary-Treasurer of the UE, Julius Emspak for contempt of the UnAmerican Rankin Committee. It seems Rankin has intimidated Powell. His former fight has left him. One day he criticizes Democrats and Republicans for betrayal on FEPC, next day he alibis for those who voted for the toothless, worthless, McConnell "FEPC" bill which he himself had once characterized as "a sham, a fraud, an hypocrisy". But since the administration, in effect, went along with the McConnell Bill, Adam had to cover up for them. This he did with an additional dose of red-baiting of those unions which CIO's Jim Crow leadership kicked out of that organization primarily because these unions didn't support the Democratic Party and refused to keep quiet about Jim Crow in the government, in Alabama and elsewhere. Powell voted for Point 4 --the latest mechanism to give Wall Street a firm grip on the lives of colonial peoples, the so-called "darker peoples . . .backward peoples. ." What Wall Street thinks of Point 4 can best be seen in an editorial in the Wall St. Journal of August 14th, entitled "Sir Galahad in Asia":

> "If we really wanted to save Asia from communism, we would have to turn it into an armed camp so strong the North Koreans, Chinese Communists and Russians altogether could not breach it. In the process, of course, we would have to involve ourselves very much in the internal affairs of the independent Asiatic nations; in fact we would have to run the show. . . .
>
> "If a nation is invaded and asks for help, there may be a case for providing help. But to assume that every non-communist nation in the world is automatically devoted to democracy and must be saved from communism is to begin to arrogate to oneself the prerogatives of deity. It is to say in effect, that the rest of the people in the world are irresponsible, incapable of judging between what is good and bad."

A final deterioration of our Congressman was his response to the New York Age when questioned about Congressman Lanham of Georgia who had called the Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, Mr. William Patterson, a "black son of a bitch". Powell replied, "I have no comment, that's a personal matter".

Our job must be to bring our ALP program to the people and to educate them to the fact that insults against Negroes is not personal but is tied up with

the no jobs, bad housing, police brutality and other Jim Crow manifestations of American life which must be consistently fought and that we are the ones to do it.

Elmer Carter and the Republicans headed by Tom Dewey are too well known for their callous disregard of our rights to need any extended comment. Dewey was the first Governor in New York in recent times to send Negroes back to Mississippi and other southern states for "justice". He whitewashed the brutal slaying of four Negroes in Freeport, Long Island just as he has white-washed the Peekskill attacks against Paul Robeson, Negroes, Jews and anyone else who stood for decency. Dewey's position is really no different that that of the discredited designee-for-a-day, the Democrat's Judge Conway who was dropped when he was attacked by organized labor as reactionary, anti-labor, and anti-Negro. Whomever else the Democrats put forward will be equally as bad. Judge Conway, like O'Dwyer and Dewey, accepted Jim Crow in Stuyvesant town and when organizations, including the ALP tried to remedy the situation, they tried every means to block them. As for the Liberal Party, -they went along with Conway's designation. They are fighting against the election of a Negro in the 21st S. D. and have openly proclaimed their attitude "no special favors for Negroes". They have only special favors for white supremacy Democrats.

III. 11th A. D. Assembly Campaign for Frances Smith: Frances Smith is our Candidate. A Negro woman and Trade Union leader of the Hotel and Restaurant workers, she is a native New Yorker, graduated from P.S. 58 at 52nd St. and from Wadleigh High School. After attending Manhattan Trades School, she worked as a milliner and then went into the theatre, John Cort's "Rose of Panama" --dancer, singer, toured the country for six years with Cort's show. Then went into vaudeville, Foxworth & Frances, song and dance team, played Keith Circuit. Went into musical comedy, "Put and Take" the first Negro musical comedy to hit Broadway, -all-Negro cast, played at Town Hall (Irving Miller's show). Played with "Green Pastures" for five years, on Broadway, played the three leading parts in the show. After close, went to Federal Theatre, was personnel superviser and Casting Director. Put on such shows as "Macbeth" (Orson Welles' Negro version), and "Haiti", "Androcles and the Lion", "Showoff". Played with Constance Collier "Aries is Rising", her last show.

Gave up theatre and back in New York has worked in Vanderbilt Hotel, where she is the elected welfare representative of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 6, AFL visiting the sick, assisting them in making out insurance applications. Through that work she has brought the workers closer to the union. She is also an elected member of the Executive Board of the Union. Last year elected also as Trustee of the Union.

She belongs to Legislative and Anti-Discrimination Committees of the Union. Living in Harlem 8 years, she is personally familiar with the problems of the community.

Her opponents are: Democrat, Attorney Joe Pinckney, endorsed by the Liberal Party. Mr. Pinckney was recently censured by the Bar Association for "unethical" conduct. The Republican is an unknown by the name of Evans.

Our chief aim in the 11th is to build a community club. Will have a Community Day every Friday, from 6 to 10 in the evening. Will have a lawyer present on Mondays to handle all legal problems. Will have classes on Thursdays to teach for literacy tests. Will have member of Tenants League to help on tenants problems. One from Unemployment Council to help unemployed.

These are all for benefit of people in the community, regardless of their political affiliation. Want people to participate. Building a permanent community center, not just for election purposes. Frances Smith is acting secretary of the community club, and is projecting this whole idea as the basis of her activities when she is in the Assembly.

IV. Organizational Steps: As indicated above, our aim in Harlem must be to maintain our status as the second Party while striving to become the first Party, as well as participating in furnishing the 400,000 votes which we aim at state-wide. This we will do on the basis of our general program and our record, including the splendid fight that we put up last spring for a Negro

General Sessions Judge. As you know, both Democrats and Republicans have nominated Negroes for one of the General Sessions Judgeships. We have taken this fight further by nominating the first Negro candidate for the State Supreme Court, First Judicial District (Manhattan and Bronx). He is Jacques Isler, a Harlem Attorney for over 15 years with a wide practice, including representation for some labor groups. Mr. Isler's campaign will re-enforce that of Dr. DuBois and our other candidates and will enhance our fight for an unbiased, unbossed Judiciary where Negroes can expect justice. It will also help to underscore our principle that all levels of government must have representation of Negroes and other minorities. The New York Age, the Amsterdam News, the Harlem Lawyer's Association, the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild as well as the ALP are all in favor of the election of a Negro to the New York Supreme Court. A vote for our candidate is the only way to give this position any meaning. Our campaign, therefore, from our candidate for Governor to our candidate for Assembly, must be a "Vote Row C" campaign. In order to vote, one must be registered. Our first objective, therefore, is registration week, October 9 to 14, and our first task is to try to get our 10,300 ALP enrollees in Harlem (22nd C. D.) to re-register and enroll ALP this October. While we carry on a general campaign for a big registration and enrollment in the ALP, our first job is to re-enroll our own members. Our entire campaign from now until October 14th must be geared toward this end. Since almost half of our enrollment is in the 11th A. D. (over 4,000), this A. D. becomes the logical concentration point. But first, let me take up the problems of the other A. D.s.

In the 14th, the question is ensuring Manuel Medina's election. Every ALP candidate carried the 14th A. D. last year. Marcantonio got 51% of the vote in that A. D. Of its 27 Election Districts, 12 are in Marcantonio's Congressional District which means that they will be part of the overall city-wide concentration in Marc's present Congressional campaign. The other 15 Election Districts in the West side of the District must receive the wholehearted attention of the 14th West Club and the active personnel which we now have there. In these 15 E. D.s we have 1,600 enrolled voters and we polled 2,400 votes. This we must maintain. To ensure this result, the Marcantonio Congressional campaign is furnishing a full-time manager for the 14th A. D. in the person of Halois Moorehead. Rent for headquarters, sound truck and literature will also be provided in a similar manner. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the 14th A. D. West as well as East, should be able to carry out its task which will mean the election of Medina, a Negro as well as a Puerto Rican. His election will be of tremendous significance to the Puerto Rican and Negro people as an instance of the good faith of the ALP and also of its ability to carry through on its program of representation for all minority groups in government. Medina for many years has been Secretary to Congressman Marcantonio, -is an expert on Welfare and Tenants problems and will give to his constituents real year-round day to day service. He can be depended upon to assume forthright courageous leadership in the Assembly on the many problems which all people and minority peoples face.

In order to start out his campaign it may be necessary for other A. D.s to send in some workers. If that is so, these workers should come from the 12th A.D. for the following reasons: combined with Marcantonio's Congressional District and the 14th West, the 16th North forms a Senatorial District in which the ALP has a real chance of winning. It also has a chance of winning the 16th A. D. Assembly race. Therefore, the 16th North (Riverton and sections of the Abraham Lincoln Houses) should not have any of its forces taken away. The forces in the 16th North should be urged to form a club and immediately get to work seeking the re-enrollment of ALP registrants through the thorough canvassing of Riverton and Abe Lincoln Houses.

The 11th A. D. is a concentration of its own. The main Harlem concentration, in addition to the 15 Election Districts in the 14th West is the 11th, and therefore it should not be asked to send forces outside of its area.

The 13th A. D. has some kind of functioning club but has the following responsibility. That A. D. is part of the 21st Senatorial District where the Democrats have ignored the need to run a Negro for State Senate, where the Republicans are running a Negro and where the ALP is also running a Negro. By himself, the Republican candidate cannot win and he would not even discuss the possibility of support from the ALP. Our task, therefore is to bring home to the voters this special aspect of our campaign, --Negro representation in the State Senate.

Furthermore, the Democrats this year for the first time in many years, refused to run a Negro in the 13th Assembly District. In effect, the selection of a Democrat will mean lessening representation of Negroes in Albany. We also have a responsibility to bring this fact home to the voters in the 13th by whatever kind of campaign around our candidate, a Negro, that we can.

Finally, the 13th has some 5 Election Districts which are part of the 10th Municipal Court District where we have a coalition with the Republican candidates for Municipal Court. The 13th should begin with those E.D.s in their work. Those are the E. D.s between St. Nicholas Ave. and 8th Ave.

On the basis of last year's vote, we can win the Municipal Court Judgeships.

As for the 12th, this latter point should seem to indicate that they should pay attention to those E. D.s that are in the 10th Municipal Court District, namely those below 155th St. That is true. But the same kind of urgency is not present because the issue of Negro representation is not the same for the Municipal Court as it is for the State Assembly and Senatorial races in the 21st S. D. and 13th A. D. Temporarily, therefore, if forces are needed in the 14th, the 12th should be the area from which they should be obtained.

This brings me to the 11th. The most intensive campaign possible with our limited resources must be carried on in the 11th. The fight should be between our candidate and a Democratic-Liberal opponent. The Republican candidate is an unknown. The Republican Party has been slipping in Harlem recently but will get a little life from Dewey's campaign for re-election. This shouldn't alter the essential facts, however. Our estimate should be on the basis of a 20,000 registration. Our goal should be 7,000 votes. Last year we polled between 7 and 8,000 with a slightly higher registration. Our immediate objective should be to reach the 4,000 ALP enrollees. If this is done, we have pretty much assured ourselves of our vote goal.

The following plan is suggested:

(1) Every worker in the Harlem campaign not otherwise assigned to other A.D.s indicated above, should be assigned to the 11th.

(2) The Chairman should be in overall charge, assisted by a campaign manager. Both of these people should give as much time as possible to the 11th.

(3) Every person assigned to the 11th except possibly the candidate, should do canvassing, preferably as a captain in charge of one of the 33 Election Districts. Three additional Election Districts --Central Park West-- are taken care of by the 7th A. D. East.

(4) When we have more than 33 active workers, then we can start doubling up workers per Election District.

(5) The assignments to E. D.s should begin immediately with whatever forces we now have, whether it is four, six or ten, and without regard to whatever assignments they have, so long as they are physically capable of canvassing.

(6) There should be a system set up for a dispatcher of canvassers with provision at headquarters (2132 Seventh Ave.) to be open every evening, Monday through Friday, 6 - 10 P.M.; on Saturdays from 12:00 noon to 6:00 P.M. and Sundays from 11:00 A. M. to 4:00 P.M.

(7) CANVASSERS WILL BE ASSIGNED A SPECIFIC NUMBER OF CARDS EACH DAY AND WILL RETURN SAID CARDS WITH RESULTS, AT THE CONCLUSION OF CANVASSING <u>THIS SAME DAY</u>.

(8) Every Friday at the conclusion of canvassing and any Street meetings which we may have, at 9:30 or so, there will be a short canvassers meeting. All active people are urged to attend to report on and discuss the week's work and the specific issue we will stress

during the following week, and other activities relating to the campaign. This should be the only meeting required of canvassers. All other meetings should be held to a minimum and so far as practicable should occur at times other than those at which canvassing can be done.

(9) The order in which people should be canvassed is as follows:

a) All lists to be broken down by E.D.s

b) We first canvass our club members whose names we have.

c) Those who have signed petitions and indicated they are willing to work

d) Those who signed designating petitions for our candidates last July.

e) All other ALP enrollees

f) Special lists of Trade Union members, etc. that we may receive.

If we adhere strictly to this order, we will get the best results because then we will get the active support of those who have shown the most interest during the last year. We will also be dealing with people who practically need only to be reminded to register and enroll during the week of October 8th to 14th.

(10) The cards according to the above classifications should be available each night at club headquarters to be used by the canvassers and, of course, will be kept in the office in such a way as to indicate those who have been canvassed and with what results, and those who are yet to be canvassed.

We may have pledge cards or petitions or some other way to facilitate recording what results we obtain.

(11) In addition to the canvassing which I would like to repeat is the most important single activity in which we can engage, we will attempt to do the following:

a) Have a sound truck for a week or two, (or at least two days a week) before registration week and before election. We are asking the Harlem Campaign Committee and sub-committee to provide this. They should try to work out some suitable arrangement with the county.

b) We need a four-page folder on our overall campaign with special emphasis on an Assembly candidate which the canvassers can use and which can also be the basis for mailings. We are also asking the above committee to provide this.

c) We expect that the State will furnish the literature and the means to mail it, etc. -- addressed envelopes to all ALP enrollees asking them to re-register and enroll ALP. A special clerical committee should be in touch with the State or County office to work out a system of addressing envelopes (penny stamp, permit . .?) of the 4,000 enrollees in the 11th. At our next meeting we should go into this further.

d) In conjunction with our Judicial candidates, the 10th Municipal Court District and Jacques Isler, we may be able to work out a substitute or additional mailing before registration. In any event, we will work out with them a mailing prior to election.

e) In addition to (a) above,--sound truck meetings; we should try to have a weekly outdoor meeting in the 11th; preferably at the same corner, 126th St. and 7th Ave. where our candi-

date would develop a weekly issue. It may be that discussion will prove that it will be better to have the weekly meetings scattered around the District. Such a meeting would be mainly a meeting of the active club leaders to distribute mimeographed material while the candidate and others are holding forth. This may be one means of getting press notices for our weekly "issue".

f) Socials: We should attempt to have a social each Saturday night at the club. This should best be on an E. D. basis, —two or three together could assume responsibility to run the social. On Sunday evening, we should attempt to have Youth forums, or other youth activities.

g) Literacy classes. The plan at present is that literacy classes will be held every Thursday evening at the club headquarters.

h) Monday nights -- Personal Problems. On Monday nights we will try to have the candidate present at the club and if we can, a lawyer, tenant or unemployment representative to handle personal problems of people in the community.

i) Miscellaneous nights. This would leave Tuesday and Wednesday nights free. It may be that we should try to organize clerical work for those nights as well as for the others. There may also be ideas of other activities that could be conducted on those nights.

Indoor meetings. There should be one indoor meeting planned for Harlem, at the Golden Gate Ballroom. This should be the responsibility of the State and County, where the Harlem candidates also participate. Medina and Frances Smith the only candidates to speak, the others to be introduced, with the featured speakers to be DuBois, Gubernatorial and Mayoralty candidates and State Chairman Vito Marcantonio. The Chairman of the meeting could be the Chairman of the Campaign Committee or someone else we agree on. Of course, if Paul Robeson is at all available, we should endeavor to have him on the program. (These are suggestions.)

Such a meeting could best come immediately before registration, say on Sunday, October 8th, or immediately before election.

In addition, the 11th A. D. should have two membership meetings indoors, one immediately before registration and one immediately before election. These meetings should be both in the nature of a rally with the candidate as the main speaker, and also a business meeting to get workers. The aim should be to have 100-150 at each of the meetings to be held some place like the United Mutual Auditorium. The meetings could also take the form of a community reception to the candidate.

Finally, there should be a press reception arranged as soon as possible where the candidate, the campaign committee Chairman, and a few citizens could meet the press, say at a cocktail-buffet in a small room at the Hotel Theresa.

N.B. Remember that the most important job that we have is canvassing. All of the above will mean nothing really, unless we canvass. And the first people we should canvass are the 4,000 enrolled ALP members in the 11th A. D. and the 6,000 other enrollees in the rest of Harlem. To be effective, this canvassing must be organized and carried through on a systematic basis. (See # 3, & ff. above).

# # # # #

upw 30

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS I. MacMAHON
Secretary

State Headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone * Worth 4 - 8153

September 18, 1950

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In accordance with your conversation with Cong. Marcantonio, a press conference is being arranged for Sunday, September 24th at 12:30 P.M. at the National Office of the Progressive Party, 56 West 45th Street (8th floor).

Will you be kind enough to confirm this appointment.

I look forward to meeting you there.

Sincerely,

Arthur Schutzer

Arthur Schutzer
Executive Secretary

AS:rb
uopwa16-202

Will attend meeting at 56 W 45th
Sunday Sept 24

September 19, 1950

Mr. Arthur Schutzer
Executive Secretary
American Labor Party
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Schutzer:

I will attend meeting at

56 West 45th Street, Sunday, September 24,

at 12:30 P.M.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS I. MacMAHON
Secretary

State Headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone * Worth 4 - 8153

September 19, 1950

INVITATION TO PRESS CONFERENCE

You are cordially invited to send a representative to attend a Press Conference to be held

SUNDAY, SEPT. 24 - 12:30 P.M.
-at-
HOTEL THERESA
7th Ave. & 125th St.
New York City
(Room 102- 104)

The following ALP candidates will participate in this Press Conference:

DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS	- ALP Candidate for U. S. Senator
CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO	- ALP Candidate for Congress - 18th C.D.
JOHN T. McMANUS	- ALP Candidate for Governor
PAUL L. ROSS	- ALP Candidate for Mayor of NYC
DR. CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE	- ALP Candidate for Lt. Governor
MANUEL MEDINA	- ALP Candidate for Assembly - 14th A.D.

Candidates will present a major ALP policy statement and will answer questions concerning the issues of the campaign.

* * * * * * * * *

uopwal6-202

P.S. PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Spearheading a nation-wide movement backing Dr. William E. B. DuBois in his campaign for the U.S. Senate, Bishop William J. Walls this week declared that "no man in America commands more confidence of our people for the altruistic, creative and courageous service that he would give in the United States Senate."

The prominent clergyman, who heads the Second Episcopal district of the AME Zion Church, is honorary chairman of the newly-formed Non-Partisan Citizens Committee for the Election of Dr. DuBois.

"His running for the United States Senate is above petty politics," Bishop Walls pointed out in a statement issued Tuesday at his official Episcopal residence in New York at 155 W. 136th St. "I regard Dr. W.E. B. DuBois as one of the great minds of America's last half century," he added.

Chairman of the Non-Partisan Citizens group is Oliver Harrington, nationally known cartoonist and illustrator. Harrington is the creator of the famous comic strip character, "Bootsie."

Headquarters have been opened at the Hotel Theresa, committee officials announced.

Other officials include Dr. Robert A. Simmons of Boston, Rev. Edward D. McGowan, of Epworth Methodist Church in the Bronx, and Ewart G. Guinier, International Secretary-Treasurer of United Public Workers, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawford, treasurer; and George B. Murphy, Jr., secretary.

Testifying to the broad interest in the launching of a political career by the 82-year-old scholar, Dr. and Mrs. Simmons have already begun laying plans for one phase of the out-of-state support for Dr. DuBois. "Our immediate goal is 100 members in Boston," they pledged in a letter to him last week," and plans of raising funds in our State for your campaign."

In Brooklyn, the Rev. W. O. Carrington has taken the lead in working with the Non-Partisan committee.

Bishop Walls' statement reviewed Dr. DuBois' background "on behalf of freedom for our people here at home and our brothers and sisters in Africa and other colonial areas of the world," and concluded:

"All of us have an opportunity and a privilege to strenghen the cause of justice and freedom for our people by working for his election. Thus we will dramatize the strength that 15 million Negro Americans bring to the cause of peace in our land and throughout the world.

(more)

"I wish Dr. DuBois victory at the polls as he has helped many another freedom-loving soul to attain."

The Non-Partisan Committee For Dr. DuBois further announced the appointment of George B. Murphy, Jr. as campaign manager for Dr. DuBois.

Mr. Murphy is assistant to the national secretary of the Progressive Party.

The following is a partial list of members of the committee:

Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson

Rev. W. O. Carrington, of First Zion A.M.E.Z. Church, Brooklyn

Mrs. E. A. Simmons,

Jaques Isler, noted Harlem attorney

Mrs. D.A. Graham of St. Paul, Minn.

Fredi Washington, actress

Mrs. Nina Evans, president of Domestic Workers Union

Betty Young

Ramona Garrett, leader in ILGWU

Rev. Edler Hawkins, of St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, Bronx

Shirley Graham, noted author

Marvel Cooke

Viola Scott

Janet Kreig of Elmhurst, L.I.

* * * * * * * *

uopwa16-202

35-6-48

24-17-36

ALP
STATE OFFICE
17 Murray Street
NYC

SEPTEMBER 15,1950

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON ALP CANDIDATES

DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS --Candidate for UNITED STATES SENATOR --

World-renowned sociologist, author. Outstanding leader of the Negro people. Chairman, Peace Information Center; Vice-Chairman, Council on African Affairs. Ph. D., Harvard (1895); Head, Dep't of Sociology, Atlanta University(1932-34); Editor, Atlanta University Studies (1897-1911); Editor of Crisis Magazine and Director of Publications of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1910-1932); Founder and President of the Pan African Congress. Member, National Institute of Arts and Letters. Editor-in-Chief, "The Encyclopoedia of the Negro". Author: NAACP 1947 "Appeal To the World"; "Souls of Black Folk", etc.

JOHN T. McMANUS -- Candidate for GOVERNOR --

Founder and general manager of the National Guardian, the progressive newsweekly. Formerly president, Newspaper Guild of New York, Local 3. ALP state vice-chairman. Columnist and author.

DR. CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE -- FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR --

Chairman, American Women For Peace. Chairman, Italian Americans For Peace. American Labor Party State Executive Committee member. Practising obstetrician, New York City. Graduate, Hunter College and Long Island College of Medicine.

MICHAEL A. JIMENEZ --Candidate for COMPTROLLER --

International representative, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America. Served as intelligence officer (captain) in World War 2, cited by Generals Donovan and Eisenhower for outstanding service on dangerous special missions behind enemy lines. Served as captain in International Brigade in defense of Spanish democracy (1936 to 1939). ALP state executive committee member.

FRANK SCHEINER -- Candidate for ATTORNEY GENERAL--

Labor lawyer since 1931; graduate of C.C.N.Y. and Brooklyn Law School; a founding member of the National Lawyers Guild; served on legal defense staff on the Scottsboro case.

PAUL L. ROSS --Candidate for MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK --

Chairman, New York City Rent Commission, July 1947 to April, 1948. Administrative Secretary to Mayor O'Dwyer from January, 1946 to April, 1948, when he resigned in opposition to the O'Dwyer fare increase. Chairman, New York Tenants, Welfare and Consumer Council. Chairman, Committee To End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town. Assistant Counsel, Board of Transportation, City of New York, 1936-1942. Regional Enforcement Executive, OPA, Middle Atlantic States, 1943-1945. Recently, special lecturer on Public Administration, College of the City of New York. ALP State Vice-Chairman. Member, National Executive Board, National Lawyers Guild. Past Master, King David Lodge of Masonic Order; Past Chancellor, Woodrow Wilson Lodge, Knights of Pythias; Member, American Jewish Congress. Law Firm of Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf.

ALP
STATE OFFICE
17 MURRAY STREET
NYC

SEPTEMBER 15,1950

NYC

LIST OF AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATES

GOVERNOR: John T. McManus

LT. GOVERNOR : Dr. Clementina J. Paolone

COMPTROLLER : Michael A. Jimenez

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Frank Scheiner

UNITED STA TES SENA TOR: Dr. William E.B. DuBois

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK: Paul L. Ross

****

NEW YORK COUNTY

GENERAL SESSIONS JUDGE: Martin Raphael
Edward Kuntz
Philip Jones

CITY COURT JUSTICE: Ivan H. Wohlworth

JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT, 1st JUDICIAL DISTRICT: Jacques Isler
David L. Minkoff
Mario Eliseo

JUSTICE, MUNICIPAL COURT: Ira Gollobin (2nd District)
Paul H. Reiss (7th District)
Saram Amerling (9th District)
Philip Wats on (REP.-ALP) (10th District)
John A. Ross, Jr. (REP.-ALP) (10th District)

CONGRESS: Frank Cremonesi --16th C.D.
R. T. Leicester --17th C.D.
VITO MARCANTONIO --(18th C.D.)
Bernard Harkavy -- 19th C.D.
John W. Darr, Jr.-- 20th C.D.
William Mandel -- 21st C.D.
John Quillian -- 22nd C.D.

STA TE SENATE: Frances Goldin --18th S.D.
Jea n J. Rubinstein --19th S.D.
Jane Benedict --20th S.D.
Ben Atkins --21st S.D.
William J. Bianchi--(REP.-A LP) 22nd S.D.
Henry Bayne --23rd S. D.

A SSEMBLY:
1. Marie Buzzanca
2. Luisa Di Massimo
3. Lawrence Roth
4. Sol Tischler
5. Jeanne Barsay
6. John Scudder
7. Henry Abrams
8. Andrew J. Moran
9. Joseph.E. Cadden
10. Frank Wedl
11. Frances Smith
12. William Pease
13. N. E. Whitehead
14. Manuel Medina
15. Herman A. Seligson
16. Lee Bosco, Jr.

KINGS COUNTY

SURROGATE: Jacob Schneider

CONGRESS: Lester Zirin --7 C.D.
Antonio Iandiorio --8th C.D.
Helen Wishnofsky --9th C.D.
Gerald Root --10th C.D.
Blanche Katz --11th C.D.
Vincent J. Longhi--12th C.D.
Ralph Shapiro--13th C.D.
Helen Phillips --14th C.D.
William Podell--15th C.D.

STATE SENATE: Milton Koss --8th S.D.
Helen Fichtenbaum--9th S.D.
Albert Filardo --10th S.D.
NO CANDIDATE IN 11 th S.D.
Mildred Roth --12th S.D.
Joseph C. Navarra --13th S.D.
Leo H. Werner--14th S.D.
Saul Rudes --15th S.D.
Michael Woll in--16th S.D.

ASSEMBLY:
1. Alfred Wolk
2. Henry L. Klein
3. Patrick Dowd
4. Thomas Gustafson
5. Hattie Brisbane
6. Fanny Hersh
7. Morton Schreck
8. Vincent Conzo
9. Jean Militean
10. Jose Giboyeaux
11. Jeanette Rosenfeld
12. Joseph Zwillinger
13. Leah Nelson
14. Joseph Kessler
15. John D. Masso
16. Karl Leone
17. Enid Tyler
18. Gloria Agrin
19. Freda Berman
20. Thomas Bonsignore
21. Arthur E.Blyn
22. Lester Edwin
23. Terry Rosenbaum
24. Adolph Albert

JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT, 2nd JUDICIAL DISTRICT: Samuel Panzer
George Wagman Fish

BRONX COUNTY

JUSTICE, CITY COURT: Mary Kaufman

CONGRESS: Robert Diamond--23 C.D.
Stephen J. White--24 C.D.
Charles J. Hendley--25 C.D.
August Buhr --26 C.D.

STATE SENATOR: Isidore Blumberg--24 S.D.
Jose D. Semprit --25 S.D.
Kenneth L. Bruton--26 S.D.
Joseph Celli--27 S.D.
Nan Dickman--28 S.D.

ASSEMBLY:
1. Annette Reichbach
2. Anita Friedlander
3. Elsie Forman
4. Marian Gonzales
5. Consuleo Marcial
6. Belle Bailynson
7. Eleanor Bartee
8. David Falzack
9. Lee Reimer
10. Meyer Zykofsky
11. Jack Castellana
12. Louis Stone
13. Carl Trost

JUSTICE SUPREME COURT, 1st JUDICIAL DISTRICT: Jacques Isler
David L. Minkoff
Mario Eliseo

QUEENS COUNTY

JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT, 10TH JUDICIA L DISTRICT: Joseph J. Porte
Morris Pottish

JUSTICE, MUNICIPAL COURT, 4th DISTRICT-- Sigmund Bergman

CONGRESS: Arnol d Olencick--3rd C.D.
Mary Murphy--4th C.D.
Joseph Shill--5th C.D.
Rose Podmaka--6th C.D.

STATE SENATE: Herbert Shingler--4th S.D.
Stahley N. Greene--5th S.D.
Seymour Lesser --6th S.D.
Jeannette S. Turner--7th S.D.

ASSEMBLY: 1. John U. Daone
2. Henry J. Blum
3. Benjamin Smith
4. Joseph Spencer
5. Carrie T. Kizer
6. Solomon Fisher
7. John Eugene
8. Gabriel Kopperl
9. Lillian Wexner
10. David Schechtman
11. Bessie McCain
12. Carl A. Stadlen

RICHMOND COUNTY

JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT, 2nd JUDICIAL DISTRICT: Samuel Panzer
George Wagman Fish

CONGRESS: Frank Cremonesi--16th C.D.

STATE SENATE: Gilbert Wasserman (17th S.D.)

A SSEMBLY: 1. Fra nk Mastro Piero
2. Anthony Fusco

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
State Office
17 Murray St., NYC

SEPTEMBER 15, 1950

PLATFORM

of

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The 1950 election campaigns occur at a most grave hour for our country's future.

Big business money power -- against which Abraham Lincoln warned our nation 85 years ago -- now completely dominates our government and the Democratic and Republican parties responsible for its Administration.

Big money power and the bipartisan government which it manipulates are moving relentlessly toward a new world war, a war from which none can gain - if, indeed, any survive - except those who profit from the making of war.

To this objective of war for profit, all the rights and hopes of the American people are being sacrificed. Already American men are losing their lives in battle, while before the people is held up the illusory and Godless precept that war is the way to peace.

To serve this objective, our free America is being transformed into a military state, with a standing army of three million men proposed, a war budget of fifty billion dollars, and suppression of dissent to the point where Administration leaders now propose concentration camps on the Nazi model for all who disagree. As always, the Negro people have been the first and most cruely persecuted victims of this mounting terror.

Wages are being frozen, labor is shackled against its right and duty to bargain for better standards, while war profiteering proceeds without check or hindrance to raise prices to the skies, reducing the standard of living of all.

Upon a people thus prevented from improving its standards, the great burden of taxes to support the war program will fall. Meanwhile, the great, unfulfilled needs of the people for housing, health, education, national development and public works projects, equal rights and opportunity, are ignored and betrayed.

Among the old political parties and their candidates and satellites, there is no disagreement over these vital issues before the people of our city, state and nation. The old parties and their satellites among labor leadership and self-styled liberals have become the willing advocates of the suicidal falsehood that war is inevitable. They are ready and willing to risk the safety of our country by involving it in reckless adventures throughout the world which, if unchecked, can end only in holocaust.

The American Labor Party will not surrender to the precepts of the warmakers, nor does it intend to surrender any opportunity to challenge those precepts before the people of our state and nation in the forthcoming election contests.

The American Labor Party is the party of progress. It was born 14 years ago in the deep conviction - which time has proved indisputably correct - that the vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt for an abundant, peaceful America of expanding freedoms and opportunity for all, could not be safely left to the corrupt corporation-run political machines.

There can be no progress without peace.

The American Labor Party is the party of peace.

We of the American Labor Party will not compromise with the scheming of the warmakers; we reject and condemn the wrecking of the program of the American people for peace, freedom, and abundance which is our rightful heritage from the years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal.

We call for a complete end to the bipartisan Administration war program.

We call for immediate negotiation of a settlement of the strife in Korea through the Security Council of a United Nations made truly representative of the great nations of the world by the admission of the representatives of China's 450,000,000 people.

OVER

We call for immediate cessation of American intervention in Formosa which violates our own international agreements and threatens to involve our nation in war with the people of China.

We call upon our nation to cease its intervention against the efforts of people anywhere to govern their own lives; and we urge the people of our nation to acknowledge their own tradition of freedom and liberation by aiding the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, Puerto Rico and in our own hemisphere and elsewhere in the world to win freedom from exploitation and the right to independent choice of their own forms of government.

For the permanence of peace in the world, we call for world agreement through the United Nations to outlaw atomic weapons, establish means for international inspection of atomic installations, and set up conventions leading to world disarmament.

In our relations with the rest of the world, we call for a resumption of the free flow of international trade and an end to diplomatic and economic policies which favor and cooperate with fascism and reaction throughout the world in the name of a holy war against communism. Especially do we condemn the renazification and remilitarization of Germany, the arming of the Arabs against the young state of Israel, and the bolstering of unwanted monarchs and oppressive governments in Greece, Turkey, South Korea, Indo-China and anywhere else in the world.

The huge and unprecedented sums now being appropriated for war purposes must be converted to serving the genuine needs of the American people.

The right of the people to be informed and to pass judgment on any and all steps of government must be restored. The wave of repression launched to drown criticism of the war program now threatens to engulf all traditional rights of Americans to criticize, to oppose and to hold differing political views. In defense of these constitutional rights, we demand an immediate halt to witch hunts, loyalty purges, contempt frame-ups, inquisitions into personal opinion and all violations or abridgements of the right to speak, publish and freely assemble. American security is best served by the extension of full democracy and equality to all Americans.

We pledge to end the disgraceful run-around which has been the fate of all civil rights legislation, as demonstrated by the outright betrayal in Congress and in the White House of FEPC legislation, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws and other election pledges of both old party leaderships.

We call for an end to repression of labor by injunction and decrees and by presidential edicts against strikes as in the recent railway dispute. We call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and the re-enactment without amendment of the Wagner Act. To safeguard the living standards of the people, we support labor's demands for wage increases and we oppose all attempts to freeze wages.

We call for steeply graduated taxes on the unprecedented corporate profits, government control of prices, and effective federal control of rents. We urge reduction of, and oppose increases in income tax on low and middle income groups.

We fight for an end to discrimination against women in jobs and education. We stand for a vigorously enforced policy of equal pay for equal work. We pledge to maintain and to extend protective legislation vital to women as mothers. We fight to wipe out the special forms of discrimination directed against Negro women. We believe, as our lists of candidates have always shown, that women must be elected and appointed to public office on every level of government. We call for a comprehensive program of day care centers for children of working mothers, for a sharp increase in the number of parks, playgrounds and recreation centers, for a program of children's allowances.

For our state, we pledge ourselves to the following program:

EDUCATION: A 500 million dollar state bond issue for school construction; $100,000,000 in increased state aid to education; further adequate appropriations for urgently needed additional teachers and long overdue salary increases.

Protection of tenure of teachers against reprisals for union activity or political opinion. Our school system must become a positive force for the strengthening of democracy and the achievement of peace and international understanding, and the fostering of good will among our diverse peoples at home.

24-14-12

We oppose any encroachment upon the basic American doctrine of the separation of church and state.

CIVIL LIBERTIES:

A state administration which will use its full powers to guarantee the right of peaceful assembly and punish those who violate this right.

Active administration of the state anti-discrimination laws and extension of the present law to bar discrimination in housing not only in new public-assisted projects but also in all housing, in order to end the shameful practices now prevailing in Stuyvesant Town, Parkchester, Knickerbocker Village and other housing developments.

RENT CONTROL:

Defeat the conspiracy to terminate rent control after January 1st, 1951 and enact a strong law to replace the present inadequate legislation, in order to protect hundreds of thousands of tenants from exorbitant rent increases and wholesale evictions.

HOUSING:

All low rent housing projects heretofore planned should be started and completed without delay. The sum of 500 million dollars should be appropriated for additional state aided low rent housing. Rents of middle income housing projects built in New York City are exorbitant and should be reduced by 15%. Evictions in public housing projects should be halted and occupancy eligibility requirements should be liberalized.

LABOR:

Increase the amount and duration of unemployment insurance benefits, extend coverage to workers not now covered, eliminate the 7 week waiting period penalty for workers on strike or locked out.

Increase benefits and extend coverage of Workmen's Compensation. Fundamental revision of the Sickness and Disability Law to require insurance by the State insurance fund and to eliminate employee contributions.

Repeal the union-busting Wadlin-Condon Law and guarantee by law the right of civil service workers to self-organization, representation and collective bargaining for higher wages and other benefits without interference by city or state officials.

YOUTH:

Set up a job training program for youth. Amend the state constitution to lower the voting age to 18. Extend unemployment insurance benefits to young workers who are now deprived of benefits because they have had no opportunity to meet the requirements of earnings and employment. Defeat any attempts to enact universal military training. Sharply increased appropriations for college, technical and professional educational facilities, free of discrimination on the ground of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry.

TAXATION AND BUDGET:

Substantial increases in the program of state financial aid to localities, with revision of the Moore Formula so as to return out of state-collected taxes at the rate of $12 per capita for cities, $7 for towns, and $6 for villages.

Amendment of the State constitution so that the large cities may be released from financial straight-jackets which now benefit large realty interests at the expense of the average citizen.

We call for sharp increases in corporation and other business taxes to provide revenue needed to finance our state and public services; and an end to regressive taxes such as the sales tax, tax on restaurant meals, etc.

OVER

VETERANS:

Action on Federal and State levels to renew and extend the GI Bill of Rights to veterans of World War 2 and to all members of the present armed forces, with benefits increased to $35 per week for 52 weeks for unemployed veterans.

FARMERS:

Enact a long range agricultural program with proper safeguards for family type farmers and farming, with not less than $2500 net yearly income to every working farm family. For milk producers, we urge a return, market plus subsidy, of not less than 150% of parity.

Vigorous support for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project and other power developments, land reclamation and irrigation projects, reforestation and improved rural electrification.

Strengthen agricultural conservation programs.

Encourage both producer and consumer cooperatives. Separation of the privately controlled Farm Bureau from the government Extension Service.

Social Security benefits for farmers. Honest and thorough investigation of the milk price spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. Elimination of sections 258-c and j of the State Agricultural Law which unjustly legalize monopoly by the milk trust.

CONSUMERS:

An elected Public Service Commission, instead of politically appointed stooges for monopoly who impose unwarranted rate increases upon consumers and reduce the standard of living of every family. Rescission of utility, gas, electric, telephone rates increases.

This platform states the guiding principles and provides the basis for a program to meet the needs of the people of the State of New York. To this platform, we dedicate our Party and call for unity behind this program of all who genuinely desire and work for peace in the world and the return of our country to the path of progress.

* * * * * * * * *

uopwal6-202

STATEWIDE CANDIDATES

GOVERNOR: John T. McManus

LT. GOVERNOR: Dr. Clementina J. Paolone

COMPTROLLER: Michael A. Jimenez

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Frank Scheiner

U. S. SENATOR: Dr. William E. B. DuBois

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK: Paul L. Ross

11-11-46

[Enc.]

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, SEPTEMBER 20, 1950, page 15474

SENATOR LEHMAN: "There are some good parts in this measure (the McCarran Bill). They are the parts recommended by the FBI, the Department of Justice, the intelligence agencies of the armed services, and by the President. Those parts were included in the administration's first internal security bill, Senate Bill 4061, and subsequently in the Kilgore Bill, Senate Bill 4130. I CO-SPONSORED AND SUPPORTED BOTH THESE BILLS. The conference report also includes a version of the spy and saboteur detention bill which I helped to write and which I supported, and which was also included in the Kilgore Bill."

SENATOR LEHMAN voted to cite for contempt of Senate Mr. Frederick Vanderbilt Field for refusing to knuckle under to political witch-hunt questions put to him by a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. (Congressional Record, September 22, 1950, p. 15769). Sen. Tom Connally made the motion to vote the citation in behalf of the Democratic majority in the Senate. Sen. Karl Mundt (who is the co-author of the Mundt-Nixon Bill) eagerly joined in the motion in behalf of the Republican minority in the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM SENATOR LEHMAN to the Waldorf-Astoria dinner in honor of General Anders, 10/1/50.
"The spirit of Poland lives on in the gallant deeds of her fighting men and women, one of the most illustrious of whom will be the guest of honor at the banquet — General Anders."

[Encl.]

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, SEPTEMBER 20, 1950, page 15474

SEN. LEHMAN: "There are some good parts in this measure (the McCarran Bill). They are the parts recommended by the FBI, the Department of Justice, the intelligence agencies of the armed services, and by the President. Those parts were included in the administration's first internal security bill, Senate Bill 4061, and subsequently in the Kilgore Bill, Senate Bill 4130. I CO-SPONSORED AND SUPPORTED BOTH THESE BILLS. The conference report also includes a version of the spy and saboteur detention bill which I helped to write and which I supported, and which was also included in the Kilgore Bill. (Emphasis mine).

SEN. LEHMAN VOTED TO CITE FOR CONTEMPT OF SENATE MR. FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD for refusing to knuckle under to political witch-hunt questions put to him by a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, SEPTEMBER 22, 1950, p. 15769). Sen. Tom Connally made the motion to vote the citation in behalf of the Democratic majority in the Senate. Sen. Karl Mundt (who is the co-author of the Mundt-Nixon Bill) eagerly joined in the motion in behalf of the Republican minority in the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM SEN. LEHMAN to the Waldorf-Astoria dinner in honor of Gen. Anders, 10/1/50:

"The spirit of Poland lives on in the gallant deeds of her fighting men and women, one of the most illustrious of whom will be the guest of honor at the banquet -- Gen. Anders."

24-34-13

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS I. MacMAHON
Secretary

State Headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone * Worth 4 - 8153

Sept. 22, 1950

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am setting forth below significant items in the voting record of Senator Lehman since his election last year:

1) May 1st, 1950 -- Senator Lehman voted for inclusion of the Point Four Program in the Foreign Economic Assistance Act.

2) June 12, 1950 -- Senator Lehman voted for a so-called Federal Rent Control bill which, in effect, is a decontrol bill. This measure extended federal rent control until only the end of 1950; it provided for decontrol in any city or locality upon the vote of the city legislative body; it failed to provide funds for effective enforcement for even the minimum period of so-called rent control; it opened the door to a complete end of all federal rent control at the beginning of 1951. The main features of this bill, especially the provision permitting local decontrol of rents, had the vigorous support of the real estate lobby.

3) On Sept. 12, 1950 -- Senator Lehman spoke in the Senate in behalf of the Kilgore bill, which Senator Lehman co-sponsored, to put "Communists and other subversives" in detention camps in time of "national crisis". In his acceptance speech on Sept. 7, 1950 (you have the Times copy of this) Senator Lehman again voiced support for this type of measure.

JOSEPH R. HANLEY -- As Lt. Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Henley has been the presiding officer of the N.Y. State Senate and has, therefore, not cast any votes on particular bills.

However, during his tenure of office in that post, he has faithfully echoed and carried out the policies of the Dewey Administrations, including such policies and enactments as follows:

1) Feinberg Law -- Imposes thought control upon the teachers and all other employees of the educational system.

2) Condon-Wadlin Law -- prevents public workers, including employees of publicly operated transportation services, from abstaining from work in protest against low wages and improper working conditions.

This law was enacted to break a threatened teachers strike in Buffalo and New York City.

3) Austin-Wicks Law -- This measure was enacted in 1949. It prohibits discrimination in publicly-assisted housing constructed on and after July 1st, 1950. It specifically fails, however, to prohibit discrimination in existing housing such as prevails in Stuyvesant Town, Parkchester, etc. Despite a statewide demand for legislation prohibiting discrimination in all housing, the Dewey Administration insisted upon and carried through the limitation of this law to publicly-assisted housing constructed on and after July 1st, 1950.

4) Unemployment Insurance -- The Dewey Administration has refused to extend unemployment insurance coverage to more than 450,000 workers in N. Y. State who now get no benefits because the law limits such benefits to employers employing four or more employees. Thus, hundreds of thousands of workers employed in small stores, etc., where fewer than four employees work, are deprived of unemployment insurance benefits.

Mr. Hanley is part of the Dewey-Dulles team on foreign policy which embraces the theory of "aggressive war for peace" and which joins with the Truman Administration in seeking to unleash World War III.

I trust that the foregoing information proves helpful.

Sincerely,

Arthur Schutzer

Arthur Schutzer
Executive Secretary

AS:rb
uopwal6-202

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS I MacMAHON
Secretary

State Headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone * Worth 4 - 8153

September 23,1950

Dr. W.E.B. DuBOIS,
23 West 26th Street,
NYC

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I am enclosing copy of the minutes of the recent meeting of the National Committee of the Progressive Party, including a statement of policy on the 1950 election campaign adopted by the committee.

Sincerely,
Arthur Schutzer

AS:rb
Encl. 1.

Invited to Press Conference by Shirley Graham: - Sept. 24, 1950

Mrs. Alice Davis Crawford
762 St. Nicholas - Apt 8

Mrs. Veorria Shivery
115-20 142nd Street
So. Ozone Park, Long Island,

Dr. and Mrs. Theodore Cable
2929 Gilmore Street
East Elmhurst, Long Island

Dr. and Mrs. Mathieu Boutte
2301 Seventh Avenue

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Miller
405 Carlton Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. George E. Cohron
2588 Seventh Avenue

Dr. Louis P. Rolerfort
131 West 110th Street

Mrs. Winifred Norman
634 West 147th Street - Apt. 1

Mrs. James Weldon Johnson
Hotel Theresa

Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue

Mrs. Aaron Douglass
409 Edgecombe Avenue

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue

Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Alexander
234 West 139th Street

Mr. William Allen
35 Park Street. N.Y.

M. + Mrs. Herman Osborne
Estelle Riddle Osborne
540 West 148th St.

Mrs Betty Young
1066 Jackson Ave Bx.

Viola Collins - 260 Convent

Mamie Corbie - 409 Ext.

Mildred Wms. 20 W. 118th St

John J. Abt.
444 Central P. West

Bonne

X = Old Friends

OK. 30

Mr. & Mrs. Raymond Pace Alexander
1900 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
& Mrs.
Dr. W. G. Alexander
48 Webster Place
Orange, New Jersey

Mr. James E. Allen
2272 7th Avenue
New York City

Mr. Claude Barnett
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. A. A. Austin
209 West 125th Street
New York City

Pres. & Mrs. W. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Dr. E. Beaseley
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Judge Jane M. Bolin
555 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Mr. & Mrs. M. V. Boutte
2301 7th Avenue
New York City

Dr. & Mrs. E. C. Bowden
223 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. Henry A. Boyd
523 Second Ave. North
Nashville, Tenn.

St. Elmo Brady
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. & Mrs. John S. Brown Jr.
1370 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York

Pres. C. Hawkins Brown
The Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia, N. Carolina

Mr. Matthew W. Bullock
294 Washington St, Boston, Mass.

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Department of the Interior
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Richard M. Carey
147 W. 116th Street
New York City

Mr. Elmer A. Carter
124 East 28th Street
New York City

Dr. Frederick D. Carter
187 West 135th Street
New York City

Dean James T. Cater
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Dr. Cecil Belfield Clarke
Belfield House
New Barnet
London, England

James A Cobb
613 F Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Paul Collins
187 West 135th Street
New York City

Mr. Earl Conrad
707 West 171st Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Henry K. Craft
270 Convent Avenue
New York, New York

released

Mrs. Helen Curtis
554 Washington Ave.
Brooklyn, New York

Miss Marian Cuthbert
~~110 Bradhurst Avenue~~
New York City

Mr. & Mrs. Russell Davis
~~1088 Parkside Road~~
Cleveland, Ohio

24-14-37

Pres. & Mrs. John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Mrs. Julia Delaney
212 N. State Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Hon. Hubert T. Delany
467 West 144th Street
New York City

Atty. Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan College
Baltimore , Maryland

Mrs. Fannie Howard Douglas
1806 11th St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Catherine J. Duncan
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Mr. Robert Elzy
428 Lewis Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Ruth Anna Fisher
98 Oslo Court
Prince Albert Road
St. John's Wood
London N.W. 8
England

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Miss Wilda Gunn
2584 E. 55th Street
Cleveland 4, Ohio

Mr. T. H. Gibson
Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.
" " " Building
3511 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. & Mrs. Walter Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Mr. Lorenz Graham
34-32 106th Street
Corona, Long Island

Bishop J. A. Gregg
African Methodist Episcopal Church
1150 Washington Boulevard
Kansas City, Kansas

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacedale Road
Dorchester, Mass.

Mr. John Hammond
178 Sullivan Street
New York 12, New York

Mrs. Lorenzo Harris
133 Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey

Mr. Abram L. Harris
Chicago University
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. W. E. Harrison
1556 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mr. & Mrs. Roderick B. Harris
Good Samaritan Bldg.
Athens, Georgia

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock
407 West Fifth Street
Dayton, Ohio

Dr. & Mrs. George E. Haynes
105 East 22nd Street
New York City

Mrs. Clementine Hercules
976 Tinton Avenue
Bronx 56, New York

Dr. Melville J. Herskovits
Northwestern University
College of Liberal Arts
Evanston, Illinois

Dr. I. B. Higgins
2243 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

President & Mrs. Leslie P. Hill
Cheyney Training School for
Teachers
Cheyney, Pa.

Mr. Frank Horne
709 11th Street NE
Washington, D. C.

Miss Lillie M. Hubbard
American Consulate
Ponta Delgada, Azores
A.P.O. 406 c/o Post Master
New York, N. Y.

Pres. Benjamin F. Hubert
Georgia State Industrial College
Industrial College, Georgia

Langston Hughes
20 East 127th Street
New York City

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Jenkins
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Mrs. Mame Josenberger
703 North 11th Street
Fort Smith, Arkansas

Rev. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12, California

Mrs. Ernestine Lipscomb
Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Alain Locke
Howard University 1321 R St NW.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1011 O Street NW 1519 Jackson St N.E
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Wendell A. Malliet
209 West 125th Street
New York City

Mr. John F. Matheus
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Mrs. Luella J. Mitchell
1603 Charles Street
Springfield, Ohio

Mr. & Mrs. H. S. Murphy
275 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Mae Owings
5439 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Miss Adella Parks & Family
5246 Colorado Avenue N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. & Mrs. Saul M. Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Charles A. Petioni
114 West 131st Street
New York City

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Atlanta, University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. & Mrs. John Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Mrs. Anne Spencer
1313 Pierce Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. & Mrs. George W. Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Mr. & Mrs. Noah Thompson
2317 N. Pulaski Street
c/o Williams
Baltimore, Maryland

Atty. & Mrs. Austin T. Walden
Suite 428 Herndon Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bishop W. J. Walls
4736 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Forrester B. Washington
Atlanta School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. & Mrs. Oscar H. Williams
2161 7th Avenue
New York City

24-14-39

Sidney Sutton

Pres. & Mrs Charles H. Wesley
Wilberforce University
Xenia, Ohio

Bishop R. R. Wright Jr.
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Mrs. Ada Young
R. F. D. 5
Xenia, Ohio

Miss Otelia Cromwell
1815 Thirteenth Street N. W.
Washington, 9, D. C.

Mr and Mrs Harry E. Davis
1050 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Rockwell Kent
Ausable Forks,
New York

Mr. Eliot White
Apt HG2 12 Monroe Street
New York 2, N. Y.

Miss Louise Latimer
137-53 Holly Avenue
Flushing, N. Y.

Mrs. Charles H. Dodge
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
c/o Somerville,
Los Angeles, California

Miss Mabelle W. Williams
YWCA
137th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

Mr & Mrs Walter N. Beekman
746 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, 17, N. Y.

Mr & Mrs Lester A. Walton
2588 7th Avenue
New York, City

Mr. George E. Cohron
2588 7th Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Mr. & Mrs George A. Towns
594 University Place N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Edward S. Richardson
33 Irving Street
Montclair, New Jersey

Mr. Herbert T. Miller
558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mr & Mrs Jerome Burge
816 Marcy Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr & Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dr & Mrs Gaylord Howell
120 New Stfeet
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Miss Ruby Wise
511 Tatnall
Atlanta, Georgia

Pre

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U. S. SENATE, AT
PRESS CONFERENCE, HOTEL THERESA
SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was, in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, the right to think and speak, and the

right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is the one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a those who have gone temporarily insane.

35-6-63

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort to powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem IS THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters to important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be

built and maintained.

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying its truth - from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear, and that is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and Bomber planes, battleships and artillery. And what a wasting time we are doing, Calmed by nothing to implement our own theory of Progress strength + wealth in this effort.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profit-making business enterprise, and not social service

35-684

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it would rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it would rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information and propoganda of gigantic and unprecedented. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress

their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security, and began to house the homeless.

35-6-65

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods, by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures, but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

to control our own progressive economic reform.

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little police action in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans - not to mention India. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany and Japan, and Franco to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one Wild Man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy to fact.

The American Labor Party

Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business

and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist". For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and may be second in command under Marshall; A secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another became Secretary of War. Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half times that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and

the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people ~~who are~~ striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living. ← (F)

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace". We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life". Mediation with both North and South in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

35-6-20

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of dispair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war. They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; effective rent control; river development Social Medicine public Power and forest planning are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran ~~bill~~ Act - the Fugitive Slave law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power Rich ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make ~~anti-slavery opinion~~ Abolitionism a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and ~~slavery was abolished~~ Abolition of Slavery three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran, Joe Hanley, and to uphold peace and civil rights which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman. In the support of this program, I welcome Everybody who agrees with it, white & Black, Jew & Gentile, Democrat Communist, And even Republican.

****

ucpwal6-202

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U. S. SENATE, AT
PRESS CONFERENCE, HOTEL THERESA
SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was, in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, the right to think and speak, and the

right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of Peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is the one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a group of people gone temporarily insane.

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort to powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem IS THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters to important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be

built and maintained.

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear and that is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and jet planes, battleships and artillery. ⇐ cut

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profit-making business enterprise. cut

35-4-317

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war. cut

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

45-4-204

What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information and propoganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress

their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security.

35-4-318

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures, but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

45-4-205

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little police action in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans - not to mention India. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany and Japan to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one wild man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy to fact.

Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business

and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist". For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and will be second in command under Marshall. A secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another became Secretary of War. Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and

the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people who are striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

35-4-320

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace". We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life". Mediation with both North and South in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of dispair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war. They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; effective rent control; river development and forest planning are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran bill - the Fugitive Slave law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make anti-slavery opinion a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and slavery was abolished three years later.

cut

45-4-207

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran, Joe Hanley, and to uphold peace and civil rights which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman.

****

ucpwal6-202

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U. S. SENATE, AT
PRESS CONFERENCE, HOTEL THERESA
SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

35-4-74

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was, in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, the right to think and speak, and the

right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of Peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is the one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a group of people gone temporarily insane.

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort of powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem IS THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters so important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did wasto attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be

built and maintained.

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear and that is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and jet planes, battleships and artillery.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profit-making business enterprise.

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information and propoganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress

their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security.

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures, but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little police action in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans - not to mention India. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany and Japan to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one wild man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy to fact.

Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business

and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist". For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

35-4-76

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and will be second in command under Marshall. A secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another became Secretary of War. Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and

the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people who are striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace". We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life". Mediation with both North and South in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of dispair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war. They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; effective rent control; river development and forest planning are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran bill - the Fugitive Slave law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make anti-slavery opinion a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and slavery was abolished three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran, Joe Hanley, and to uphold peace and civil rights which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman.

Issued by: AmericanLaborParty
17 Murray St. NYC 7, WO 4-8153

* * * * * * * *

Sent to Mr. Schuster
October 3, 1950

Another crucial moment has come in the Korean War, now that the United Nations forced by the United States has won. There were those of us who from the first believed this war, with its heavy cost in death, maiming and destruction was unnecessary; that it was a civil dispute for which the United States and especially South Korea were primarily responsible and which could have been settled with a minimum of hostilities if the United Nations had exhibited the restraint and wisdom in Korea which it exercised in the case of Palestine. This would surely have happened, had not the United States insisted on war and started war before the United Nations consented to join.

Our excuse was that the Korean agressors represented the Soviet Union. But no proof of this has even been adduced; nor has China been proven an instigator of this war. Instead we tried to drag China in. Indeed as the war progressed, it has become clear that neither Russia nor China desired this war nor advised it nor aided it; nor was it to their interest to have it occur. It was the United States alone that seemed willing to make this civil upheaval the betinning of a Third World War.

45-6-73

All that is past. North Korea is crushed and the whole peninsula lies in peace smoking in death, disease and destruction. What next? Apparently what the United States now fears is that this horrible interlude will really end in peace and not in world war. Our troops are pushing the South Koreans to invade the North.

Herbert Lehman, U. S. Senator from New York says:

"When the conflict in Korea ends and the immediate threat to our security is removed, there will be great danger of a softening in our determination and in our will to sacrifice. Already I see a phychological letdown. Nothing could be more dangerous". So here then stands the nation which called the cruel Korean war a struggle for Peace, afraid not it will result in Peace. Why? The Secretary of State told us frankly:

"With modern weapons and ingenuity we can do exactly what was done

for so many centuries at the time of the Roman Empire. It depends on the strength of the organization, the superiority of your weapons. You can hold back all sorts of hordes if you have that."

Let the colored "hordes" of Asia, Africa and the South Seas listen to that! Is it possible that the people of the United States realize that this nation is deliberately embarking on a program of world conquest? We are no longer arming for self-defense. We are no longer simply opposing aggression; we are setting ourselves for world conquest; for compelling all nations to obey our will; and we are going to make American citizens pay the cost of a crazy venture, which age after age has plunged the world in blood and death. And if any American wants to realize what this will mean alone to his pocket-book, ignoring his religion, his freedom, his ideals--what it will cost in sheer dollars, let him see the first installment by looking at the 20% increase in his taxes October first.

45-6-74

Another crucial moment has come in the Korean War, now that the United Nations forced by the United States has won. There were those of us who from the first believed this war, with its heavy cost in death, maiming and destruction was unnecessary; that it was a civil dispute for which the United States and especially South Korea were primarily responsible and which could have been settled with a minimum of hostilities if the United Nations had exhibited the restraint and wisdom in Korea which it exercised in the case of Palestine. This would surely have happened, had not the United States insisted on war and started war before the United Nations consented to join.

Our excuse was that the Korean agressors represented the Soviet Union. But no proof of this has even been adduced; nor has China been proven an instigator of this war. Instead we tried to drag China in. Indeed as the war progressed, it has become clear that neither Russia nor China desired this war nor advised it nor aided it; nor was it to their interest to have it occur. It was the United States alone that seemed willing to make this civil upheaval the betinning of a Third World War.

All that is past. North Korea is crushed and the whole peninsula lies ~~in peace~~ smoking in death, disease and destruction. What next? Apparently what the United States now fears is that this horrible interlude will really end in peace and not in world war. Our troops are pushing the South Koreans to invade the North.

Herbert Lehman, U. S. Senator from New York says:

"When the conflict in Korea ends and the immediate threat to our security is removed, there will be great danger of a softening in our determination and in our will to sacrifice. Already I see a phychological letdown. Nothing could be more dangerous". So here then stands the nation which called the cruel Korean war a struggle for Peace, afraid not it will result in Peace. Why? The Secretary of State told us frankly:

"With modern weapons and ingenuity we can do exactly what was done

for so many centuries at the time of the Roman Empire. It depends on the strength of the organization, the superiority of your weapons. You can hold back all sorts of hordes if you have that."

Let the colored "hordes" of Asia, Africa and the South Seas listen to that! Is it possible that the people of the United States realize that this nation is deliberately embarking on a program of world conquest? We are no longer arming for self-defense. We are no longer simply opposing aggression; we are setting ourselves for world conquest; for compelling all nations to obey our will; and we are going to make American citizens pay the cost of a crazy venture, which age after age has plunged the world in blood and death. And if any American wants to realize what this will mean alone to his pocket-book, ignoring his religion, his freedom, his ideals--what it will cost in sheer dollars, let him see the first installment by looking at the 20% increase in his taxes October first.

3-5-6-11

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City

WOrth 4-8153

Pd 3-1950

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Video viewers will have an opportunity to see and hear Dr. W. E. B. DuBois engage in a three-cornered political debate Sunday evening, Oct. 8, at 7:15 on the WPIX feature, "Battle Page of the Air."

The noted author and scholar, who is making his initial bid for political office as the American Labor Party candidate for U.S. Senator, will share the TV camera with his opponents, Sen. Herbert Lehman, Democract, and Joseph Hanley, Republican.

As part of the unique 45-minute forum, three ALP members and three from each of the other parties will be given time to question each candidate on his platform.

"Battle Page of the Air" is produced at the Little Theater, ninth floor od the Daily News Building, 220 E. 42nd st., and the public is invited to visit the studio for this production.

Dr. DuBois' television appearance comes on the heels of the gigantic campaign kick-off held last Thursday at Golden Gate Ballroom, where the distinguished ALP candidate

24-28-75

launched his two-month campaign.

In addition to his telecast, Dr. DuBois will make six radio broadcasts during the Senate race. A schedule of the programs follows:

Mon., Oct. 9	WMCA	9:30-9:45 p.m.
Thur., Oct. 12	WMCA	9:30-9:45 p.m.
Sun., Oct. 22	WOR	9:15-9:30 p.m.
(State-wide broadcast with John T. McManus, ALP candidate for governor.)		
Thur., Oct. 26	WMCA	9:30-9:45 p.m.
Fri., Nov. 3	WMCA	9:30-9:45 p.m.
Mon., Nov. 6	WMCA	9:15-10:00 p.m.
(Dr. DuBois; John T. McManus; Paul L. Ross, candidate for Mayor; and Dr. Clementine Paolone, candidate for lieutenant-governor.)		

-30-

248-28-76

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 MURRAY STREET, NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 4, 1950

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT ON KOREA BY DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATOR

Another crucial moment has come in the Korean War, now that the United Nations, forced by the United States, has pushed the North Korean troops beyond the 38th Parallel. There were those of us who from the first believed this war, with its heavy cost in death, maiming and destruction was unnecessary; that it was a civil dispute for which the United States and especially South Korea were primarily responsible and which could have been settled with a minimum of hostilities, if the United Nations had exhibited the restraint and wisdom in Korea which it exercised in the case of Palestine. This would surely have happened, had not the United States insisted on war and started war before the United Nations consented to join.

Our excuse was that the Korean agressors represented the Soviet Union. But no proof of this has ever been adduced; nor has China been proven an instigator of this war. Instead we tried to drag China in. Indeed, as the war progressed, it has become clear that neither Russia nor China desired this war nor advised it nor aided it; nor was it to their interest to have it occur. It was the United States alone that seemed willing to make this civil upheaval the beginning of a Third World War.

All that is past. North Korea is crushed and the whole peninsula lies in "peace", smoking in death, disease and destruction. What next? Apparently what the United States now fears is that this horrible interlude will really end in peace and not in world war. Our troops are pushing the South Koreans to invade the North.

Herbert Lehman, U.S. Senator from New York says:

"When the conflict in Korea ends and the immediate threat to our security is removed, there will be great danger of a softening in our determination and in our will to sacrifice. Already I see a psychological letdown. Nothing could be more dangerous."

So here then stands the nation which called the cruel Korean War a struggle for Peace, afraid now it will result in Peace. Why? The Secretary of State told us frankly, Sept. 10:

"With modern weapons and ingenuity we can do exactly what was done for so many centuries at the time of the Roman Empire. It depends on the strength of the organization, the superiority of your weapons. You can hold back all sorts of hordes if you have that."

Let the colored "hordes" of Asia, Africa and the South Seas listen to that ! Is it possible that the people of the United States realize that this nation is deliberatly embarking on a program of world conquest? We are no longer arming for self-defense. We are no longer simply opposing aggression; we are setting ourselves for world conquest; for compelling all nations to obey our will; and we are going to make American citizens pay the cost of a

MORE

crazy venture, which age after age has plunged the world in blood and death. And if any American wants to realize what this will mean alone to his pocketbook, ignoring his religion, his freedom, his ideals -- what it will cost in sheer dollars, let him see the first installment by looking at the 20% increase in his taxes October first.

As the candidate of the American Labor Party for U.S.Senator, I urge ~~that~~ prompt mediation of the Korean hostilities through a United Nations Council made truly representative by the inclusion of the representatives of the new government of China and the 400,000,000 people it represents.

35-6-43

* * * * *

uopwsl6-202

COPY COPY COPY

54 Parkview Drive
Bronxville, New York
October 5, 1950

Dr. William E.B. DuBois
c/o American Labor Party State Headquarters
17 Murray Street
New York City

84-17-41

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The New Rochelle Club of the American Labor Party urges you to be the principal speaker at an Election Rally to be held in New Rochelle during the last week of October (preferably on Friday night, October 27th).

We appreciate that the burdens of your campaign will tax you heavily. However, we feel that your appearance in New Rochelle would be important for many reasons.

First, the recent passage of the so-called anti-communist registration act, passed without public hearing, and in the absence of full council, clearly disregards the city charter and completely violates the Bill of Rights.

Secondly, New Rochelle has the third largest Negro population in the State of New York. We, therefore, regard this act as a dangerous threat to all minorities, especially the Negro people. Further, we see this as an attempt to intimidate the Negro voters and thus reduce the A.L.P.'s senatorial vote in the state.

Thirdly, the grographical position of New Rochelle and its place in county politics are such as to assure you an audience comprised not only of New Rochelleans but of residents from the entire county of Westchester.

We hope that you will find it possible to include our area in your campaign plans.

Respectfully yours.

Mrs. Sylvia Feinstein
Secretary, American
Labor Party Club
New Rochelle

ADDITIONAL REQUESTS

Friday, October 27 - Rally in New Rochelle (see attached letter)

Saturday, October 28 - Reception in private home in Manhattan.
Big fund raising affair.
Would like Dr. Du Bois to come around 8 PM and
stay for 30 or 45 minutes.

24-17-42

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City

WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Flanked by state and city notables, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is slated to launch his campaign for the U.S. Senate at a huge Jubilee for Peace and Freedom, sponsored by the American Labor Party at Golden Gate Ballroom, 142nd st. and Lenox ave., Thursday evening, Oct. 5.

The affair will also commemorate the Negro scholar's half-century of accomplishment in history, literature, civil rights and other fields in which he has made lasting contributions.

Dr. DuBois will be introduced by Paul Robeson, famed singer and actor, who will dedicate two songs to the guest of honor.

Appearing on the platform with Dr. DuBois will be ALP candidates Rep. Vito Marcantonio, seeking reelection to Congress; John T. McManus, candidate for governor; Paul L. Ross, for Mayor; Frances Smith, Negro woman leader running for the 11th A.D. Assembly seat; and Manuel Medina, Puerto Rican candidate from the 14th A.D.

Many special features have been scheduled for the Jubilee, which is expected to draw a capacity crowd. Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawford, cousin of Dr. DuBois and widely-known music

teacher, will lead the singing of the National Anthem as the meeting opens. A huge portrait of Dr. DuBois, sketched by the talented young artist Charles White, will decorate the platform, and noted Negro actor Frank Silvera will read and dedicate a poem to Dr. DuBois.

The program will also include songs by a youth chorus and a highlight of the evening will be the reading of telegrams which have poured into ALP headquarters lauding Dr.DuBois for his decision to become the first Negro in New York ever to seek a seat in the U.S. Senate.

246-28-74

32-19-29

ALP JUBILEE and RALLY

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

John T. McManus • Paul Ross

VITO MARCANTONIO

Frances Smith • Manuel Medina

ENTERTAINMENT

Auspices: N. Y. County American Labor Party

THURSDAY
October 5, 1950
7:30 P. M.

Golden Gate Ballroom
142nd St. & Lenox Ave.
Admission 25¢

209

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City
Wo 4- 8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SPEECH BY DR. WILLIAM E.B. DUBOIS, ALP CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATOR AT ALP RALLY, GOLDEN GATE BALLROOM
Thursday, October 5, 1950

Harlem is one of the most widely known localities on earth. In Europe, Asia, and Africa the average man has heard of Harlem and has some idea of its significance as a center, not simply of Negro expression but of a new concept of democratic power. Naturally the meaning of Harlem has greatly changed in the course of time. At the close of the Civil War there were only 15,000 Negroes in the whole city of New York and none in the empty farming district to the north of 14th Street.

By the beginning of the century the center of New York's Negro population lay at 53rd Street. It was there that the music and drama which afterward made Harlem famous began; and between 1900 and 1910, Phil Peyton the Negro real estate man, began the opening of Harlem to the crowded Negro population then living on the West Side below 53rd Street.

35-4-78

It was the First World War, with its stoppage of foreign immigration and new opportunities for work, that brought the great influx of Negroes into this area of New York. The black community of 60,000 which had gathered here by 1910, became a hundred thousand by 1920 and doubled each decade to 200,000 in 1930 and 400,000 in 1940. Probably today Harlem and adjacent areas cont ain more than a half million persons of Negro descent, perhaps the largest Negro city community in the western world.

In its earlier years, from 1900 to 1920, Harlem connoted Negro art in music and theater, with Williams and Walker, Cole and Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Sissle and Blake and Florence Mills; hither came the Blues from Memphis and Jazz with Jim Europe. The world looked on Harlem as a playground and slum, which the rich and curious visited and which sent its singers and dancers around the world. But beyond and beneath this Harlem, was a crowded labyrinth of homes and workers; with poverty, disease and crowding; with all that swell and pulse of living that makes life in a great city. Out of this came, in the twenties, attempts at expression, at writing and acting; poets, novelists and play-wrights began to appear and a Negro literature which was a part and important part of American literature. Also there came crime with gambling and prostitution, assault and theft and this made an ideal stamping ground for politics in the lower sense of that term. Here among the poor and depressed, votes could be bought cheaply and both Tammany and the Republican machines soon began to disburse considerable funds to control the Harlem vote. This was paid for in cash and followed by a few offices and jobs and sale of the right to sell liquor and women and the numbers.

Then came the depression of the thirties and Harlem sank in poverty, relief, destitution and crime; the literacy renaissance disappeared in a grim fight to live and survive; and by the advent of the forties there came to Harlem a new sense of the power and meaning of life in this section; born of struggle and of a growth of intelligence and planning. Politics took on new meaning and no longer meant simply pay for votes or for the privilege of breaking the law. The Harlem Negro began to demand representation in government and representation by men of his own choosing and not simply by those chosen and thrust over him. Political machinery began to pass into his hands and he entered the city government, the police force, the civil service, the State Legislature and the national Congress. But he was content still to share power and not yet ready to use it for new ends.

During this time Harlem thought of itself as a Negro Community dealing mainly with the problems of the American Negro. Although a community of workers, it did not conceive itself as part of the la bor problem of the city or nation. Harlem did not ask to guide democracy, only to share it on the same terms as other folk shared it.

Although a part of the American expression of democracy, it wanted to be a part of that democracy, for which others did the thinking and guiding. This was natural for a group brought up with a slave psychology; whose highest ambition quite naturally was to share and not to guide; to be recognized and not to dictate. But Harlem lived in a changing age; in an age when the burden

of governing was shifting from the privileged to the mass; from the owner of property to the creator of value. This meant often, as men feared it would, transfer of power from intelligence to ignorance and from experience to uncertainty; yet at the same time, it was bringing a new thing into the world: a broad sense of unselfish care for the mass of humanity, instead of the fierce struggle of the smart to survive at any cost; and a feeling of the unity of mankind across lines of race as well as class. Thus the Harlem voter gradually began to feel himself not simply as symbol of a race, but as part of a people; not simply as a center for entertaining the rich, but much more as a community of citizens whose duty it was to help make a new nation and a new world.

To illustrate my meaning, I remember how a quarter of a century ago, I started a Little Theater in the basement of the 135th Street Library, to let Harlem portray and entertain and express itself. Young Aaron Douglas painted the scenery. The so-called Krigwa Players wrote their own plays and acted the parts and furnished their own audiences. After hesitation we entered a nation-wide contest of Little Theatres downtown and won second prize. That ruined us; Broadway beckoned to our actors and they fled to money-making and show-off, instead of sticking to the far finer task of building a community which through drama, could take its rightful place in the building of a nation. Then the depression finished our venture and now a new world looks at Harlem in this crisis of modern civilization. It sees it not simply as an entertainment center but as one of the world's great testing grounds for modern democracy where the representatives of a great people have a chance to guide the world in a day when as perhaps never before the world needs guidance.

35-4-79

And it is a battle, make no mistake about it--the last Great Battle of the West: centered about a new development of the grave and unanswered question: where in the State--in the Organized Community--does the real ultimate Power lie: the power of police control; of the organization of Work and Wage? Of the content and range of education? Of the ownership and distribution of property? In these matters of universal power, where and whose is the ultimate control?

We know how historically this power at first rested naturally in the Father of the family; then as the family multiplied, it was shared by a Council of Elders and the King who stood at their head by choice or self-assertion. But as families and clans grew to tribes and nations, the powers and identity of rulers varied by chance and strength, until the right to rule became tangled, hidden and often incapable of any clear explanation or understanding. Then men had to clear away the underbrush and rationalize government; first into royal rule "by the Grace of God" until kings mistook themselves for God and were beheaded; until certain citizens, distinguished by birth, ability or wealth monopolized the right to rule the state. This often degenerated into a rule of self-interest and privilege and in Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries, men grown rich by reason of new discoveries and inventions, took over the powers of government, yielding the working class some limited rights to share their power. In the latter part of the 19th century this rule of the Rich and property-holding classes with increased numbers of workers sharing political power, brought the whole world under the control of Europe through a new science and technique and reduced to subservience the workers of the world outside Europe. This was scarcely accomplished when in the 20th century the world burst into flame, in a confused and rapidly changing series of wars; first a war to redistribute the Colonies of Asia and Africa among the empires of Europe; then to prevent by force the working classes from controlling the property and curtailing the powers of the rich; and finally the attempt of the colonial people themselves wholly to escape the control of Europe and North America.

This is the muddled world in which we find ourselves today: its basic problems of property, wage, power and privilege are increasingly clear: the answer to these problems is not War; and the interests involved are not simply nor mainly the interests of the rich, nor of industry in itself. A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress can not be held back by any power of man. It is facing this problem that Harlem stands today nd in its light, we must act and vote. First then Peace and Civil Rights; then Study, Education and Public Informa tion in a press free from the control of Big Business is our program.

It may seem nonsense to a proverbially modest group to conceive that they who have always followed, listened and asked, should today with a certain suddenness be ordered to lead, to inform and speak out in clear, firm tones. Yet this is far more true than you think. The majority of the people of the world are today watching Harlem and American Negroes with fascinated interest. Today in China and India; in Indonesia and the Phillipines; through the length and breadth of Africa; in the Caribbean and the South Seas, in the Near East and South America, men are asking--many have asked me personally--what is this

dark group of 15 million Americans thinking and advising; the group which has fought and faced Europe and America hand to hand for three awful centuries until today, while not yet free; they yet stand with 2 million ballots in their hands and brains in their heads to vote as modern men and not as purchased slaves: What do they think and advise in this crisis of the modern world? Where does Harlem stand in the battle for Peace and Civil Rights?

Your answer should be calm and clear: Harlem stands for Peace and Civil Rights; for Peace among all nations, before and behind the Iron Curtain; for Civil Rights for all men, Chinese, and Koreans, Russians and Poles, black, brown and yellow peoples, as well as for Englishmen and Americans.

There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war; that by war andmainly by war had modern men gained Freedom, Religion and Democracy. We believed this because we were taught this in our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture, we realize that there is scarce a victory formerly claimed by war, which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today the United States alone wants War, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a Jim-crow army and commit suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it. This is the reason for this meeting; for this campaign, for my candidacy for the United States Senate: I want progress; I want education; I want social medicine; I want a living wage and Old Age Security; I want Employment for all and Relief for the Unemployed and Sick; I want Public Works, Public Services and Public Improvement; and because I know and you know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profits for Big Business, for that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every continent and nation and cry Peace--No More War; end the rule of Brass Hats in our government and investments. Let us stop the antics of the Wild Man of Tokyo, who is determined of his own will to fight China and Russia, and the Eisenhowers who declare openly in public hearing, "We can lick the World!"

35-4-80

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision; of prayerful thought and solemn deliberation, we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and common sense.. But when did you even vote for war? You who have spent most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never and you never will as long as an executive on his own initiative can start a little 'police action' which costs the lives and health of 20,000 American boys in order that Big Business can interfere into the governments of Asia and reap millions. A pretty batch of scoundrels we are supporting in order to make money for persons who already have more than they can spend: Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee; Quirino, Bao-Dai, the rulers of Persia and Greece; Eudenz and Bentley, Anders; and a host of allied and associated spies, thieves and liars. The people of communities like Harlem foot the bill and sacrifice our children for this precious privilege.

In order to stop you from discussing or voting on war, we have erected again in America, a Slave State; just as a century ago we made the discussion of Negro Slavery illegal. It is possible today that an honest American, without committing a crime or an illegal act, can be jailed and impoverished if he talks peace, higher wage or civil rights; this may be done even without trial or hearing; and any public discussion of the case can be absolutely stopped. I am a candidate for public office today, because only in a campaign like this can I discuss peace and civil rights on the platform, over the radio or in the public press. This is Liberty, this is America. One right is left to us and that is the ballot, outside of Mississippi, Georgia and their sister states, who because of disfranchisement hold all positions of power in Congress.

Here in New York, you can vote for Peace, provided of course your employer does not know it. And he need not know it. Legally it is none of his business how you vote. Your vote is secret. It may not be tomorrow, but it is today. Only three nights ago, Governor Dewey turned the old Abraham Lincoln stop on this platform and told his audience what must have been real

news to them, how he and the Republican Party had bought and paid for your votes. He told you how he favored the F.E.P.C. but forgot to remind you how long he stalled on it and ducked until he had to yield. He rightly charged Truman with failing to keep his civil rights promises but did not mention that Republican leader Vandenburg was his right-hand man to clinch the job. He mentioned housing but not in Stuyvesant Town. He deplored failure to pass anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislature by Democratic Congresses which acted exactly like Republican Congresses. Indeed any attempt of Republicans or Democrats to assess guilt for anti-Negro bias is merely exercise in the Pot calling the Kettle black. I ask Harlem to vote overwhelmingly for Peace and Civil Rights against Dewey and Lynch.

The United States Senate is probably the most powerful legislative body on earth. Senators are elected by the people for six year terms and they represent in theory all the people; but in fact the chief interest of certain people. These interests are not equally distributed: Business and Banking, Law and Manufacturing, Commerce and the learned Professions are over-represented by trained and talented men; but labor and servants, farmers and women, the poor and unfortunate, have small voice or thought in this body; and 15 million Negroes, have no voice at all. In November, New York will choose a senator from three candidates: One is a respectable citizen, who speaks for property and investment and the military forces, and who expressed this week his fear of Peace. These interests are already over represented in the Senate; they do not need more Lehmans. Another candidate is a hack politician who represents New York public life at its lowest. He has no business in the United States Senate, where he would stand shoulder to shoulder with war-mongers and profiteers. I am a third candidate: think the matter over carefully: Which of these three men would best voice the interests of the people represented here today?

35-4-81-

* * * * * * * *

uopwa16-202

[1950]

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6th

Dr. William E.B. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for U.S. Senator, opened his campaign last night (Thursday, October 5th) in Harlem with an attack on both his Democratic and Republican opponents for their support of the "bi-partisan policy of war".

Senator Lehman was described by Dr. DuBois as a representative of "Big Business and Big Brass", and Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Hanley, Republican candidate for Senator, as "a hack politician who has no business in the United States Senate!"

Dr. DuBois told his audience at the Golden Gate Ballroom that the U.S. Senate is "the most powerful legislative body on earth, where big business interests are over-represented, where labor has a small voice and 15 million Negroes have no voice at all."

100-4-72

Attacking the theory of the inevitability of war, Dr. DuBois declared that "there is scarcely a victory claimed by war which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace." Dr. DuBois condemned U.S. policies of war and preparation for war which, he said, force the people of the nation "to impoverish ourselves, giving up health and schools, sacrificing our sons and daughters to a jimcrow army and committing suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it."

"Both of my opponents support this bi-partisan policy of war," the 80-year old historian and humanitarian declared. "against them we of the American Labor Party stand for peace and progress, for a living wage with employment for all. We cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill to make huge profits for big business."

Addressing himself to Governor Dewey's claim in a recent speech in Harlem that he had been responsible for establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission in New York State, Dr. DuBois asserted that Dewey had "stalled on it until he had to yield."

"Indeed, any attempt of either Republicans or Democrats to assess guilt for anti-Negro bias is merely exercise in the pot calling the kettle black," Dr. DuBois remarked.

In conclusion, Dr. DuBois stated:

"The majority of the people of the world today are watching Harlem.

"Does Harlem stand for peace and civil rights; for peace among all nations, before and behind the iron curtain; for civil rights for all men, Chinese and Koreans, Russians and Poles, black, brown and yellow peoples, as well as for English and Americans?

Speaking for the first time on the platform with other statewide candidates of the American Labor Party, Dr. DuBois called upon the Harlem community to "vote overwhelmingly for peace and civil rights, against Dewey and Lynch, for all ALP can-

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City

WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Flanked by state and city notables, Dr. William E. B. DuBois is slated to launch his campaign for the U.S. Senate at a huge Jubilee for Peace and Freedom, sponsored by the American Labor Party at Golden Gate Ballroom, 142nd st. and Lenox ave., Thursday evening, Oct. 8.

The affair will also commemorate the Negro scholar's half-century of accomplishment in history, literature, civil rights and other fields in which he has made lasting contributions.

Dr.DuBois will be introduced by Paul Robeson, famed singer and actor, who will dedictae two songs to the guest of honor.

Appearing on the platform with Dr. DuBois will be ALP candidates Rep. Vito Marcantonio, seeking reelection to Congress; John T. McManus, candidate for governor; Paul L. Ross, candidate for Mayor; Frances Smith, Negro woman leader running for the 11th A.D. Assembly seat; and Manuel Medina, Puerto Rican candidate from the 14th A.D.

Many special features have been scheduled for the Jubilee, which is expected to attract a capacity crowd. Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawfard, cousin of Dr. DuBois and widely-known music teacher, will lead the singing of the national anthem as the meeting opens. A huge portrait of Dr. DuBois, sketched by talented young artist Charles White, will decorate the platform, and noted Negro actor Frank Silvera will read and dedicate a poem to Dr. DuBois.

The program will also include songs by a youth chorus and a highlight

of the evening will be the reading of telegrams and letters which have poured into ALP headquarters lauding Dr. DuBois for his decision to become the first Negro in New York ever to seek a seat in the U.S. Senate.

-30-

24b-28-72

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City
WOrth 4-8153

Oct 8, 1950

The American Labor Party launched its 1950 campaign in the heart of Harlem last Thursday as a cheering crowd of more than 3,500 persons gave a standing ovation to ALP candidate for the U.S. Senate, Dr. William E. B. DuBois.

The entrance of Dr. DuBois, flanked by State ALP chairman Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Paul Robeson, was the signal for a spontaneous five-minute demonstration that ended in a "snake dance" through the crowded aisles of Golden Gate Ballroom.

A capacity audience heard Dr. DuBois level a double-barreled attack at his Democratic and Republican opponents for their support of the "bi-partisan policy of war." Pointing out that the U.S. Senate is "the most powerful legislative body on earth, where big business interests are over-represented, where labor has a small voice and 15 million Negroes have no voice at all," the distinguished speaker described Sen. Lehman as a representative of "big business and big brass," and Lt.-Gov. Joseph Hanley, GOP senatorial candidate, as a "hack politician who has no business in the United States Senate."

Previously, Rep. Marcantonio, seeking reelection to his seat in Congress, declared that "neither Ives nor Lehman lifted a finger against the filibuster on FEPC." The fiery ALP leader reasserted his confidence of victory for the entire

ALP slate.

Dr. DuBois was introduced by singer Paul Robeson, who prefaced his remarks with several songs. "All over the world," Robeson stated, "the name of DuBois is known as scholar, teacher, organizer, battler for African and colonial freedom. In our own land he heads the gathering host who fight for peace."

Ewart Guinier, head of the ALP Harlem Council, was chairman of the meeting, which also honored 50 years of service and leadership by Dr. DuBois. Guinier presented other ALP candidates sharing the platform with the guest of honor, including John T. McManus, candidate for governor, Manuel Medina, Puerto Rican candidate for state assembly, and Frances Smith, Negro labor leader, also running for the state legislature.

A strong resolution was adopted at the mass rally, demanding that President Truman revoke the death sentence now facing Lt. Leon Gilbert, 32-year-old Negro from York, Pa. According to Arthur Schutzer, ALP state secretary, this issue will be a key point at all ALP rallies throughout the state, with postcards and telegrams to the White House being emphasized.

-30-

24-k-28-70

35-6-246

SCHEDULE OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, A.L.P. CANDIDATE

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

1-	SUNDAY OCTOBER 8, TELEVISION BROADCAST	7:15 PM--8:00 PM	WPIX
2-	MONDAY OCTOBER 9, RADIO	9:30PM- 9:45 PM	WMCA
3-	SUNDAY OCTOBER 15, PUBLIC RALLY	JESSIE CLIPPER CLUB	BUFFALO, N.Y.
4-	MONDAY OCTOBER 16, ALP RALLY AT NIGHT		ROCHESTER, N. Y.
5-	TUESDAY OCTOBER 17, ALP RALLY AT NIGHT	COOP HALL	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
6-	THURSDAY OCTOBER 19, RADIO BROADCAST	9:30 Pm--9:45 Pm	WMCA
7-	SUNDAY OCTOBER 22, ALP RALLY AFTERNOON	3:00 PM	ALBANY, N. Y.
8-	SUNDAY OCTOBER 22, RADIO BROADCAST	9:15PM- 9:30PM	WOR--STATEWIDE
	Tu " 24 Madison Sq Garden		
9-	THURSDAY OCTOBER 26, " "	9:30Pm--9:45PM	WMCA
	NOVEMBER		
10-	Friday ~~OCTOBER~~ 3, " "	9:30PM--9:45PM	WMCA
11-	MONDAY NOVEMBER 6, " "	9:15PM--9:30PM	WMCA

1657 Broadway (W57)

45-6-84

Cannot discuss reform
abroad w/o
Call to Peace
or Called C. Trials
or Crusade

our program of P. aligned
we are not alone
w/ of the forces of peace
Labor Unity &
Progress & Peace
Women Veterans
Students

We must work
When we fight work
P. Reform

Where L ≠ H because
they neither T

T ≠ War
Health & War
War as Progress
World War

L. Leads Peace
Hypocrisy — Intolerable

Four point Cross
Chart;

Ex amples
in Civil R.
in Economic
Unusual responsibility & crucial forces
We are not alone
& we have

SCHEDULE OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, A.L.P. CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

1-	SUNDAY	OCTOBER 8,	TELEVISION BROADCAST	7:15 PM--8:00 PM	WPIX
2-	MONDAY	OCTOBER 9,	RADIO	9:30PM- 9:45 PM	WMCA
		oct 10-	Queens		
3-	SUNDAY	OCTOBER 15,	PUBLIC RALLY	JESSIE CLIPPER CLUB	BUFFALO, N.Y.
4-	MONDAY	OCTOBER 16,	ALP RALLY AT NIGHT		ROCHESTER, N. Y.
5-	TUESDAY	OCTOBER 17,	ALP RALLY AT NIGHT	COOP HALL	SYRACUSE, N. Y.
		18- N.Y.			
6-	THURSDAY	OCTOBER 19,	RADIO BROADCAST	9:30 Pm--9:45 Pm	WMCA
7-	SUNDAY	OCTOBER 22,	ALP RALLY AFTERNOON	3:00 PM	ALBANY, N. Y.
8-	SUNDAY	OCTOBER 22,	RADIO BROADCAST	9:15PM- 9:30PM	WOR--STATEWIDE
		Madison Sq- 24			
9-	THURSDAY	OCTOBER 26,	" "	9:30Pm--9:45PM	WMCA
		NOVEMBER 2	Bronx		
10-	Friday	NOVEMBER 3,	" "	9:30PM--9:45PM	WMCA
11-	MONDAY	NOVEMBER 6,	" "	9:15PM--9:30PM	WMCA

27- New Rochelle
28- October Bridgeport

29- Internatl. Hotel - Rec - 4-7:30 PM

Nov - 1 - Brooklyn St. George Hotel

Chas Tuck Schultzer

35-6-44

American Labor Party
17 Murray Street
New York City
Worth 4-8155

Monday, October 9,1950

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

With the blunt charge that "what we are fighting for is not freedom nor democracy, but the profitable expansion of American business," Dr. William E.B. DuBois, ALP candidate for the United States Senate, brought his "Peace Platform" directly into the homes of the vast television audience of station WPIX in a three-cornered debate last Sunday night. (Oct. 8)

The noted author, scholar and world traveler hit fearlessly at the basic issues in the current campaign, overshadowing spokesmen for the Democratic and Republican parties, who parroted trite political slogans. Dr. DuBois was the only senatorial candidate speaking before the video cameras, his opponents in the race being represented by party wheelhorses.

Moderator for the debate was Lowell Limpus, who appears each week as conductor of the N.Y. Daily News "Voice of the People." The program is currently being devoted to the 1950 campaign in New York State.

Each party was given three minutes to present its platform to the TV audience, with Dr. DuBois speaking for himself and the ALP; Payton Moss, speaking for Senator Herbert Lehman, Democrat; and Charles Hamilton speaking for Lt. Governor Joe Hanley, R.O.P. candidate for the United States Senate.

Dr. DuBois, an expert on colonial problems, pointed out that "we gave but little attention to the plight of the mass of the Chinese people so long as we had an open door to their cheap labor and rich raw materials."

He added: " If we were really burning to spread freedom and democracy, where could we start better than at home? We could profitably begin with the police of New York and the jails of New Jersey. Then for permanent employment we might concentrate on Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana. Instead of this, we want to send abroad what we do not possess at home."

Seven minutes was given each party to question the main speakers. Shooting questions at both the Democratic and Republican spokesmen were John T. McManus, ALP gubernatorial candidate; Paul Moss, candidate for Mayor; Dr. Clementine Paolone, running for Lt. Governor; and Frances Smith, seeking a seat in the State Assembly.

During the cross-examination, Moss, who heads the New York Young Democrats, was forced to admit that while Senator Lehman opposed the McCarran Bill, he was in favor of the Kilgore Bill, with its concentration camp provisions.

Making an impressive appearance in his television debut, Dr. DuBois declared flatly, " The American people do not want war. They do not need war... We have plenty to do at home.

"If, then, a citizen wants peace and not war," he concluded," wants freedom of discussion and not a slave state, he has no choice but turning to a Third Party! I ask opportunity in the United States Senate to raise my voice against war and in defense of civil liberties."

24A-28-33

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Arthur Schutzer

FROM: W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE: October 9, 1950

SUBJECT: My engagements

The only engagements which I have are:

6 radio braodcasts---October 9, 19, 22, 26, and November 3, 6.

Four speeches upstate---October 15, 16, 17, 22.

Madison Square Garden, October 24.

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City
WO 4- 8153

October 9, 1950

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10th

ADVANCE TEXT OF SPEECH BY DR. WILLIAM E.B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATOR OVER RADIO STATION
WMCA, MONDAY, OCTOBER 9th - 9:30-9:45 P.M.

I have consented to be a candidate for public office, for the first time in a long life, because I believe that the people of New York are entitled to an opportunity to vote against war and for peace. Neither of my opponents provides that opportunity.

Both Herbert Lehman and Joe R. Hanley agree with the Truman-Dulles policy in foreign relations. They both advocate a policy which is daily leading us nearer a Third World War. The Truman policy was bad when it gave aid to reaction in China and Greece. Now yielding to pressure from the Republicans, it is making new alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, helping France conquer Viet Nam and threatening to make the Korean War the beginning of war with China and the Soviet Union.

Foremost in advocacy of this policy is Governor Dewey and his ally, John Foster Dulles, whom Mr. Lehman a year ago, characterized as "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist". This same man, Senator Lehman, now welcomes to the "bi-partisan" alliance of Republicans and Democrats, not because Mr. Dulles has changed, but because Mr. Lehman has succumbed to the present war hysteria of the nation. He has recently declared that he fears peace; that he hopes that the present war psychology of the nation will not subside but increase and spread toward preparation for war on a world scale.

It is difficult to follow the reasoning of a man who knows the increasing horror of war and its threat to all civilization. In our own nation nearly every step toward social progress is stopped today because of the supposed necessity for spending more for murder and destruction than we ever spent for education, health, better standards of living and broad social progress. Let any man today propose aid to our collapsing school system; to begin social medicine for a people deprived to a frightful extent of medical care; for a whole system of TVA's to tame the destruction and wasting rivers of our land--and preserve the dwindling treasure of our forests, no sooner are such plans advocated than the proponent is faced by two answers: we have no money for social progress because of all-out preparation for killing men and destroying property all over the world.

/

And secondly that anyone advocating such social aid and control is a Communist or Socialistand a traitor or prospective traitor to his country. Thereupon the advocate of peace, of an expanded educational system; of medical attention for the vast number of sick who are now uncared for, of the control of industry in the interest of the public welfare is faced by an almost universal barrage of insult, half-truth and whole lie to prove that we are in imminent attack from bitter enemies from without and must submit to endless taxation and loss of our civil rights in order to start world war in defense of our liberties. The advocacy of this fantastic thesis has grown to a frightful extent since Senator Lehman has been in the Senate and he has gone along with its chief advocates with small protest; until today he actually says publicly that he is afraid we will prepare for peace instead of wasting our wealth and hopes for increased welfare on war. Yet Mr. Lehman must know that of all social tools of progress, war is the least effective. That if this world is going forward to war after war, each greater and more destructive than the last, the end of civilization is in sight. Suppose we follow Mr. Lehman and Mr. Hanley. And suppose that by super-human effort we conquer China and the Soviet Union, smash southeast Asia and strengthen our hold on Africa and South America through our increasing investments there. What then?

35-4-124

Have we had such success in administering Germany, Japan, South Korea and the Phillipines that we are sure we can successfully rule the world? Our only hope in making our way of life acceptable to the peoples of the world is not by armies and airplanes but by ideas--by example. What have we in the line of civil liberties and rights, decent treatment of the lowly, and lack of prejudice and mob rule, disfranchisement and miscarrying of Justice to put before the dark majority of the world as proof that we are right and other nations wrong? Just because a Secretary of Defense went insane when he thought he saw the Russians invading Washington; just because a liberal leader like Henry Wallace suddenly announces that we are already fighting Russia, does that prove that the Soviets are attacking or planning to attack us? Have the Soviets ever attacked and invaded our country as we have theirs? Have they ever helped seize slices of our territory as we have of theirs? Are their armies today camped on our every border with the openly expressed and reiterated object of stopping communism by force? The only hope of peace in the world is not threat and boast; not insult and repeated misrepresentation but faith and hope and cooperation. We refused the proffered help of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the Second World War. Then we had to take it. Did the Soviets fail us? Were they unfaithful to their committments? To be sure we helped their effort by giving their armies materials; but they saved the World from Hitler by giving their sons and daughters by the million and none

praised their effort more than the United States in 1945. The faith and praise we had then must be used again if we want to have the peace among men. Moreover let no American be so simple as to think that when we conquer Russia, we conquer Socialism and Communism. Communism did not begin in the Soviet Union and it will not end there. If Russia today were swept from the face of the Earth the basic and fundamental problems which gave birth to it will remain. If we cannot answer them before war or with war, what hope is there that we can answer them after war? They will still stand; and they rest on this question: Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique: with industry belting the earth and goods and services pouring from out stores, factories, ships and warehouses: Why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter; while a small majority are so rich that they cannot spend their income.

35-4-125

We cannot maintain that the United States has satisfactorily answered this question. Despite all we have done, we still have poverty, ignorance and preventable disease. We might go far toward remedying these faults of our industrial system and it is quite possible that the American Way of Life could teach the world much in social progress if it was geared to such continued progress and not to war. It is not by the destruction of the plans of others but rather by developing our own that our way of life can hope to succeed. But we are misled by a mirage. We want to base our economy not on our efforts in the United States but on our control of the work and industry of certain backward lands in Asia and Africa; and until recently, in the east Europe and the Balkans. We want to succeed the British Empire of the 19th century in exploiting the labor and materials of the ignorant and weak. This - is back of our foreign policy which is pushing profitable investment abroad under the pretense of preserving our liberties at home. This is back of our bitter determination to dominate China, for cheap Chinese labor has long been the rich source of wealth for American and British investment. Senator Lehman represents the investing interests of America. He fights their battles in the Senate and fights them so whole-heartedly that he is willing in their interests to restore to power in Germany the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. For these reasons and despite his high character and many efforts for social progress, he should not represent this state in the Senate. And so long as Joseph Hanley repeats by rote the commands of Dewey and Dulles he is much safer in Albany than in Washington.

* * * * * * * * *

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE

23 WEST 26th STREET
New York 10, N. Y.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 4-0520

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

GERALDINE SHANDROS
Secretary

EWART G. GUINIER
Treasurer

MORRIS GOLDIN
Director of Organization

VICE-CHAIRMEN
Daniel Allen
Henry H. Abrams
Francisco Archilla
Louise R. Berman
Charles A. Collins
Marvel Cooke
Dave Greene
Edwin L. Hoffman
Philip Jones
David Livingston
John T. McManus
Clementina J. Paolone
Curtis Ritter
Paul L. Ross
Annette T. Rubinstein
Johannes Steel
Ivan Wohlworth

327

October 11, 1950

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th. Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

All of us at the County office were delighted and enthusiastic about last Thursday's meeting in Harlem. We hope you were as pleased as we were and as the Harlem Clubs were. Your speech was magnificent and a lesson for all of us.

We are sending you one of the reproductions of Charles White's drawing which you may want to keep as a souvenir.

With every good wish, and with the deepest gratification that you are making this political fight,

Sincerely,

Louise R. Berman

Louise R. Berman

This letter was written more than a week ago. I held it up until I could find a suitable mailer for the portrait.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street
New York City
WO 4-8153

N E W S

October 12, 1950

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY OCTOBER 13

STATEMENT BY DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, ALP CANDIDATE
FOR U. S. SENATOR
ON THE TRUMAN-MacARTHUR MEETING

35-C-287

I note with interest that General MacArthur has summoned the President of the United States to his presence in order to make clear to him MacArthur's plan for the American conquest of China, or threaten him with resignation. The President, who has consistently refused to visit Premier Stalin to talk peace, is now compelled to leave his yacht and fishing to appear before our Asiatic pro-consul; before the man who in 1931 tear-gassed and shot down army veterans marching in favor of a bonus, and whose administration has unjustly sentenced a Negro lieutenant to death in Korea in an extension of the whole pattern of Jim Crow segregation. At the same time eight Japanese prisoners are to be released from prison in Japan to join 100 prisoners already pardoned for attacking the United States.

General MacArthur's orders for the conquest of China have been outlined by a friendly United States journal: to put Korea in control of the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek and with the cooperation of Syngman Rhee and the whole military, naval and air force of the United States, to crush China and establish America as the dominant force in Asia. Already MacArthur, entirely ignoring the United Nations, has recognized Rhee as ruler of conquered Korea. Unless this program is accepted the President will probably be faced with the resignation of General MacArthur and something like the end of the world.

In the meantime India and all Asia are protesting against American military power in that continent and the Soviet Union, instead of taking advantage of our unreadiness for all-out world war and the military helplessness of Western Europe, continues to talk peace and to refuse to move its armies. No evidence of Russian infiltration has been found in recaptured Seoul and Ambassador Austin's dramatic machine gun seems to be the sum total of Russia's arming of the North Koreans.

MORE

The Moscow Correspondant of the New York Times writes in dispair: "During this past summer hundreds of millions of rubles, tens of thousands of man-hours and vast quantities of Soviet industrial output have been poured into the program for beautification of the Soviet capital. It is hard not only for Soviet citizens but for foreigners long resident in Moscow to believe that the Kremlin would continue the program on this vast scale if if seriously believed that atomic bombs might soon be falling on Soviet territory."

35-6-288

Foolish Russia! They fail to take into account our vigilent Acheson and the Wild Man of Tokyo. We continue steadfast and unmoved. President Truman's journey is but another determined step in our fight to rule the world for American business at the rate of 39 billions a year. Last year we 'wasted' only three billions on public school education and we have thousands of disabled war veterans in our hospitals, not mentioning the dead.

How long will men like Senator Lehman and Joe Hanley, Governor Dewey and John Foster Dulles support this insane policy of war and more war, forever?

* * * * * *

uopwal6-202

Sent to Mr. Schutzer 10/11/50

A PROPOSED PRESS RELEASE

I note with interest that General MacArthur has summoned the President of the United States to his presence in order to make clear to him MacArthur's plan for the American conquest of China, or threaten him with resignation. The President who has consistently refused to visit Marshall Stalin to talk peace, is now compelled to leave his yacht and fishing to appear before our Asiatic pro-consul; before the man who in 1931, tear-gassed and shot down army veterans marching in favor of a bonus, and whose administration is about to execute a Negro Lieutenant in Korea for refusing to lead his men to certain death. At the same time eight Japanese prisoners are to be released from prison in Japan to join 100 prisoners already pardoned for attacking the United States.

35-6-128

General MacArthur's orders for the conquest of China have been outlined by a friendly United States journal: to put Korea in control of the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek and with the cooperation of Syngman Rhee and the whole military, naval and air force of the United States, to crush China and establish America as the dominant force in Asia. Already MacArthur, entirely ignoring the United Nations has recognized Rhee as ruler of conquered Korea. Unless this program is accepted the President will probably be faced with the resignation of General MacArthur and something like the end of the world.

In the meantime India and all Asia are protesting against American military power in that continent and the Soviet Union instead of taking advantage of our unreadiness for all-out world war, and the military helplessness of Western Europe, continues to talk peace and to refuse to move its armies. No evidence of Russian infiltration has been found in recaptured Seoul and Ambassador Austin's dramatic machine gun seems to be the sum total of Russia's arming of the North Koreans.

The Moscow Correspondant of the New York Times writes in despair:

"During this past summer hundreds of millions of rubles, tens of thousands of man-hours and vast quantities of Soviet industrial output have been poured inot the program for beautification of the Soviet capital. It is hard not only for Soviet citizens but for foreigners long resident in Moscow to believe that the Kremlin would continue the program on this vast scale if it seriously believed that atomic bombs might soon be falling on Soviet territory."

Foolish Russia! They fail to take into account our vigilent Acheson and the Wild Man of Tokio. We continue steadfast and unmoved. President Truman's journey is but another determined step in our fight to rule the world for American business at the rate of 39 billions a year. Last year we wasted only three billions on public school education and we have only two million disabled war veterans in our hospitals, not mentioning the dead.

How long will men like Senator Lehman and Joe Hanley, Governor Dewey and John Foster Dulles support this insane policy of war and more war, forever?

35-6-129

Issued by: New York State ALP
17 Murray St., NYC

UPSTATE TOUR - TRAVEL & HOTEL ARRANGEMENTS

CITIES	TRANSPORTATION	HOTEL RESERVATIONS
Sun. 10/15 BUFFALO	American Airlines Flight 183 Leave La Guardia 9:50 AM Arrive Buffalo 11:20 AM Reservations for 5: Du Bois, McManus, Scheiner Murphy & Lucas	Hotel Statler, Buffalo Reservations in name of McManus Dr. Du Bois - 1 single McManus & Scheiner - 1 double Murphy & Lucas - 1 double
Mon. 10/16 ROCHESTER	Leave Buffalo in morning by car - to Rochester. Jiminez arranged transportation. He will join candidates in Rochester.	Hotel Rochester, Rochester Dr. Du Bois - 1 single Jimenez - 1 single McManus & Scheiner - 1 double Murphy & Lucas - 1 double
Tue. 10/17 SYRACUSE	Leave Rochester in morning in Jimenez' car - to Syracuse.	Hotel Syracuse, Syracuse Dr. Du Bois - 1 single Murphy & Lucas - 1 double McManus, Scheiner, Jimenez - 1 triple
Wed. 10/18	American Airlines Flight 762 Leave Syracuse 11:42 AM Arrive Newark 12:49 PM Reservations for 3: Dr. Du Bois, Murphy & Lucas	
UTICA	McManus, Scheiner & Jimenez Leave Syracuse in morning in Jimenez' car - to Utica	Hotel Utica, Utica McManus & Scheiner - 1 double
Thur. 10/19 ALBANY	McManus, Scheiner & Jimenez leave Utica in Jimenez' car - to Albany	Hotel De Witt Clinton, Albany McManus & Scheiner - 1 double from Thu 10/19 to Mon 10/23 Jimenez - 1 single from Thu 10/19 to Sat 10/21
Fri. 10/20 SCHENECTADY	McManus, Scheiner & Jimenez drive to Schenectady from Albany for ALP Rally at night then drive back to Albany in Jimenez' car.	Hotel De Witt Clinton, Albany McManus & Scheiner - 1 double Jimenez - 1 single
Sat. 10/21 SCHENECTADY	McManus, Scheiner & Jimenez drive to Schenectady from Albany for Reception at night. Jimenez to arrange for transportation back to Albany for McManus & Scheiner.	Hotel De Witt Clinton, Albany McManus & Scheiner - 1 double
Sun. 10/22 ALBANY	Colonial Airlines Flight 30 Leave La Guardia 12:15 PM Arrive Albany 1:32 PM Reservations for 2: Dr. Du Bois & Murphy Reservation for Frank Scheiner American Airlines Leaves Albany 7:40 PM Arrive La Guardia 8:29 PM	Hotel De Witt Clinton, Albany McManus & Scheiner - 1 double Dr. Du Bois - 1 single Murphy - 1 single
Mon. 10/23	Reservations for Dr. Du Bois & Murphy Colonial Airlines Flight 1 Leave Albany 9:23 AM Arrive La Guardia 10:23 AM	

uopwa gnyl 202

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City
WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Monday, October 16

24-17-39

BUFFALO, N.Y.____ A 20-man reception committee welcomed Dr. William E. B. DuBois at Buffalo airport last Sunday on the first stop in his scheduled 1,500-mile campaign tour.

Dr. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for the U. S. Senate, was accompanied by John T. McManus, ALP candidate for governor, Frank Scheiner, candidate for attorney-general, and George Murphy, who is managing the 82-year-old scholar's first political campaign.

Following a police-escorted motorcade through the city, a mass rally was held at Jesse Clipper American Legion Post, where some 300 persons heard Dr. DuBois charge that "war is big business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many."

The first Negro ever to seek a seat in the U. S. Senate from New York State, the world-famed Negro leader added:

"Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it rather spend your taxes for atom

bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war."

On the platform were local ALP candidates, including Mary Williams, attractive young Negro worker, who is running for the Legislature in the 4th State Assembly District. Chairman of the meeting was 22-year-old Negro steelworker Rufus Fraser, candidate for Congress from the 44th congressional district.

On Monday, Dr. DuBois and his party motored to Rochester for additional appearances at Colgate Divinity College and an ALP meeting at Hotel Powers. On Tuesday, the ALP candidates spoke at the University of Syracuse political science club before 200 students.

According to Murphy, the veteran fighter for Negro rights is campaigning like a seasoned politician. The upstate tour will include Schenectady and Albany and several radio broadcasts will be made by Dr. DuBois as the campaign enters the final weeks.

-30-

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City
WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Monday, October 16, 1950

BUFFALO, N.Y.___ A 20-man reception committee welcomed Dr. William E. B.DuBois at Buffalo airport last Sunday on the first stop in his state-wide election tour.

Dr. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for the U.S: Senate, was accompanied by two other ALP state candidates, John T. McManus, for governor; and Frank Scheiner, lieutenant-governor.

Following a police-escorted motorcade through the city, a mass rally was held at Jesse Clipper American Legion Post, where a large audience heard the famous scholar charge that "war is big business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many."

Dr. DuBois, who is the first Negro ever to run for the U.S. Senate in New York State, added, "Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it rather spend your takes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war."

STATEMENT BY DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS, AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR, IN ROCHESTER, OCTOBER 16, 1950

Governor Dewey, who is Big Business's perennial candidate to run our state and nation, has offered to skip one nomination if General Eisenhower will run for President in 1952. Eisenhower is the man who has publicly assured this nation that we can "lick the world" and can be counted on to push the Third World War in our all-out effort to rule the earth.

As the American Labor Party has repeatedly warned, Big Business and Big Brass do not intend easily to relinquish their rule of this country.

If Eisenhower declines to run, warned by Korea, General MacArthur can be depended on to accept since he has already started the American conquest of Asia by a war policy with the bi-partisan endorsement of both Hoover and Truman. Dewey can then, in 1956, offer himself again to save what is left of the world and American freedom.

The American people have a real fight on their hands in 1952 if we want to stop this game of death and profits and scotch the efforts of Big Business and Big Brass to end Jeffersonian democracy in our country.

[1950]

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City
WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Wednesday, Oct. 18

Dr. William E. B. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for the U.S. Senate, returned to New York City last Wednesday after completing the first leg of an extensive upstate election tour.

Covering some 1,500 miles by plane, auto and train, the noted scholar addressed large audiences in Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, attended receptions held in his honor, and talked with the local press. John T. McManus, ALP gubernatorial candidate, Frank Scheiner, candidate for attorney-general, Michael Jiminez, candidate for comptroller, and George Murphy, Jr., campaign manager for Dr. DuBois, were in the party.

The ALP candidates were also guests at Colgate Divinity College in Rochester, and spoke to 200 students at Syracuse University, in addition to the mass meetings.

Included among the many enthusiastic supporters and admirers who met Dr. DuBois at the Buffalo airport and joined the police-escorted motorcade through the city, were several Negro candidates running locally on the ALP ticket.

Rufus Fraser, young Negro steelworker, heads the

slate as candidate for Congress. Mary Williams, attractive young Negro woman, is running for the State Legislature.

At Syracuse, chairman of the rally was Mrs. Beverly Andrews, ALP candidate for councilman-at-large.

On Friday, Dr. DuBois will fly to Schenectday for another mass meeting and on Sunday will go to Albany for a state-wide radio broadcast on which he will appear with McManus.

The 82-year-old author, making his first bid for public office, campaigned like a veteran politician, "leaving no doubt as to his strength and endurance for the exacting duties of a U.S. Senator," Murphy stated. "He often set the pace for younger members of the party."

At every stop, Dr. DuBois stressed his platform of "Peace and Civil Rights." "This is the reason for my candidacy: I want progress," he declared. "I want education; I want a living wage and old age security. . . and because I know and you know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profits for Big Business, for that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every continent and nation and cry Peace-- No More War."

-30-

NOTE:

SUNDAY, OCT. 22 Station WOR 9:15-930 p.m.
Dr. DuBois and John T. McManus will be heard in a state-wide broadcast.

Issued by: New York State ALP
17 Murray St., NYC

U P S T A T E T O U R

STATEWIDE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATES

Sunday, Oct. 15 - Sunday, Oct. 22

BUFFALO - Sunday, 10/15

11:00 AM - Delegation at airport to meet candidates

3:00 PM - ALP Rally, Jessie Clipper Post, 425 Genesee St.

7:00 PM - Dinner & Reception

ROCHESTER - Monday, 10/16

4:00 PM - Students Rally, Colgate Campus

8:00 PM - ALP Rally, Hotel Power, East Main Street

SYRACUSE - Tuesday, 10/17

4:30 PM - AME Zion Church, Reception

8:15 PM - ALP Rally, Co-op Hall, 514 Harrison Street

UTICA - Wednesday, 10/18

5:15 - 5:30 PM - Broadcast WIBX - John McManus & Frank Scheiner
First National Bank Building

8:00 PM - ALP Rally, Utica

SCHENECTADY - Friday, 10/20

8:00 PM - ALP Rally, Kruegers Hall, 125 South Ferry

SCHENECTADY - Saturday, 10/21

7:00 PM - Reception

ALBANY - Sunday, 10/22

3:00 PM - ALP Rally, Kayes Banquet Hall, Hudson Ave.

5:30 PM - Reception, Kayes Banquet Hall

9:15 - 9:30 PM - Statewide broadcast originating in Albany
Dr. Du Bois & John McManus

TROY - Sunday, 10/22

5:30 PM - Reception for John McManus

uopwa gnyl 202

uopwa

TO: JACK MC MANUS & GEORGE MURPHY [American Labor Party]

FROM: DOROTHY KAUFMAN

RE: Detailed notes on Upstate Tour

Arthur Schutzer - Office phone: WOrth 4-8153; Home phone: MAin 5-6681

BUFFALO

Contact person: James Annaccone, 306 Myrtle Ave. Phone: MOHAWK 2256
Alt. contact: Rufus Frazer, 26 Hollister St.

Afternoon Rally - 3:00 PM - are not charging admission - making collection
Promised Annaccone that George Murphy would make collection speech.

Dinner - 7:00 PM - Charging $1.50, also making collection.

ROCHESTER

Contact person: Catherine Buzcek, 183 Delamaine Drive Phone: Hamilton 3132
Alt. contact: Vincent Lossowski, 26 Mead St. Phone: LO 9483
" " Sam Atlas, 290 Field St. Home Phone: Monroe 4502 W
Office Phone: LOcust 3330

AIP Rally - 8:00 PM - No admission - making collection

SYRACUSE

Contact person: Robert Bornholz, 504 W. Brighton Ave. Phone: Syracuse 5-8809
Alt. Contact: Beverly Andrews, 556 Cedar St.
" " Lillian Reiner, 1009 Cumberland Ave.
" " Elsie Cohen, 629 Clarendon St.

Someone will be in AIP Headquarters from 9:30 AM on, at 514 Harrison St.
Phone: Syracuse 2-5414

AIP Rally - 8:15 PM - Charging admission and taking up collection

UTICA

Contact person: Michael Jimenez
Dr. Frank Slater, Clinton, N.Y.
Ross Maracchione, 721 W. Liberty St.

ITHACA

Contact person: John Marqusee, Ithaca 31817 (call at midnight)
John Bicknell, 108 Ferris Place, Ithaca

24-17-33

SCHENECTADY

Contact person: Fern Owens, 1023 Crisler Ave., SChenectady 2-1569
Alt. contact: Robert Northrop, 2224 Turner Ave., SCH 6-2274

ALP Rally - Friday 10/20 - charging admission and taking collection
Reception - Sat. 10/21 - collection.

ALBANY

Contact person: Morris Zuckman, 235 S. Pearl St., Albany 4-5746
Harry Philo, 80 Westerlo St., Albany 621119

ALP Rally - charging admission and taking collection.

TROY

Check with Harry Philo in Albany on arrangements for Troy reception for John McManus.

GLOVERSVILLE

Gloversville people trying to arrange broadcast for Sunday. Will coordinate their activities with Harry Philo in Albany.

Contact person in Gloversville: Charlie Hildreth - Gloversville 2292 R
Frances Gordon - 3512 R

24-17-34

NEW YORK, N.Y. SEP 1950

SAVE THE EARTH WAY
BUY U.S. BONDS
PAYROLL

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

1524 6-51
W E B DU BOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVE
NEW YORK N Y

134

32-19-30

[1986]

HONOR
OUR
FIGHTING
CANDIDATES

A. L. P. ELECTION RALLY
for
PEACE AND FREEDOM

meet YOUR candidates

John T. McManus for Governor

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for Senator

Paul L. Ross for Mayor

RE-ELECT CONGRESSMAN

VITO MARCANTONIO

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Tuesday evening, October 24 Tickets $2, $1.50, $1, .50

Tickets available at: 56 West 45th St., 8th floor; MU. 7-8104; Bookfair; A. L. P. clubs.

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York, N.Y.

CO 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 24, 1950

TEXT OF SPEECH BY PAUL ROBESON
AT AMERICAN LABOR PARTY RALLY
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
OCTOBER 24, 1950

I am happy to be here tonight. I come, certainly not at the invitation of the management of this sports arena, and not because of the protection which federal, state and municipal authorities afford the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly these days — but rather because of the courage and fighting spirit of progressive, anti-fascist America, and particularly in this instance the hard-working members and leaders of the American Labor Party.

And most emphatically I am here because I am privileged to share the strength and devotion to democracy of masses of the Negro people -- their will to be free at any cost.

And they will be free!

The guarantee that our day of liberation is not far off is that this is a time of colonial liberation. It is a time when dark men and women in Asia and in Africa are putting off shackles of exploitation which have kept them bound for centuries.

They are following the glorious example of People's China in refusing any longer to be "the white man's burden" -- the tools and playthings and source of great wealth for European and American millionaires.

As they succeed in Asia -- and soon, you may be sure, in Africa -- as more than half the world escapes the clutches of the Dulles, McArthurs, Rockefellers and Firestones , they lend a powerful stimulus to our freedom struggles here at home.

We still have a long way to go.

Eighty-seven years after formal freedom, the Congress of the United States still cannot be persuaded to pass an anti-poll tax bill. Eighty-seven years after freedom, we are still lynched at will and a band of one thousand blood-thirsty "white supremacists" can roam the swamps surrounding Calera, Ala., looking for a man who is described simply as a "lightpskinned Negro with a gold tooth." Eighty-seven years after freedom, and the average Negro woman worker still earns $13 a week in the United States, while the FEPC bill remains in the pigeon-hole it has occupied since the end of the anti-fascist war.

MORE

If the Negro people enjoyed full political equality in the United States today, and if they were represented in Congress on the basis of their numbers, there would be at least 10 Negro U.S.Senators and no less than 50 members of the House of Representatives!

Yes, we still have a long way to go.

And it is against this background that the American Labor Party challenges the arrant hypocrisy and the sell-out of the double-talking, do-nothing old parties. While Republicans and Democrats have nothing to offer but insults, abuse and excuses, the real party of labor in New York - the ALP - recognizes the full dignity of the Negro people and does honor to itself by placing at the head of its ticket one of the great Americans of our time.

Should Dr. W.E.B.DuBois go to the United States Senate? One of the tragedies of American political life is that for so many years so many mediocrities, who do not deserve to sit in the same room with him, have gone to the head of the State Department, other places in the cabinet and to the Presidency itself.

Congratulations to you. The Negro people will not forget that the ALP turns to a Du Bois for leadership, and not to the sycophants and flunkies of monopoly wealth and plantation power who clutter up the tickets of the twin parties of reaction.

Nor will they forget that standing by the side of DuBois in this campaign is the man who, alone, in the Halls of Congress defended the dignity of my people, by challenging the filthy outpourings of slave-minded Lanham as he sought to attack Bill Patterson. Mr. Dawson of Chicago might have spoken, but he chose to keep quiet — possibly because Mr. Lanham of Georgia is a member of his Committee on Executive Expenditures, a little plum which Mr. Dawson received for years of faithful service to the corrupt machine bosses of Chicago and Washington.

But Marcantonio did not choose to remain silent. His voice resounded in the halls of Congress in defense of the Negro people as it has done so many times in the past, and as it will continue to do on many occasions during the 82nd sessio n of the U.S.Congress.

And we will not keep quiet either.

We, the anti-fascist forces of America -- the working masses, the Negro people, the brave Jewish people, the foreign-born progressives, professionals and small business men -- who know that the future depends on our unity -- we will continue to raise our voices together for peace, for friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist sector of the world, for colonial liberation, for the repeal of the McCarran monstrosity, for full equality for the Negro people, for the kind of America of which our forefathers dreamed, and for which they fought and died.

# # # # #

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

October 24, 1950

TEXT OF SPEECH BY DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE, AT
ALP MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY --
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1950.

Approx 17,000 persons

The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want war: that we must have war: that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 50 thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war. Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the lawyers who make the tax laws can also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prices leave less and less to tax. Citizens have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms and furniture and the poor and middle class have spent nearly all their savings. Yet we cannot stop: either we spend more and more on top of what we are spending or our whole industrial organization, with its billions of private profit and monopoly, will face collapse. On the other hand, the Soviet Union whom we are determined to destroy does not seem willing to fight. We have warned and dared it. We have publicly and privately insulted it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at anytime makes against the Soviet Union, its economy, its morals, its plans, We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared gauntlily for World War III almost with shouts of joy.

We were sure the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and ready to march to war. Henry Wallace actually saw them and ran backward so fast that he tripped over his own resolutions and slapped in the faces of his friends. Still the Soviets did not fight and began instead to call for world peace: for union against the atom bomb: for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled: Not they. They stopped the peace appeal: They picked up and jailed advocates of peace: They barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace, even men of the highest reputation.

Highly placed public officials and military men began openly to declare that if the Russians would not attack us we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. The Wild Man of Tokyo, who remembers shooting down World War I veterans in Washington, ~~and who has just~~ turned Korea into a stinking desert, has

(MORE)

received the President of the United States in audience, ~~and~~ whatever they talked about, the result, if MacArthur has his way, was not peace now or ever, until we seize China, conquer southeast Asia and drop atom bombs on Moscow. Meantime, wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder and congress is on the verge of calling every youth in the land for this purpose. We are set to "lick the world" with Eisenhower and Stassen, the educators of youth: Dewey and Hanley the new statesmen: and Herbert Lehman ~~behind~~ supporting notorious General Anders making our foreign investment ~~stick~~ lay with oil, planes, battleships and artillery. We will restore Korea and when we are through restoration with taxes raised from our poor, Lehman Brothers and like investors will own everything in Korea worth owning and will draw fabulous profits from risks they never took, while the Koreans pay for democracy at fifty cents a day and no land. This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once professed--liberty, free speech, truth and justice. ~~And~~ To this ~~is what~~ our masters will lead us ~~to~~ unless you intervene: unless right here and now you the voters of the United States say No. Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness.

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make all men ~~think~~ argue with what some believe ~~is true~~, rather than to let them exercise their free American heritage of choosing truth--this literal descent into Hell in our day and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete that many honest Americans cannot believe ~~what~~ what they actually hear and see: and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague conception of what can have happened to the land which once declared "These truths to be self evident that all men were created equal: that they were endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dares believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery.

~~All nations of earth today the United States alone wants war, prepares~~ for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a "Jim-Crow" army and commit suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

~~Did you ever vote for war?~~ You who have spent most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you never will as long as an executive of his own initiative can start a "little police action" which costs

the lives and health of 30,000 American boys in order that big business can interfere with the governments of Asia.

Of what are they in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning or our natural resources destroyed by strangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim or can be victim of any foreign country? No! Then of what are we afraid and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the north to the south pole, unless it be from ourselves.

They are afraid of an idea: tempted by a vision of power which this idea fights. The power they crave long misled a nd slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads, and that is imperialism--world rule over the world. Once this was sought by black slavery: then it was made easy by yellow coolies: then by all "lesser breeds without the law", who could furnish a white man's burden and let him strut over the world and lord it in Asia and Africa and rule and rule without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the 19th century. The fever of imperialism caught the United States as the 19th century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. But these were but small change which whetted our appetite. With the first World War came the vision of an Imperial United States as successor of the empire on which the sun already sets, we rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

But what the men of Big Business ignored was that the industrial system which they were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse: that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism", were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is: why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces and miraculous technique,

with our commerce belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses, why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The 19th century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men, the 20th century knows better. It says that there is food enough for all: that clothes and shelter for all can be provided: that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated. That intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible but should be demanded, by all men planned by all states and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

35-6-140

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof: who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer: they order us to fight an idea: to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance: and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the 19th century they attempt to take over imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation--the low wage and disease of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea, and to pay the price for this they demand that you, your sons and daughters in endless stream be murdered and crippled in endless wars.

This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia and Africa--not against an enemy but against the idea--against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based or seeks to base itself on the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember it is American money that owns more and more of south African mines worked by slave labor: it is American enterprise that fattens off Rhodesian copper. It is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea and Burma: that are throttling the starved workers of the Near East.

Yet is it not clear that such a program is sheer insanity? That no nation, however rich and smart can conquer this world? Have not Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Britain and Germany taught us this? And also that no idea based on truth and righteousness can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence: or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

That he hates Russia.
That he opposes Socialism and Communism.
That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.
That he is ready to spend any amount for further war anywhere or at anytime.
That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together
That he believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction and regards anyone ~~who is~~ opposed as a traitor.
That he not only believes in and consents to all these things, but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce them if they do not believe as he does.

The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: nothing: Just sit still: bend to the storm: if necessary, lie and join the witch-hunt, swear to God that never, never did you ever sympathize with the Russian peasants fight to be free: that you never in your life belonged to a liberal organization or had a friend who did: and if so, you were deceived, deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say: we can do something: that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the herd.

MORE

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, vote for men who will stop it. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so. In this Democracy, you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer, Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy, do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

When I ask for your vote, believe me it is for no personal reasons. I do not want to live in Washington. I hate that provincial, "Jim-Crow" center of political ~~lobbying~~. But you need to be represented there and by someone who will uphold the hands of that man of integrity, intelligence and guts, Marcantonio, who today fights in Congress almost single-handed for a decent United States. I would like to have the honor of standing behind him because like him, I want progress: I want education: I want social medicine: I want a living wage and old age security: I want employment for all and relief for the unemployed and sick: I want public works, public services and public improvements: and because I know and you know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight , destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profit for big business, for that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry peace--No More War!

A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

* * * * * * * * * *

gnyl:rb

October 25. 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Perhaps you do not know the following. I am sending it along for your use as campaign ammunition - just in case.

"June 3, 1949 - Acting Governor Joe R. Hanley yesterday ordered James Wilson, 28 year old Negro, returned to..... a Sumter, South Carolina chain gang... Hanley signed the extradition papers the day after Bronx District Attorney Blatt admitted in court that the document was not in order.....etcetera."

The Civil Rights Congress handled the case. The above item is from the Daily Worker of that date.

Best of luck and best wishes,

Alice

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

October 26, 1950

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27th

ADVANCE TEXT OF RADIO BROADCAST BY DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATOR, OVER STATION WMCA,
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1950.

Most Americans are puzzled at the state of mind in this nation today. They try to explain it as the usual case of people coming to know the facts of the world situation and reacting accordingly with symptoms of alarm and determination to repel evil at any cost. But this understandable reaction does not seem to explain our situation adequately: there is no proof that the Soviet Union started or wanted the Korean War or furnished substantial aid to North Korea; there is no proof that the Soviets helped the Chinese drive out Chiang Kai-Shek, or are the cause of the war in Viet-Nam. However much some suspect that these occurrences are at least indirectly chargeable to the Soviets, nothing that can fairly be called proof has ever been adduced.

There is of course no doubt but that the Soviet Union wants Communism to spread, just as we want private profit to dominate, but the Soviets have helped their ideology no more than we have and furnished less arms and money for this purpose. A fair conclusion is that the Korean adventure was started against Russian advice and was not to their interest, unless they planned world war which evidently they didn't.

Puzzled folk then ask why are we scared, who is about to attack us, and why should we arm ourselves to the teeth, set out to convert our economy into the vastest war machine in history? The answer to this is, that our present state of mind is not the usual development of fact into action, but a new and unusual situation in human history, requiring new education and understanding and a different set of efforts to emancipate our minds and calm our emotions.

What we face today is not Truth, but deliberate distortion of Truth and Feeling, and consequently action based on falsehood. The possibility of this arises from a relatively new development of Science, the meaning of which has not yet sifted down to public comprehension. All men today know what the Science of Physics has done to the world and how through the machine it has changed the whole course of our culture. We are beginning to see what Chemistry is doing to our every day life and our future plans. But few persons yet realize what the scientific study of our thought processes and emotions is doing further to transform the world.

We began to get some inkling of this when at the dawn of the century the Public Relations man began to appear. We at first laughed at psychology in Labor Relations and in Publicity. I remember how I awoke when we wanted to hold the annual convention of the NAACP in Atlanta. "But", said everybody, "we can get no publicity in the Southern press!" We hired a public relations man and got front page write-ups in the Atlanta Constitution.

With the First World War, we began to use camouflage and propaganda: to make things look like what they were not, and to pursuade the public to do things they would not have done under ordinary circumstances. The sale of Liberty Bonds was put over in this way. But in these cases we were mainly concerned in revealing Truth and manipulating it to ends which we were convinced were justifiable. Here lay the strength of Franklin Roosevelt. Speaking straight to the people and ignoring press and platform, he told the nation what the facts were and what they ought to do about them. The people believed him and put over the Social reforms of the New Deal in spite of the Screams and curses of Big Business. To this day, Big Business hates his memory.

But even while Roosevelt was putting over this appeal direct to the people with Truth and a program of action, in another part of the world, a perverted psychopath, Adolf Hitler, was using propaganda with a reversal of technique and a different object. Hitler used the Lie instead of the Truth and made the people either believe it was true, or get so scared that they dare not deny it. I knew Germany in youth and then saw it for five months in 1936, when the Hitler machine had gained its full impetus. It was not the same land. Germany believed the world was envious of her because she was the greatest people on earth; that traitors within were betraying her; that Russia must be conquered and that eventually Germany was destined to rule the world.

35-4-28.

They believed this because they had to believe it: it was blazoned in every newspaper and magazine; blared from every radio and platform; and anyone who thought differently, much less voiced such thought, was in danger of jail or worse. When people spoke to each other on the street, they first glanced over their shoulder; and when they talked freely, it was behind closed doors, with drawn curtains and lowered voice. And to me it is interesting today in the United States to see the same symptoms.

Yesterday in an elevator a prominent Republican told me he hoped I would be elected; but before saying it, he glanced about, lowered his voice and put his hand to my ear. In the United States today people are afraid to talk, afraid to listen, afraid to read anything but orthodox and certified propaganda. The reason for this is clear: organized business in the United States looks to foreign investment and trade as source of the wealth and power which they now exercise in the world, and expect to increase to all embracing areas tomorrow. To convince the voters that this is necessary, and advantageous to all, they have organized to control our chance to know the facts. They have bought up the magazines and newspapers; they control the radio: You cannot get a commentator on world news on the radio today, unless he is selected and paid by a manufacturer of hair oil or cigarettes or some profit-making article, and unless this same business-man censors every word the commentator utters; our advertised "Town Halls" permit only one side to talk and pick a stooge to represent the opposition.

Our world news gatherers with few exceptions, screen out suppress news or slant it according to editorial direction. A new morality has gripped our reporters and columnists; they write not what they think but what they are told to write and this is recognized newspaper ethics; just as ghost writing for illiterate government officials and captains of industry is accepted as normal procedure without question. The net result today is clear: the American public today is not getting the truth nor is it allowed to get it. We get such news and pictures, such movies and television as the owners of organized industry want us to get.

We are told that the Soviet Union is a slave state; that the Balkans are in misery and incipient rebellion; that communism is set to conquer the world by force; that socialism is everywhere failing. We receive as gospel the tales of every dispossessed landlord from Poland; of every ousted profiteer from Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria; of every spy or informer that will take our bribes. Particularly have we put forth every effort to make the very name Communist odious, connoting every villiany, so that it has only to be raised to inspire fear and hatred. Employers using well-known technique have succeeded in turning the energies of trade unions toward internal bickering instead of united effort for labor upligt; so that today William Green and Phil Murray are wasting their strength in driving the most intelligent and courageous of their followers out of their ranks and branding them as traitors.

MORE

Years ago a great philosppher said that patriotism was the last refuge of scoundrels; so today with hurrah and freedom bells and $5000 a page advertisements, paid propaganda has the nation in dithers. The truth is hidden and unattainable. "Every loyal American despises a Communist" shreiks the New Republic which was founded by a classmate of mine, who today would turn in his grave if he could read the depths to which a so-called liberal journal could descend.

Our schools and colleges dare not teach economics, dare not even mention Karl Marx whose influence on the modern world exceeds that of any other student of industry; and our libraries hide most of the best literature of the world on work and wage, lest they be accused of spreading socialism. Few college platforms or even campuses dare invite real discussion of current issues and no student would better press inconvenient questions.

No book today can find publication that does not damn Communism. I offered to a prominent firm a book based on three visits to Russia in a quarter of a century and careful comparison of the Soviets and America. It came back within a week. If I had slandered and lied my work would now be in print.

All children must learn that "God's Country" was always right and never wrong; that we never enslaved human beings but only emancipated them magnaminously; and these children today by thousands spend precious time crawling under desks to train themselves to escape Russian bombs.

Our public school system is steadily deteriorating, and is inferior to the systems of leading civilized lands, so that the recruits for our world fighting are largely illiterate and incompetent. The glorious voice of Paul Robeson cannot be heard in America because he finds things to praise in Russia; and has been denied a passport to be heard in Europe because he finds things to condemn in America.

Any attempt on the part of the curious or the honest to get a more complete picture is stopped by threats, by loss of friends and social status, or loss of jobs if not by jail. We complain that we are not allowed to make investigation behind the Iron Curtain; yet last year when the Soviet Union invited 25 prominent American Liberals to attend a Peace Congress in Moscow, only a few dared accept. To enforce and strengthen this compulsion comes the double-talk: General Clay of Georgia, (known favorably by Ilse Koch, who made lampshades of th skin of Jews) -- General Clay is now head of a "Freedom Crucade;" he has also just been elected director of Lehman Brothers, a firm which deals in foreign investment in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean and South America, and whose former partner, Senator Lehman, is set to support all-out war to protect investment. Back of this freedom, lie the rich mineral resources of Korea, of which John Foster Dulles is not unaware.

But the greatest disaster to Truth and Peace is what we may call the Truman Run-around, a technique which engineered the Compromise of 1950 in reminiscence of the Slavery Compromise of 1850 and allied to the old and new Missouri Compromise. The Truman Compromise is clever. Mr. Truman makes a statement on a policy; the statement avoids the double-talk of the older politicians and sounds like the frankness of Franklin Roosevelt. Then Truman arranges that any and all opponents of this policy shall have every facility to defeat it without fear of any enmity or reprisal on his part or his administration. After that Mr. Truman goes fishing.

The President is the only man in America who can by-pass the press and go directly to the people. His power of appointment and recognition is immense. Truman has deliberately refused to use his power to support his proposed legislation. No one suffers from opposing his program. With this technique, Mr. Truman has advocated and defeated Civil Rights, Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax, the FEPC, the Senate Cloture, the Repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, our policy in China and Formosa, the differences between him and MacArthur, and the McCarran Act. He comes out of each fray with justice defeated and the Truman prestige intact. There he stands today proudly for both Peace and War. His followers in the Democratic party and his Republican allies are united in deceiving the nation as to the world situation.

There is no threat of attack on America; there is no call for war nor for all-out preparation for war; we are not the envied of all people, but on the contrary are hated and feared by the majority of the decent citizens of civilized lands. The danger which does threaten us is that the world will increasingly repudiate the American methods of doing business; of exploiting cheap labor, of filching valuable raw material without fair return and attempting to use mankind for the bursting wealth of a few American millionaires. This danger, if you call it a danger, of increasing socialization of wealth and substitution of public welfare for private profit, is spreadingover the world and in this

OVER

nation too, despite the antics of the American Medical Association. If you want to make this world tendency realizable quickly and widely, you must vote to oust from power the two old parties, who are owned and directed by the NAM and the Chambers of Commerce, and who are using the tactics of Hitler to paint a false picture of the world and of the necessity of murdering and maiming another generation of our youth. Turn these advocates of war, poverty and taxation of the poor out of power and put the American Labor Party at the helm. We can prove to America that the World wants peace and that the current hysterics and witch-hunting is unworthy of a great people. And we can ward off the certain collapse of our industrial system which today depends on war and frantic preparation for war to keep us from an economic disaster worse than that of the thirties.

* * * * * * *

35-4-90

gnyl:202

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

October 26, 1950

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1950

ADVANCE TEXT OF RADIO SPEECH BY FRANCES SMITH,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY, 11th A.D., Manhattan-
WMCA - OCTOBER 27 - 9:30-9:45 P.M.

Not having run for a political office before, I would like to take a few moments to tell you something about myself.

I am a trade unionist, a part of a union of thirty five thousand people, the Hotel and Club Employees Union. This makes me, not a politician, but a working woman. Each day, but two, I go to work in the Vanderbilt Hotel as a pantrywoman. As a member of the union, I participate in its activities. I have served as shop steward for my fellow workers in the hotel. I also served as a member of the union's Executive Board and as a Welfare delegate. A part of my job as Welfare delegate was to visit sick members, taking them flowers and fruit and the fraternal greetings of other workers. With the coming of summer, each year, through our welfare program, I was able to help them place their children in summer camps at no cost to themselves. When the circus came to town, I was a part of the committee which took groups of children to see it, some for the first time in their lives.

In my union and working in my hotel, there are many Puerto Rican and foreign born workers. Because of their unfamiliarity with the language, they are often deprived of due benefits. As a Welfare delegate, I have assisted these workers in their efforts to learn the language by referring them to classes. I have aided them in filing applications for insurance, unemployment compensation, sick benefits and accident claims. I have appeared with them at hearings on these claims.

These services and the constant concern for our common welfare as workers and citizens has forged the members of my union into a closely-knit, unified body resembling a family more than groups of workers with different backgrounds and community problems. This is the kind of work I have been doing for the last seven years. When the American Labor Party asked me to run for the Assembly from my district, the Eleventh, I felt that this experience and my desire to work for my people would help in dealing with the problems in my own community.

I have lived in the Eleventh Assembly District of Harlem for the past thirty years. I know Harlem in all of its many phases and I have seen and lived in it under many administrations. It is close to me. Being a part of it,

MORE

I know its needs, because its needs are my own needs. My needs are those of my neighbors and those along my street and countless other streets of Harlem.

Harlem, for years, has been dotted with Democratic Clubs and with Republican Clubs. From time to time, other quickly-formed clubs have been set up by other parties. From none of these political clubs have the people been able to get help or advice with their problems. This I have found during my stay in Harlem. No hand is ever lifted to aid, no lip ever parted with advice unless the political club can derive some benefit with the coming of elections. This kind of club cannot service my people.

My ambition is to build a real club for the people of my community where they may be helped when they have problems. My people are beset with problems from morning to midnight. We sleep with them intruding into our dreams; we wake with them fresh in our minds. They knaw through our minds, crying for solution. We have problems of jobs at decent wages and at the occupation of our choosing; we have the problem of inadequate housing and exorbitant rents; we have the problem of inflated prices and empty pocketbooks. Our children need better schools and more of them, play areas, centers where they may receive supervised care while we, their parents, are away at work. The club I picture could give answers to such problems and would be equipped to, not only give advice, but to offer solutions to these many problems.

In Harlem, we also need a good, well-administered public market. This has become an accepted part of other communities, but, there, we continue on, neglected. Our grocers and butchers offer us inferior items; rotten meats and wilted vegetables that have been rejected for other communities, For these staples, we are forced to pay higher prices, twenty to twenty-five per cent higher than other neighborhoods ask for the same and much superior items. The clothing offered us in our shopping are often damaged and shopworn. When such goods cannot be sold in other communities, they are dumped in Harlem.

Our landlords can raise our rents when the mood strikes them or evict us without notice, regardless of the law. Many of the people in my area do not know the law and such information is hard to get and not made readily available. For our decaying, vermin and rat-infested apartments, we pay higher rents than are asked for vastly better housing in other communities. Through our employment as domestics and through other inroads we have as service workers, we know about these rent differentials and can cite example after example.

You may say that public housing projects are being erected in Harlem. My answer is yes, but Harlem needs many such projects. One or two do not begin to touch our problem which is fifty years of no housing. Harlem's need is greater than any other community. We must also have a relocation program for our people who are forced into the streets and into already overcrowded apartments of relatives or friends when their homes are razed for the erection of projects. Harlem is bursting its ghetto seams and cannot contain all of us who are in need of housing. We must have laws which do not confine my people to a ghetto solely because of the color of their skins. With the coming of new projects, we must have community centers which are not only for the people housed in them, but the entire community. Child Care Centers and playgrounds must be a part of such projects.

Before going into the hotel industry and becoming active in my union, I was an actress. It has been a long road from there to political candidate. I learned many things along that road. Each step of the way was a remembered lesson. What I've learned I want to use for the benefit of my people. As an actress I was the first Negro woman to appear at B.F. Kieth's Palace and Riverside theaters. I played in Marc Connelly's "Green Pastures" with Richard B. Harrison for the entire run of five years. During the days of the Federal Theater, I appeared in Augusta Smith's play "Turpentine" and later becoming casting director for the project at the Lafayette Theater. As casting director, I worked on "Haiti" and several other productions. My last appearance on Broadway was with Constance Collier in "Aries Is Rising".

Finding parts for Negroes on Broadway few and roles with dignified characterizations even fewer, I left the theater and sought other areas for making a living. This situation brought me into the union and this back ground stirred within me a passion for delving into and developing the culture of my people.

If sent to Albany, I shall fight for state aid for the creation of a cultural center in my community. This must be a place where our youth and people who are not youths but yearn for cultural expression may have a place to work and develop their crafts. My people have talent and aspirations, but no place to display them. This cultural center must include not only the theater, but must be able to bring in aspirants in other fields such as writers, dancers,

painters and sculptors, technicians and all the allied areas. No people is stronger than its culture and we must be equipped to spread ours, competently and with dignity.

In Harlem today, there exists a deplorable condition! There are Negro stagehands who are members of the Stagehands Union and pay dues at the regular rate. Their union does not permit them to be employed below one hundred and tenth street. The jim crow local of which they are a part confines them to one theater which can never provide a living for all of them. The crisis is obvious a nd immediate.

If we had the strong FEPC of which Mr. Dewey so glibly speaks, this situation could not continue. Members of any union are supposed to work when and where needed regardless of race and, yet, this situation exists within our state, the first to have FEPC. This same Mr. Dewey has reduced this year's FEPC appropriation by thirteen thousand dollars.

Mr. Dewey often speaks proudly of our wonderful fair employment practices act and the good it has brought. But we, who live in Harlem, know the true story. Daily, we see examples of how it is circumvented and ignored. We know that we still cannot answer any ad for any position. Though the color designation is not printed, it still exists. We still know that are "Negro" jobs and "white" jobs. This does not show in any official records, but our experience tells us that it is true. The state FEPC law must be enforced.

What happens to the honest schoolteachers in Harlem who work selflessly with our children in their search for truth and enlightenment? They are intimidated and hounded by Dewey-sponsored laws and forced out of our school system. This happens even though pa rents and their fellow teachers testify as to their worth and integrity. The criterion for our children's instructors has become that of the stoolpigeon and informer. My people, in slavery, met with many informers and many, what we now call, stoolpigeons. We learned to recognize them and how to deal with them. We have learned from the lessons of slavery what to expect from such people and know that, to them, we cannot entrust the education of our children. I call for a thorough cleaning of our state education system based on the training of our children for a full life and not for hatred of peoples and a life of unending fear.

We must put an end to job discrimination in all areas. Where are the Negro workers in the large breweries, the milk companies, the bus lines within the state, the aircraft industries? We are just not there, FEPC or no FEPC, The two parties have not acted and will not act.

Our Republican State administration is not really concerned with the welfare of its minorities. It is blatantly pro-war and, through this, seeks to cover its contempt for minorities and the years of chicanery, graft and corruption that is, only now, coming to light. It is my party, the American Labor Party, which is responsible for the investigation which will dramatize the corruption, collusion and political kinship of the two major parties. This investigation, if honestly conducted, will point out why we can no longer have confidence in or rely on these two parties.

The Democrats who dominated both the eightieth and eighty-first Congresses were elected because of their promises to pass civil rights legislation. We know that we did not get civil rights laws and that these men never intended that we should. The members of this same party in our city follow the example of their brothers in Congress. Here, they follow the dictates of Tammany and, here, their contempt for minorities is equally vicious. This campaign is bringing out the corruption of both parties and we have had enough.

Neither party is concerned with our problems. Both seek to make us forget them by dwelling on what they call "the cold war". We know what our needs are and that no war, hot or cold, will solve them. We know that we can have a full life only through establishing a permanent peace. I am certain that the people of Harlem know this and are tired of it and will express themselves at the polls.

The four hundred thousand people of Harlem are tired of the hand-picked candidates, chosen by the party bosses to do the bidding of the bosses. We know that the people of Harlem want representatives in office who are picked by <u>them</u> and responsible <u>only</u> to them. These are the kind of candidates the American Labor Party offers.

If I am elected as the first Negro woman in the New York State Assembly, it will be a demonstration of the people's rejection of the two parties, their bosses and the corruption. It will be an indication that the people want real representation by some one who knows them and their problems. The Democrats offer no such candidate, the Republicans offer no such candidate. This can only be had through the American Labor Party.

* * * * * * * *

gnyl:202

ALP STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
17 Murray Street, New York City

October 26, 1950

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1950

ADVANCE TEXT OF RADIO SPEECH BY FRANCES SMITH,
ALP CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY, 11th A.D., Manhattan-
WMCA - OCTOBER 27 - 9:30-9:45 P.M.

Not having run for a political office before, I would like to take a few moments to tell you something about myself.

I am a trade unionist, a part of a union of thirty five thousand people, the Hotel and Club Employees Union. This makes me, not a politician, but a working woman. Each day, but two, I go to work in the Vanderbilt Hotel as a pantrywoman. As a member of the union, I participate in its activities. I have served as shop steward for my fellow workers in the hotel. I also served as a member of the union's Executive Board and as a Welfare delegate. A part of my job as Welfare delegate was to visit sick members, taking them flowers and fruit and the fraternal greetings of other workers. With the coming of summer, each year, through our welfare program, I was able to help them place their children in summer camps at no cost to themselves. When the circus came to town, I was a part of the committee which took groups of children to see it, some for the first time in their lives.

In my union and working in my hotel, there are many Puerto Rican and foreign born workers. Because of their unfamiliarity with the language, they are often deprived of due benefits. As a Welfare delegate, I have assisted these workers in their efforts to learn the language by referring them to classes. I have aided them in filing applications for insurance, unemployment compensation, sick benefits and accident claims. I have appeared with them at hearings on these claims.

These services and the constant concern for our common welfare as workers and citizens has forged the members of my union into a closely-knit, unified body resembling a family more than groups of workers with different backgrounds and community problems. This is the kind of work I have been doing for the last seven years. When the American Labor Party asked me to run for the Assembly from my district, the Eleventh, I felt that this experience and my desire to work for my people would help in dealing with the problems in my own community.

I have lived in the Eleventh Assembly District of Harlem for the past thirty years. I know Harlem in all of its many phases and I have seen and lived in it under many administrations. It is close to me. Being a part of it,

MORE

I know its needs, because its needs are my own needs. My needs are those of my neighbors and those along my street and countless other streets of Harlem.

Harlem, for years, has been dotted with Democratic Clubs and with Republican Clubs. From time to time, other quickly-formed clubs have been set up by other parties. From none of these political clubs have the people been able to get help or advice with their problems. This I have found during my stay in Harlem. No hand is ever lifted to aid, no lip ever parted with advice unless the political club can derive some benefit with the coming of elections. This kind of club cannot service my people.

My ambition is to build a real club for the people of my community where they may be helped when they have problems. My people are beset with problems from morning to midnight. We sleep with them intruding into our dreams; we wake with them fresh in our minds. They knaw through our minds, crying for solution. We have problems of jobs at decent wages and at the occupation of our choosing; we have the problem of inadequate housing and exorbitant rents; we have the problem of inflated prices and empty pocketbooks. Our children need better schools and more of them, play areas, centers where they may receive supervised care while we, their parents, are away at work. The club I picture could give answers to such problems and would be equipped to, not only give advice, but to offer solutions to these many problems.

In Harlem, we also need a good, well-administered public market. This has become an accepted part of other communities, but, there, we continue on, neglected. Our grocers and butchers offer us inferior items; rotten meats and wilted vegetables that have been rejected for other communities, For these staples, we are forced to pay higher prices, twenty to twenty-five per cent higher than other neighborhoods ask for the same and much superior items. The clothing offered us in our shopping are often damaged and shopworn. When such goods cannot be sold in other communities, they are dumped in Harlem.

Our landlords can raise our rents when the mood strikes them or evict us without notice, regardless of the law. Many of the people in my area do not know the law and such information is hard to get and not made readily available. For our decaying, vermin and rat-infested apartments, we pay higher rents than are asked for vastly better housing in other communities. Through our employment as domestics and through other inroads we have as service workers, we know about these rent differentials and can cite example after example.

You may say that public housing projects are being erected in Harlem. ~~My answer is yes, but Harlem needs many such projects.~~ One or two do not begin to touch our problem which is fifty years of no housing. Harlem's need is greater than any other community. We must also have a relocation program for our people who are forced into the streets and into already overcrowded apartments of relatives or friends when their homes are razed for the erection of projects. Harlem is bursting its ghetto seams and cannot contain all of us who are in need of housing. We must have laws which do not confine my people to a ghetto solely because of the color of their skins. With the coming of new projects, we must have community centers which are not only for the people housed in them, but the entire community. Child Care Centers and playgrounds must be a part of such projects.

Before going into the hotel industry and becoming active in my union, I was an actress. It has been a long road from there to political candidate. I learned many things along that road. Each step of the way was a remembered lesson. What I've learned I want to use for the benefit of my people. As an actress I was the first Negro woman to appear at B.F. Kieth's Palace and Riverside theaters. I played in Marc Connelly's "Green Pastures" with Richard B. Harrison for the entire run of five years. During the days of the Federal Theater, I appeared in Augusta Smith's play "Turpentine" and later becoming casting director for the project at the Lafayette Theater. As casting director, I worked on "Haiti" and several other productions. My last appearance on Broadway was with Constance Collier in "Aries Is Rising".

Finding parts for Negroes on Broadway few and roles with dignified characterizations even fewer, I left the theater and sought other areas for making a living. This situation brought me into the union and this back ground stirred within me a passion for delving into and developing the culture of my people.

If sent to Albany, I shall fight for state aid for the creation of a cultural center in my community. This must be a place where our youth and people who are not youths but yearn for cultural expression may have a place to work and develop their crafts. My people have talent and aspirations, but no place to display them. This cultural center must include not only the theater, but must be able to bring in aspirants in other fields such as writers, dancers,

painters and sculptors, technicians and all. the allied areas. No people is stronger than its culture and we must be equipped to spread ours, competently and with dignity.

In Harlem today, there exists a deplorable condition. There are Negro stagehands who are members of the Stagehands Union and pay dues at the regular rate. Their union does not permit them to be employed below one hundred and tenth street. The jim crow local of which they are a part confines them to one theater which can never provide a living for all of them. The crisis is obvious a nd immediate.

If we had the strong FEPC of which Mr. Dewey so glibly speaks, this situation could not continue. Members of any union are supposed to work when and where needed regardless of race and, yet, this situation exists within our state, the first to have FEPC. This same Mr. Dewey has reduced this year's FEPC appropriation by thirteen thousand dollars.

Mr. Dewey often speaks proudly of our wonderful fair employment practices act and the good it has brought. But we, who live in Harlem, know the true story. Daily, we see examples of how it is circumvented and ignored. We know that we still cannot answer any ad for any position. Though the color designation is not printed, it still exists. We still know that are "Negro" jobs and "white" jobs. This does not show in any official records, but our experience tells us that it is true. The state FEPC law must be enforced.

What happens to the honest schoolteachers in Harlem who work selflessly with our children in their search for truth and enlightenment? They are intimidated and hounded by Dewey-sponsored laws and forced out of our school system. This happens even though pa rents and their fellow teachers testify as to their worth and integrity. The criterion for our children's instructors has become that of the stoolpigeon and informer. My people, in slavery, met with many informers and many, what we now call, stoolpigeons. We learned to recognize them and how to deal with them. We have learned from the lessons of slavery what to expect from such people and know that, to them, we cannot entrust the education of our children. I call for a thorough cleaning of our state education system based on the training of our children for a full life and not for hatred of peoples and a life of unending fear.

We must put an end to job discrimination in all areas. Where are the Negro workers in the large breweries, the milk companies, the bus lines within the state, the aircraft industries? We are just not there, FEPC or no FEPC, The two parties have not acted and will not act.

Our Republican State administration is not really concerned with the welfare of its minorities. It is blatantly pro-war and, through this, seeks to cover its contempt for minorities and the years of chicanery, graft and corruption that is, only now, coming to light. It is my party, the American Labor Party, which is responsible for the investigation which will dramatize the corruption, collusion and political kinship of the two major parties. This investigation, if honestly conducted, will point out why we can no longer have confidence in or rely on these two parties.

The Democrats who dominated both the eightieth and eighty-first Congresses were elected because of their promises to pass civil rights legislation. We know that we did not get civil rights laws and that these men never intended that we should. The members of this same party in our city follow the example of their brothers in Congress. Here, they follow the dictates of Tammany and, here, their contempt for minorities is equally vicious. This campaign is bringing out the corruption of both parties and we have had enough.

Neither party is concerned with our problems. Both seek to make us forget them by dwelling on what they call "the cold war". We know what our needs are and that no war, hot or cold, will solve them. We know that we can have a full life only through establishing a permanent peace. I am certain that the people of Harlem know this and are tired of it and will express themselves at the polls.

The four hundred thousand people of Harlem are tired of the hand-picked candidates, chosen by the party bosses to do the bidding of the bosses. We know that the people of Harlem want representatives in office who are picked by <u>them</u> and responsible <u>only</u> to them. These are the kind of candidates the American Labor Party offers.

If I am elected as the first Negro woman in the New York State Assembly, it will be a demonstration of the people's rejection of the two parties, their bosses and the corruption. It will be an indication that the people want real representation by some one who knows them and their problems. The Democrats offer no such candidate, the Republicans offer no such candidate. This can only be had through the American Labor Party.

* * * * * * * *

gnyl:202

ELECTION EVE BROADCAST - WMCA

November 6, 1950 - 9:05 to 10:00 PM

ALP [ALP?]

STATION ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANNOUNCER: Good evening. In a moment we'll take you to the Lucky Corner where thousands of people are gathering to hear Congressman Vito Marcantonio. The famous Lucky Corner meeting and the wind-up speech of Congressman Marcantonio is part of our American Labor Party Radio Rally which will bring you over this station the Election Eve addresses of the ALP's major candidates as well as the world-renowned voice of Paul Robeson. We also will bring you entertainment from hit-parade artists. We take you now to the most exciting intersection in New York City -- Lucky Corner.

LUCKY CORNER ANNOUNCER: This is the Lucky Corner. One hundred and Sixteenth Street and Lexington Avenue, Manhattan. In a moment we'll tell you how the corner got its name...What it means in the history of our great city.

Right now it's jammed with people. No sign of sidewalk or road. By comparison 42nd Street and Times Square looks like a peaceful corner in Hardscrabble, Vermont. And they're still streaming in.

Oh, I'd say there are _____ thousands here now, although Marcantonio isn't scheduled to speak until 9:30. You can probably catch some of the sound and excitement through this microphone. Lots of talking and laughter. The crowd is here to listen to the ALP candidates - but wait until Marcantonio speaks. Then, they'll really let go.

And they'll listen,

(more)

LUCKY CORNER ANNOUNCER: You see, this is Marcantonio's corner and this vast crowd is waiting for him. I'm in the middle of the crowd and old folks and young folks are grinning at me. They're shouting, "Tell 'em!"

That they're here in the thousands? I've told you. That they're for Marc? You gather that. As far as I can see, these are working people. All kinds of working people. I can't spot any executives.

Just before going on the air I asked an American Labor Party official what makes Marcantonio tick. If you could place your microphone against the chest of this great gathering, he said, you would find out what makes Marcantonio tick.

Lucky Corner, some one said. That's right. One Hundred and Sixteenth Street and Lexington Avenue. Election Eve. The Marcantonio wind-up. Why do they call it lucky? It was given the kiss of luck by the late Fiorello H. La Guardia, a great Mayor who was, incidentally, an American Labor Party member when he was last elected to our city's highest office. La Guardia stood on this corner election eve, 1917, and went from here to Congress. This was his District. He stood here every Monday night before every fateful Tuesday in his political career. Talking to these people.

They're still coming in! Tonight, traffic rules and regulations, designed for the convenience of automobiles are temporarily abolished for the convenience of people!

To get back. La Guardia designated Marc as his successor

LUCKY CORNER ANNOUNCER: to his seat in Cong
admit that the peop
choice.

You see, tonight
stood on Lucky Corn
the United States.
number seven!

Just received wo
Lieutenant-Governor
Pete Seeger, whose
way of "Good Night,
perform with a nota
sake, let's listen

SONG - GO

PETE SEEGER: (strum where you see fit) Th
a candidate who wel
It's a song about D
Lieutenant Governor
and friends down ar

DARLING CL

PAOLONE ADDRESS FIVE MINUTES.

ANNOUNCER: A man got tired
savings, taxed to t
after Roosevelt die
publisher of the N
science of governm

(mor

ress and to his Lucky Corner and we must

le of this District confirmed La Guardia's

t will be the seventh night Marcantonio has

ner before being elected to the Congress of

And there's nothing unlucky about the

ord that ALP candidates for Governor, and

r arrived at the radio station and that

banjo and singing entered your heart by

, Irene," and "Tzena, Tzena," is ready to

able group of folk singers. So, for Pete's

to Seeger and Company!

OOD NEWS

his next song is by way of introduction to

ll understands the meaning of human life...

Dr. Clementina Paolone, ALP candidate for

r and its sung by many of her neighbors

round eleventh street in Manhattan.

LEMENTINE

of seeing labor kicked around, robbed of

the hilt, deprived of important rights

ed. And so, a veteran newspaperman and

ational Guardian...a man trained in the

ent, observant of the needs of the people,

e)

ANNOUNCER: entered the political arena. He is John T. McManus. It was he who forced the Senate investigation of the Dewey-Hanley letter. What is more, he exposed big business control of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal party machines as the source of political corruption, high taxes on low incomes, Taft-Hartley and McCarran concentration camp laws. Ladies and gentlemen, the American Labor Party candidate for Governor, John T. McManus.

MC MANUS ADDRESS FIVE MINUTES

ANNOUNCER: You have just heard John T. McManus, ALP candidate for Governor on Row C. His name is first on Row C. Look for it, then, pull down all Row C levers for progressive, good government. We have just received word that the Marcantonio rally at Lucky Corner, 116th St. & Lexington Ave. is breaking all turnout records. While we call La Guardia airport to check on Paul Robeson's arrival from Chicago, let's cut over to Lucky Corner.

LUCKY CORNER ANNOUNCER: It's incredible... and wonderful. (Estimate size of crowd...Describe flag-decked platform...Mention names of speakers, if you can...

Since I talked to you I've had a chance to search the faces around me, overhear scraps of talk and sort of get the feel of this great crowd of working people. I hear and see America in the different accents and inflections, in the democratic mingling out here tonight.

(more)

LUCKY CORNER ANNOUNCER: I also get the feeling that when they cheer the American Labor Party speakers ... most of the speakers talk in terms of these people's daily lives, their hopes and fears --- I get the feeling that these men and women are also cheering their own worth as human beings who will fight against any odds for what they believe is right.

And ladies and gentlemen, what they believe in, judging from the speeches and the reactions is no more, no less than the American concept that all men are created equal, for life, liberty and happiness, as against war, enslavement and misery.

The reason I dwell on the people so much is they're - well, exciting. This is the American not the picture given by prejudiced pens. This is flesh and blood.

Marcantonio's constituents hang on to him for dear life, don't they? Elected him six times. Now, a three-party combination is trying to pry them apart. From the looks of this corner they didn't succeed. Why? The speakers are trying to explain it. Do these people see Marc as someone who stands between them and war, absolute poverty and indignity? That's the impression these people, even more than the speakers, are giving me.

Congressman Marcantonio will make his final address of this election campaign over these facilities. Right now, one of the greatest voices of our times is waiting to sing and speak to you --- Paul Robeson.

(more)

ROBESON: I'm Paul Robeson.

SONG AND INTRODUCTION OF DR. DU BOIS

DU BOIS ADDRESS SIX MINUTES

ANNOUNCER: Thank you Dr. Du Bois and Mr. Robeson. Dr. Du Bois is the American Labor Party candidate for U.S. Senate on Row C.. Paul Ross, the American Labor Party candidate for Mayor is the next speaker. But now, its music with Pete Seeger and the Caravaneers.

SEEGER & CARAVANEERS

ANNOUNCER: All candidates for political office say they are independent. By resigning a $14,000 a year post as Mayor O'Dwyer's administrative assistant to protest the 10-cent subway fare, Paul Ross proved he is independent. All candidates, no matter how unclean their hands and damaging the goods they get caught with, say they are against corruption. By preparing a report in 1946 exposing graft and corruption in city departments, a report which was suppressed by Mayor O'Dwyer with no whimper from Impy, Mr. Ross proved he is against corruption. Ladies and gentlemen, the American Labor Party candidate for Mayor, Paul Ross---

PAUL ROSS ADDRESS FIVE MINUTES

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, Congressman Marcantonio has arrived at Lucky Corner. He received a tremendous ovation and is now speaking. I'm sure you would rather hear the Congressman than an introduction, so to waste none of his airtime, we'll cut right over to the speakers' platform and

(more)

ANNOUNCER: Congressman Marcantonio

MARCANTONIO CONTINUING UNDER

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, we regret that we are nearing the end of our broadcast time. Confident of victory tomorrow over a 3-party gang-up, Congressman Marcantonio is addressing a huge gathering at his traditional Luck Corner at 116th St. and Lexington Avenue.

MARCANTONIO OUT

ANNOUNCER: Asking and giving no quarter, Congressman Marcantonio assailed the parties and men who plunder the people through tax raids, price raids, who seek unlimited profit in the limitless bloodshed of war. He promised to continue to fight in Congress for the laboring people, for peace, for the security and prosperity of the nation.

MUSIC: "AMERICAN LABOR" SUSTAIN IN BACKGROUND FOR ANNOUNCER

ANNOUNCER: You have heard American Labor Party candidates and their program. Peace, freedom, higher living standards, an end to corruption. This is the program of John T. McManus, American Labor Party candidate for Governor, Dr. Clementina Paolone, A American Labor Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, American Labor Party candidate for United States Senate, Paul L. Ross, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor. This is the program of all American Labor Party candidates on Row C. Look for the name of John T. McManus, the first name on Row C. Then, pull down all Row C levers. If you've had enough of corruption, enough Wall Street control of government, enough insecurity, remember this ---

(more)

ANNOUNCER: your hands on the Row C levers, in the sacred privacy of the voting booth, can pull down the candidates of poverty, discrimination and war and elect the candidates of progress, equality and peace. Pull those Row C levers down!

MUSIC: UP AND INTO FINAL CHORUS

2416-38-55

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

[redacted]

State Headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone * Worth 4 - 8153

November 21, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I trust that you have enoyed a well-merited rest.

All of us on the state staff deeply appreciate your note of November 7.

We treasure the experience of having worked with you during the campaign and are strengthened by the assurance of your continuing leadership in the critical days ahead.

Sincerely,

Arthur Schutzer

gnyl/202

Erna Mc Neil
186 E 93 Street

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
state committee

VITO MARCANTONIO
chairman

Rev. E. D. McGOWAN
secretary

ALFRED K. STERN
treasurer

state headquarters
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.
telephone * WOrth 4-8153

Arthur Schutzer
executive-secretary

December 4, 1950

Dr. William E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are cordially invited to address the American Labor Party State Conference, which will be held on December 9th and 10th, 1950.

A copy of the Call to the Conference is enclosed.

The Conference will be attended by delegates from ALP clubs throughout the state, as well as by observers from trade unions, tenants, farm, community and other groups. Together, we seek to forge a common program of action for peace, civil rights, economic welfare and progressive good government.

The American Labor Party will be deeply honored by your attendance and your acceptance of the invitation to address the Conference.

If you will let me know at what hour during either the December 9th or the December 10th sessions it is most convenient for you to speak, I will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Vito Marcantonio

Vito Marcantonio
Chairman

VM:rb
Enclosure
gnyl:202

[Enc.]

CALL

to

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY STATE CONFERENCE

to be held on

the two days of

Saturday, December 9, 1950 and Sunday, December 10, 1950

at

THE PENTHOUSE

13 Astor Place

New York, N. Y.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY clubs are requested to elect two (2) delegates for each club, plus one (1) additional delegate for each 100 club members or major fraction thereof.

ORGANIZATIONS OTHER THAN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CLUBS are invited to designate up to two (2) observers for each organization to attend the Conference.

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY earnestly welcomes the participation in this vital conference by representatives of trade unions, veterans, community, tenant, parent-teacher, farm, religious groups, and others to forge a program of united action for peace, civil rights, economic welfare and progressive good government.

Registration fee of $1 per delegate or observer is payable at the door upon registration.

* * * * * *

CONFERENCE SESSIONS:

SATURDAY — DECEMBER 9 — 10 A.M. - 1 P.M.
2 P.M. - 5 P. M.

SUNDAY — DECEMBER 10 — 10:30 A.M. - 1:30 P.M.
2:30 P.M. - 6:30 P.M.

Vito Marcantonio — Chairman
Rev. E. D. McGowan — Secretary
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY STATE COMMITTEE
17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y. • WOrth 4-8153

December 5, 1950

Mr. Arthur Schutzer
American Labor Party
17 Murray Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schutzer:

What would you say to this statement?

"Admittedly incomplete returns of political expenses admit $600,000 spent by the Republicans; $500,000 by the Democrats and $90,000 by the Liberals. The American Labor Party spent $35,000. This almost looks as though the parties paid a dollar a-piece for votes except the American Labor, which was charged but fifty cents."

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 6, 1950

Mr. Vito Marcantonio, Chairman
American Labor Party, State Committee
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Marcantonio:

I shall be glad to speak briefly, Sunday, December 10, at noon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

348-28-58

Issued by ALP State Campaign Headquarters
17 Murray Street, N.Y.C.

SCHEDULE OF AMERICAN LABOR PARTY RADIO BROADCASTS

1950 Election Campaign

DATE	STATION	TIME	CANDIDATE
Mon. Oct. 9	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thurs. Oct. 12	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Jack McManus
Sun. Oct. 15	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Mon. Oct. 16	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Paul L. Ross
Thurs. Oct. 19	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 22	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Oct. 22	WOR	9:15 - 9:30 PM	Dr. DuBois & Jack McManus
Mon. Oct. 23	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Jack McManus & Dr. Paolone
Wed. Oct. 25	WMCA	7:30 - 7:45 PM	Cong. Vito Marcantonio
Thurs. Oct. 26	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 29	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Oct. 29	WHOM	4:00 - 4:15 PM	Dr. Paolone (Italian)
Mon. Oct. 30	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Paul L. Ross
Tues. Oct. 31	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. Paolone
Wed. Nov. 1	WMCA	8:30 - 8:45 PM	Jack McManus
Thurs. Nov. 2	WMCA	7:30 - 7:45 PM	Cong. Vito Marcantonio
Fri. Nov. 3	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Nov. 5	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Nov. 5	WHOM	4:00 - 4:15 PM	Dr. Paolone (Italian)
Sun. Nov. 5	WJZ	6:45 - 7:00 PM	Dr. Paolone & J. McManus
Mon. Nov. 6	WMCA	9:15 - 10:00 PM	Dr. DuBois, Jack McManus Paul Ross & Dr. Paolone

TELEVISION BROADCASTS

Sun. Oct. 8	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 15	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00 PM	Dr. Clementina Paolone
Sun. Oct. 22	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00	Paul L. Ross

* * * * * * * *

U P S T A T E -- (Radio Schedule)

Sun. Oct. 22	WROW - Albany	9:15 - 9:30 PM	Dr. DuBois & J. McManus
	WEBR - Buffalo	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WEVT - Rochester	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WNDR - Syracuse	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WKAL - Utica-Rome	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
Sun. Nov. 5	WXKW - Albany-Syracuse-Troy	6:45 - 7:00 PM	Dr. Paolone, J. McManus
	WKBW - Buffalo	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WARC - Rochester	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WAGE - Syracuse	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WRUN - Utica, Rome	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "

Add: Spanish, Jimenez — Harlem, Roberts

45-7-230

Issued by ALP State Campaign Headquarters
17 Murray Street, N.Y.C.

SCHEDULE OF AMERICAN LABOR PARTY RADIO BROADCASTS

1950 Election Campaign

DATE	STATION	TIME	CANDIDATE
Mon. Oct. 9	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thurs. Oct. 12	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Jack McManus
Sun. Oct. 15	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Mon. Oct. 16	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Paul L. Ross
Thurs. Oct. 19	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 22	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Oct. 22	WOR	9:15 - 9:30 PM	Dr. DuBois & Jack McManus
Mon. Oct. 23	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Jack McManus & Dr. Paolone
Wed. Oct. 25	WMCA	7:30 - 7:45 PM	Cong. Vito Marcantonio
Thurs. Oct. 26	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 29	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Oct. 29	WHOM	4:00 - 4:15 PM	Dr. Paolone (Italian)
Mon. Oct. 30	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Paul L. Ross
Tues. Oct. 31	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. Paolone
Wed. Nov. 1	WMCA	8:30 - 8:45 PM	Jack McManus
Thurs. Nov. 2	WMCA	7:30 - 7:45 PM	Cong. Vito Marcantonio
Fri. Nov. 3	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Nov. 5	WEVD	3:00 - 3:15 PM	Paul L. Ross (Yiddish)
Sun. Nov. 5	WHOM	4:00 - 4:15 PM	Dr. Paolone (Italian)
Sun. Nov. 5	WJZ	6:45 - 7:00 PM	Dr. Paolone & J. McManus
Mon. Nov. 6	WMCA	9:15 - 10:00 PM	Dr. DuBois, Jack McManus Paul Ross & Dr. Paolone

TELEVISION BROADCASTS

Sun. Oct. 8	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00 PM	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sun. Oct. 15	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00 PM	Dr. Clementina Paolone
Sun. Oct. 22	WPIX	7:15 - 8:00	Paul L. Ross

* * * * * * * * *

U P S T A T E -- (Radio Schedule)

Sun. Oct. 22	WROW - Albany	9:15 - 9:30 PM	Dr. DuBois & J. McManus
	WEBR - Buffalo	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WEVT - Rochester	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WNDR - Syracuse	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
	WKAL - Utica-Rome	9:15 - 9:30 PM	" "
Sun. Nov. 5	WKKW - Albany-Syracuse-Troy	6:45 - 7:00 PM	Dr. Paolone, J. McManus
	WKBW - Buffalo	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WARC - Rochester	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WAGE - Syracuse	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "
	WRUN - Utica, Rome	6:45 - 7:00 PM	" "

35-7-52

45-7-231

1936, when Hitler had gained full control. It was not the same land. This Germany believed that the world was envious of her because Germans were the greatest people on earth; they had not lost the war, they had been betrayed; Russia was her chief foe and Russia must be conquered; eventually Germany was destined to rule the world!

Germans believed this because they were forced to believe it: it was pasted on every wall; it was blazoned in every newspaper and periodical; it was printed in every book which they dared to read; it was blared from every radio and every platform and taught in every school. Anyone who thought differently, much less voiced such thoughts was in danger of jail or worse. When Germans talked to each other on the streets, they first glanced over their shoulder; they talked freely only behind closed doors, with drawn curtains and lowered voices.

It is interesting to me today, to see some of these same symptoms here in America; yesterday in an elevator, a prominent citizen and old friend said he hoped I would be elected; but before speaking, he glanced about, lowered his voice and put his hand to my ear. In this nation today, people are afraid to talk, afraid to listen, afraid to read anything but certified and orthodox propaganda. The reason is clear: organized business in the United States looks to foreign investment and trade as source of the wealth and power which they now exercise in the world and which they expect to increase to all-embracing areas tomorrow by the help of invinciple military might.

The voters must be convinced of this so as to furnish funds and so as to believe that what is of advantage to Big Business is of advantage to all citizens. Big Business has therefore organized and built up the greatest machine for propaganda of all time. It has control of the gathering and decemination of news; they own the leading newspapers and magazines; they dictate the publishing of books; they control the radio, the cinema and the new television. You cannot hear a commentator on world news over the radio today, unless he is selected and paid by a manufacturer of hair-oil or soap, cigarettes or some profitable article and unless this same merchant censors every word the commentator utters. Our "Town Halls" permit only one side to

be represented and they pick a stooge to represent the opposition.

Our world news-gatherers, with few exceptions, screen out and suppress news or slant it in accord with directions from on high. A new morality has gripped our reporters and columnists: they no longer write what they think or judge, but what they are told to write and this is recognized newspaper ethics, just as ghost-writing for illiterate government officials and captains of industry is accepted as normal procedure without question.

35-4-532

The net result is clear: the American public today is not getting the truth, nor is the truth allowed to reach them through editorials, pictures and plays. We are peddled such information and opinion as the owners of organized industry wish us to get. We are told that the Soviet Union is a slave state; that the people of the Balkans are in misery; that Communism is set to conquer the world by force; that socialism is everywhere failing. We receive as gospel the testimony of every dispossessed landlord from Poland, of every ousted profiteer from Czechoslovakia; of every spy and informer who will take our bribes. Let any man be accused of anything and a liar can be found and believed to substantiate the story.

Particularly we have put forth every effort to make the very name Communist odious, connoting every villainy and deception; so that the word has only to be spoken to inspire fear and hatred. We try to answer Communism not by truth but by gag-law. Employers using well-known technique have succeeded in disrupting the trade union movement by internal strife so that instead of united effort for the uplift of the working classes, William Green and Phil Murray are wasting their strength to drive many of their most courageous and intelligent followers out of their ranks and branding them as traitors; while enemies of labor like Taft are triumphantly elected. Kept in Office

Samuel Johnson philosopher once said that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel; so today with salutes and freedom bells, and advertisements at $5000 a page; with all the means of communication in thrall, propaganda has the nation in dithers. "Every loyal American despises a Communist" yells the liberal New Republic. Its founder, a college classmate of mine, would

45-1-33

turn in his grave to read such a sentiment. He did not "despise" new ideas: he met them with better ones, if he could.

Few schools today dare teach Economics; or mention Karl Marx, whose influence on the modern world exceeds that of any other single student of modern industry. Many libraries hide or refuse to buy much of the best literature of the world on work and wage, lest they be accused of spreading socialism. Few college platforms dare to invite real discussion of pressing current issues on which their students must some time come to conclusions; few students in American classrooms presume today to press inconvenient questions. Few books that do not damn Communism or the Soviets can find publication. Recently I wrote a book of comparison between the Soviet Union and the United States, based on three visits to Russia since 1926. I did not write it as a defense nor accusation but as what I regarded as a careful scientific study. I have not been able to secure publication. I know full well that if my book had been an attack on Russia, no matter how exaggerated, it would today be in print.

All of our children must learn that "God's Country" is always right and never wrong. That we never enslaved human beings, but only emancipated them magnanimously and gave them all they now have. These same children today by thousands waste precious time crawling under desks to escape Russian bombs. In this and other ways, our school system is deteriorating and becoming steadily worse than those of most culture lands. The recruits for ourgrowing armise are to an amazing extent of poor physique, illiterate and immature. The complaint of our colleges and universities is that they are filling with students who cannot read, or write nor count . Yet our best teachers are too often silenc The glorious voice of Paul Robeson cannot be heard by most Americans because he loves Russia; and cannot be heard in Europe and Asia, because he knows America.

Any attempt today on the part of the curious to get a more complete picture of the world is stopped by threats, by loss of friends and of social status; by loss of jobs, and often by jail sentences. We complain that Americans are not allowed to make investigation within the Soviet Union

Yet last year when Russaia invited 25 prominent Americans to attend the peace congress in Moscow, only one dared accept.

To strengthen and enforce this atttude toward Russia comes various kinds of double talk and disarming action. General Clay of Georgia, that center of dem ocracy, is known favorably by Ilse Koch who used to make lampshades from the skins of Jews. General Clay today has two functions: he is head of a freedom crusade to erect and ring bells in Germany. In the United States he has just been elected a director of Lehman Brothers, international bankers with investme ments in Asia, Africa, the West Indies and South America. Back of the "freedom which General Clay advertises is the right to get hold of the rich mineral reso sourses of Korea. Senator Lehman former partner of Lehman Brothres is set to support all-out war in Korea and John Foster Dulles, who has explored the investment pos ibilities of Korea is Lehman's bi-partisan partner.

Perhaps the greatest disaster to truth and peace, is what we may call t e Truman Runaround, a technique which engineered the Compromise of 1950 reminding us of the slavery compromise of 1850, both of which are allied to the the new Missouri Compromise. The Truman Compromise is clever. Mr. Truman makes a statement of policy, which is unexceptional beca se it is written by men who sincerely believe in it. Truman statements on Civil Rights, Labor legislati tion, FEPC and concentration camps sound as frank as Franklin Roosevelt. Once delivered of these unexceptional principles, the President arranges so that any and all opponents of these measures will have every facility to oppose and kill them without fear of r prisal from him in patronage, personal friendship or administrative action. After that the President who has no principles of his own at stake, goes fishing.

The President has more power than any man in America to by-pass the Press and Radio; to answer Big Business and go directly to the people. His power of appointment and of political recognition is immense. Yet he deliberate ately refuses to use this power to support the main part of his own proposed legislation except for war. Noone suffers from opposing his civil rights and labor program. With this technique, Mr. Truman has advocated and defeated civil rights, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley bill, the anti-lynching and anti poll tax legislation, the FEPC, Senate closure and our origibnal policy in Asia after the collapse of Chiang Kai-Shek and the McCarran act. He emerges from each fray with justice defeated and the

Truman prestige apparently intact. He stands there proudly for Peace and War for Mc Arthur and against him and defending his secretary of state by sabotaging the secretary's policy. The only master whom Truman obeys is Big Business

There is today in the world no threat of attack upon America. There is no need for ~~xiix~~ war or all-out preparation for war. We are not the envied of all nations, but on the contrary, hated and feared by the majority of mankind. The danger which does threaten us is that the world will increasingly repudiate American methods of doing business, the good with the bad, when they see us determined to continue exploiting colonial cheap labor; filching valuable raw materials without fair return; and attempting to use the majority of men for the wealth of our millionaires. The increased socialization of wealth and the continuing attempt to substitute public welfare for private profit will steadily increase as men become intelligent and free and no amount of vilification of communism will permanently halt the effort of manknid to abolish poverty, ignorance and disease. The antics of the American Medical Society will continue to be in vain and the United States when itrepudiates propaganda and seeks truth instead of lies will procede steadily toward the path of social reform on which Roosevelt set our feet.

25-4-536

But if you want this to happen; if yuo want this world rpogress to continue in this nation as it is growing in other nations, you must to oust from power the two old parties which are not only bi-partisan but in effect one party directed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce and the organized wealth of the nation which pours millions into the coffers of both parties impartially, knowing they will go for the same cause of Imperialism and War. Who are today using the propaganda ~~af~~ tactics of Adolf Hitler on a vaster and more fatal scale, to paint a false picture of the world and murder~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ and maim more millions of our ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ youth.

Turn these advocates of war, disease, poverty and ignorance, these who tax the poor and exempt the rich, out of their long abused power. Put the American Labor Party at the helm. We can show America that the World wants pe Peace and that the current hysterics and witch-hunting are unworthy of a great people. We can ward off that certain collapse of our industrial system , which today depends on war and frantic preparation for total war everywhere and drag us from the brink of an economic disaster worse than that of the thirties

45-1-38

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
17 Murray Street
New York City
WOrth 4-8153

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Spearheading a nation-wide movement backing Dr. William E. B. DuBois in his campaign for the U. S. Senate, Bishop William J. Walls this week declared that "no man in America commands more confidence of our people for the altruistic, creative and courageous service that he would give in the United States Senate."

The prominent clergyman, who heads the Second Episcopal district of the AME Zion Church, is honorary chairman of the newly-formed Non-Partisan Citizens Committee for the Election of Dr. DuBois.

"His running for the United States Senate is above petty politics," Bishop Walls pointed out in a statement issued Tuesday at his official Episcopal residence in New York at 155 W. 136th st. "I regard Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as one of the great minds of America's last half century," he added.

Chairman of the Non-Partisan Citizens group is Oliver Harrington, nationally known cartoonist and illustrator. Harrington is the creator of the famous comic strip character, "Bootsie."

Headquarters shortly will be opened at the Hotel Theresa, it was announced by officials of the group supporting the American Labor Party senatorial candidate.

Other officials include Dr. Robert A. Simmons of

24-17-37

Boston, vice chairman; Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawford, treasurer; and George B. Murhpy, Jr., secretary.

Testifying to the broad interest in the launching of a political career by the 82-year-old scholar, Dr. and Mrs. Simmons have already begun laying plans for one phase of the out-of-state support for Dr. DuBois.. "Our immediate goal is 100 members in Boston," they pledged in a letter to him last week,"and plans of raising funds in our state for your campaign."

24-17-38

In Brooklyn, the Rev. W. O. Carrington has taken the lead in working with the Non-Partisan committee.

Bishop Walls' statement reviewed Dr. DuBois' background "on behalf of freedom for our people here at home and our brothers and sisters in Africa and other colonial areas of the world," and continued:

"All of us have an opportunity and a privilege to strengthen the cause of justice and freedom for our people by working for his election. Thus we will dramatize the strength that 15 million Negro Americans bring to the cause of peape in our land and throughout the world."

"I wish Dr. DuBois victory at the polls as he has helped many another freedom-loving soul to attain," Bishop Walls concluded.

PLATFORM
of
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The 1950 election campaigns occur at a most grave hour for our country's future. Big business money power -- against which Abraham Lincoln warned our nation 85 years ago -- now completely dominates our government and the Democratic and Republican parties responsible for its Administration.

Big money power and the bipartisan government which it manipulates are moving relentlessly toward a new world war, a war from which none can gain -- if, indeed, any survive -- except those who profit from the making of war.

To this objective of war for profit, all the rights and hopes of the American people are being sacrificed. Already American men are losing their lives in battle, while before the people is held up the illusory and Godless precept that war is the way to peace.

To serve this objective, our free America is being transformed into a military state, with a standing army of three million men proposed, a war budget of fifty billion dollars, and suppression of dissent to the point where Administration leaders now propose concentration camps on the Nazi model for all who disagree. As always, the Negro people have been the first and most cruelly persecuted victims of this mounting terror.

Wages are being frozen, labor is shackled against its right and duty to bargain for better standards, while war profiteering proceeds without check or hindrance to raise prices to the skies, reducing the standard of living of all.

Upon a people thus prevented from improving its standards, the great burden of taxes to support the war program will fall. Meanwhile, the great, unfulfilled needs of the people for housing, health, education, national development and public works projects, equal rights and opportunity, are ignored and betrayed.

Among the old political parties and their candidates and satellites there is no disagreement over these vital issues before the people of our city, state and nation. The old parties and their satellites among labor leadership and self-styled liberals have become the willing advocates of the suicidal falsehood that war is inevitable. They are ready and willing to risk the safety of our country by involving it in reckless adventures throughout the world which, if unchecked, can end only in holocaust.

The American Labor Party will not surrender to the precepts of the warmakers, nor does it intend to surrender any opportunity to challenge those precepts before the people of our state and nation in the forthcoming election contests.

The American Labor Party is the party of progress. It was born 14 years ago in the deep conviction - which time has proved indisputably correct - that the vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt for an abundant, peaceful America of expanding freedoms and opportunity for all, could not be safely left to the corrupt corporation-run political machines.

There can be no progress without peace. The American Labor Party is the party of peace.

We of the American Labor Party will not compromise with the scheming of the warmakers; we reject and condemn the wrecking of the program of the American people for peace, freedom and abundance which is our rightful heritage from the years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal.

We call for a complete end to the bipartisan Administration war program. We call for immediate negotiation of a settlement of the strife in Korea through the Security Council of a United Nations made truly representative of the great nations of the world by the admission of the representatives of China's 450,000,000 people.

We call for immediate cessation of American intervention in Formosa which violates our own international agreements and threatens to involve our nation in war with the people of China.

We call upon our nation to cease its intervention against the efforts of people anywhere to govern their own lives; and we urge the people of our nation to acknowledge their own tradition of freedom and liberation by aiding the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, Puerto Rico and in our own hemisphere and elsewhere in the world to win freedom from exploitation and the right to independent choice of their own forms of government.

For the permanence of peace in the world, we call for world agreement through the United Nations to outlaw atomic weapons, establish means for international inspection of atomic installations, and set up conventions leading to world disarmament.

In our relations with the rest of the world, we call for a resumption of the free flow of international trade and an end to diplomatic and economic policies which favor and cooperate with fascism and reaction throughout the world in the name of a holy war against communism. Especially do we condemn the renazification and remiliterization of Germany, the arming of the Arabs against the young state of Israel, and the bolstering of unwanted monarchs and oppressive governments in Greece, Turkey, South Korea, Indo-China and anywhere else in the world.

34-17-30

The huge and unprecedented sums now being appropriated for war purposes must be converted to serving the genuine needs of the American people.

The right of the people to be informed and to pass judgment on any and all steps of government must be restored. The wave of repression launched to drown criticism of the war program now threatens to engulf all traditional rights of Americans to criticize, to oppose and to hold differing political views. In defense of these constitutional rights, we demand an immediate halt to witch hunts, loyalty purges, contempt frame-ups, inquisitions into personal opinion and all violations or abridgements of the right to speak, publish and freely assemble. American security is best served by the extions of full democracy and equality to all Americans.

We pledge to end the disgraceful run-around which has been the fate of all civil rights legislation, as demonstrated by the outright betrayal in Congress and in the White House of FEPC legislation, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws and other election pledges of both old party leaderships.

We call for an end to repression of labor by injunction and decrees and by presidential edicts against strikes as in the recent railway dispute. We call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and the re-enactment without amendment of the Wagner Act. To safeguard the living standards of the people, we support labor's demands for wage increases and we oppose all attempts to freeze wages.

We call for steeply graduated taxes on the unprecedented corporate profits, government control of prices, and effective federal control of rents. We urge reduction of, and oppose increases in income tax on low and middle income groups.

We fight for an end to discrimination against women in jobs and education. We stand for a vigorously enforced policy of equal pay for equal work. We pledge to maintain and to extend protective legislation vital to women as mothers. We fight to wipe out the special forms of discrimination directed against Negro women. We believe, as our lists of candidates have always shown, that women must be elected and appointed to public office on every level of government. We call for a comprehensive program of day care centers for children of working mothers, for a sharp increase in the number of parks, playgrounds and recreation centers, for a program of children's allowances.

For our state, we pledge ourselves to the following program:

EDUCATION: A 500 million dollar state bond issue for school construction; $100,000,000 in increased state aid to education; further adequate appropriations for urgently needed additional teachers and long overdue salary increases. Protection of tenure of teachers against reprisals for union activity or political opinion. Our school system must become a positive force for the strengthening of democracy and the achievement of peace and international understanding, and the fostering of good will among our diverse peoples at home.

We oppose any encroachment upon the basic American doctrine of the separation of church and state.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: A state administration which will use its full powers to guarantee the right of peaceful assembly and punish those who violate this right.

Active administration of the state anti-discrimination laws and extension of the present law to bar discrimination in housing not only in new public-assisted projects but also in all housing, in order to end the shameful practices now prevailing in Stuyvesant Town, Parkchester, Knickerbocker Village and other housing developments.

RENT CONTROL: Defeat the conspiracy to terminate rent control after January 1st, 1951 and enact a strong law to replace the present inadequate legislation, in order to protect hundreds of thousands of tenants from exorbitant rent increases and wholesale evictions.

HOUSING: All low rent housing projects heretofore planned should be started and completed without delay. The sum of 500 million dollars should be appropriated for additional state aided low rent housing. Rents of middle income housing projects build in New York City are exorbitant and should be reduced by 15%. Evictions in public housing projects should be halted and occupancy eligibility requirements should be liberalized.

LABOR: Increase the amount and duration of unemployment insurance benefits, extend coverage to workers not now covered, eliminate the 7-week waiting period penalty for workers on strike or locked out.

Increase benefits and extend coverage of Workmen's Compensation. Fundamental revision of the Sickness and Disability Law to require insurance by the State insurance fund and to eliminate employee contributions.

Repeal the union-busting Wadlin-Condon Law and guarantee by law the right of civil service workers to self-organization, representation and collective bargaining for higher wages and other benefits without interference by city or state officials.

YOUTH: Set up a job training program for youth. Amend the state constitution to lower the voting age to 18. Extend unemployment insurance benefits to young workers who are now deprived of benefits because they have had no opportunity to meet the requirements of earnings and employment. Defeat any attempts to enact universal military training. Sharply increased appropriations for college, technical and professional educational facilities, free of discrimination on the ground of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry.

TAXATION AND BUDGET: Substantial increases in the program of state financial aid to localities, with revision of the Moore formula so as to return out of state-collected taxes at the rate of $12 per capita for cities, $7 for towns, and $6 for villages.

Amendment of the State constitution so that the large cities may be released from financial strait jackets which now benefit large realty interests at the expense of the average citizen.

We call for sharp increases in corporation and other business taxes to provide revenue needed to finance our state and public services; and an end to regressive taxes such as the sales tax, tax on restaurant meals, etc.

VETERANS: Action on Federal and State levels to renew and extend the GI Bill of Rights to veterans of World War II and to all members of the present armed forces, with benefits increased to $35 per week for 52 weeks for unemployed veterans.

FARMERS: Enact a long range agricultural program with proper safeguards for family type farmers and farming, with not less than $2500 net yearly income to every working farm family. For milk producers, we urge a return, market plus subsidy, of not less than 150% of parity.

Vigorous support for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project and other power developments, land reclamation and irrigation projects, reforestation and improved rural electrification.

Strengthen agricultural conservation programs.

Encourage both producer and consumer cooperatives. Separation of the privately controlled Farm Bureau from the government Extension Service.

Social Security benefits for farmers. Honest and thorough investigation of the milk price spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. Elimination of sections 258-c and j of the State Agricultural Law which unjustly legalize monopoly by the milk trust.

CONSUMERS: An elected Public Service Commission, instead of politically appointed stooges for monopoly who impose unwarranted rate increases upon consumers and reduce the standard of living of every family. Rescission of utility, gas, electric, telephone rates increases.

* * *

This platform states the guiding principles and provides the basis for a program to meet the needs of the people of the State of New York. To this platform, we dedicate our Party and call for unity behind this program of all who genuinely desire and work for peace in the world and the return of our country to the path of progress.

* * *

STATEWIDE CANDIDATES

GOVERNOR: John T. McManus

LT. GOVERNOR: Dr Clementina J. Paolone

COMPTROLLER: Michael A. Jimenez

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Frank Scheiner

U.S. SENATOR: Dr William E.B. DuBois

- - - - -

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK: Paul L. Ross

uopwa
9/27/50

[Amer. Labor Party]

Lehman Quotes

Lehman

ALP

6/28/50

9473. debate on MDAA amendments.

Mr. Pr3sident, I support wholeheartedly the military-aid program bill. I feel strongly that the Senate must not delay the approval of this vital measure.

In Asia we are hearing today the echoes of military conflict.xx From Korea the clash of arms echoes throughout the civilized world. That clash of arms should serve as warning to us here that we must proceed immediatdy to approve this legislation and to implement it.

Unless we act, and act swiftly, Europe may be the next theater for such operations as we witness in Korea..

An aggregate of a billion and a quarter dollars of new funds is authorized to be appropriated. This would be a chean investment in peace.

I believe t e peace and security of the world depend on this country and on our firends and allies in western Europe, and those friends whom we have left in Asia.

Mr President, I spoke yesterday on this floor in support of the prompt passage of the selective-service bill. I felt it was dangerous to delay the passage of that bill by even so much as 1 hour. I have just as much respect for proper parliamentary procedure as anyone in this Chamber, but in these critical times I do not think a point of order, unless it addresses itself to something of the utmost importance, is seemly.

.....

I say the same thing about the bill now before us.

9474

..there might be other Koreas, not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world. Such other Koreas might prove mucy more periolous to our immediate security than the distant peninsula in Asia; of course, I want to help protect the Korean people and at the same time to protect the security of our country and of the world.

June 26..9288.

Mr. President, there are times for greatness. This is such a time.

.. We cannot doubt that the occurrence in Korea, the armed attack by prepared forces, is part of a pattern... We cannot doubt that it was planned, or at least acquiesced in by the Kremlin....

We must show strength, firmness, and courage. But let us, in this hour of danger, show that greatness to which destingy has called us.

(before..) Ws may be sure that what we do in Korea is being watched in Indea, in Indochina, in Malaya, in Siam, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, and behind the iron curtain in China, itself....

Will they support us, or will they be neutral: That question may be answered by what we here in the Senate may say. If they can have confidence in our responsibility, in our motives, and inour urpose, they will certainly turn to us. Therefore let us guard our words.

June 20. Lehman introduces who e series of amendments to liberalize social sefurity, all of which are turned down immediately.

Sept 18,1950.

urging confirmation of O'Dwyer

"Mayor O'Dwyer is a man of great talents and understanding as his career clearly discloses.

Few Americans in public life know Mexico as well as Mayor O'Dwyer. ..He was educated in Spain and understands the Sxpanishxculturac Latin culture...

"exacly the tpye of man who appeals the most to the democracy-loving people of Mexico. He is a man of force and vigor

Mayor O'Dwyer has climbed steadily upward in his career. He is what Amer cans proudcly call as efl-made man.

There are many persons of Latin descent and Latin background in our population in New York State. It is, therefore, fitting and proper that a man who has taken such a gr3at part in the life of New York, as has Mayor O'Dwyer, sho ld be slected to strengthen the ties between our two countries."

9/14/50 makes strong plug for excess profits tax-- ties up with his election campaign.

p 15067.

While I am very hopefl of reelection, I realize that in all probability I shall have a vmx difficult campaign. But I want to go on record by saying that I am willing to remain here, if necessary, in order to enact the excess-rpofits tax at this time."

says talked to people all for it.

9/13. long argument with senators fro m New Jersey in which L demands transfer of Waten Eelctronic Laboratpqies from Eatontown NJ to Rome NY.

9/11 1950. pages 14689-14690 statement on S4130 Kilgore Bill Internal Security and Internment Bill.

I rise again in support of the Kilgore bill, S. 4130 , a bill for the prevention of illegal and anti-American activities by Communists or other subversives. I am one of the sponsors of this legislation. I hope that the Senate will approve it.

Our bill, Mr. President, strikes at the very heart of the Soviet-inspired threat to our internal security. This is a bill with teeth dxxxxx in it.

..Together with the provisions of S. 4061, the administration's internal-security bill, which are included in title I of our bill, this measure, S. 4130, would lock the door against Communist subversion. It would dovetail with the plans and designxs of the FBI for the protection of our int rnal security. This is the kind of law the FBI would welcome. It would not require the FBI to show its hand, to disclose its sources, and to neutralize its effectiveness before the day comes when the FBI may need to

14690 cont1

show its hand and act to protect the very life of our Nation. This bill is a real security bill- a real anti-Communist bill.

The Kilgore internal-security and internment bill, of which I am proud to be one of the authors, is a simple and straightforward bill.

... In times of internal danger, we would round up those whom the FBI knows to be Communists and threats to the national security, and put them under detention and surveillance. The individuals concerned would not be asked to register. The FBI would register them. But they would have full opportunity to prove that they are not what the FBI says they are. But while they are in the process of proving it, they wold be kept under detention, under surveillance, and out of harm's way.

This is not police-statelegislation.

Boasts of turning power over to President.

"Who can tell in this swiftly changing scene of ours, who are to be judged threats to our internal security 5 or 10 years from now? ... We keep that power in our bill by setting its term at 3 years.

Sept 12. p 14817 botes against McCarran bill on grounds that it is "unwise, unworkable, , and indefensible". "tragic, unfortunate, ill-conceived".

"blunderbuss".. "will.. increase the strength of the underground Communist movement".

9/20
p 15474. nq.. states his basic objective to Mc Carran as compared with his.

"It will have to be proven that they are Communists. It will be necessary to prove in courts of law that these individuals are Communists".

45-7-138

Feb 2, 1950. page 1369.

Supports Senator MacMahon's position that we must make xkx hydrogen bomb; and general atomic blackmail of his speech.

(offer of diverting 10 of 15 billion atmaments to economic id everywhere provided other countries accept Baruch Plan.

Feb 7

p1626

Jan 14, 1950 letter to Acheson:

in talk to Senate notes:

"Thus the delcaration made by Secretary of State Acheson on January 12 this year represents no revolutionary policy. The United States promised in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 that Formosa would be reunited with China as it had been during all the centuries before 1894. Formosa was turned over to the Chinese Government in furtherance of that promise, which has no more or kess than carrying out the policy we had supported for half a century. "

But we do not move in that direction (winning support of Chinese pe le); by seeking by our own might and power to maintain one particular regime in Formosa in order that our own rights may be pro tected, or by standing on a legalistic point and insisting that Formosa is still part of Japan, and hence subject to our occupation."

Letter:

The American pe le are idealists at the same time that they xxx are practical and hard-headed. It is that combination which has giv world leadership. No cynical people could long retain that leadersh ..... Yet there are cyhical ones among usx who would exchange long advantage for shortterm profit. These are the people who would hav occupy Formosa, or send the Navy to protect it, or establish a co ion over it. Who has aksed us to do this? By what right would we d Did we fight the recent war against Japan only to claim, as some have us claim now, that because our forces occup Jpaan, we have to occupy Formosa, too: And if Formosa, why not Hainan, and then and Canton and Amoy, and then all of China? Where shall we stop?

seek to maintain the friendliest relations with the peoples of Asia, and we should show the Chinese peopb that our desire is, as it ever was, the advancement of their welfare and interest."

p. 1627. Lehman

But to kee the confidence of the Chinese people, and to look forward t the day when we will be able to work in concert with them, and with their Government, we must not begin by supporting the claims of Japan to Formosa, or by asserting our own rights, un er whatever guise, to Formosa."

goes on to make clearer the sending of fleet to Formosa is same as occupying. Quotes Hoover as advocating that.

May 4 talked against cut in ECA program. spend whatever needed etc defense etc.

p. 5924 April 27.. opposes Franco Spain in ECA because bad politics "affront" to democratic nations of Europe, to L.A.

p. 5925..

.."if it is money that is required... If it is a loan that is required by Spain, an application can be made to the Export-Import Bank here. That has been testified to by the State Department. Such a loan would be given due consideration. But to insert this amendment into the ECA bill, a mandate for a loan of $100,000,000 through the Ex-Im Bank, does not make sens to me. "

Big supporter of displaced persons act.

in argument spain about Aug 1 other senators point out to him that aid to Franco no different than aid to Salazar which he supports or aid to French toshoot down people of indo-china. accused him of cheap vote seeking in Ny

Aug 3. Chavez points out we lost no trrops in Sapin. Asks how many we lost in Italy? Lehman: We lost a great many. Ch: But we are helping Italy. Lehman: I am not defending Italy, but Italy is today a part of the defense line which this country has set up. If the Senator does not believe in the defense line that has been set up through ECA, why did he vot3 for an appropriation for ECA? p.11911

Aug 3 11878. statement in record. .. on gen app bill.
I have tried to make it very clear that because of the sudden critical turn of events in Korea I would support amendments which would decrease those funds in the bill in any and every case where such a cut would not hurt or interfere with national defense, public health and welfare, or the efficient operation of the essential Government activities.
nq voted for 50 per cent cut in civil-functions chapter-- rivers and harbors and flood-control projects (not adopted).

Aug 4. 12002-3. Supports amendment for more health funds. Main argument that this would make more eligible for draft now rejected because of mental health.
even "healt h" becomes funds for psychiatrists to try to sell young men on idea that they should die on far-off battle fields.

Message as director-general of UNRRA 7August 1945.

.. two basic difficulties remain which can only be overcome by the cooperation of the member governments of which UNRRA is but the instrumen The fisrt is the securing of the financial resources for further operat ions of the Administration on a scale at all commensurate with the immense needs. ..

The second difficulty is that of obtaining from the intergovernmental and national allocating authorities adequate allœ ations of the commodities urgently required in the liberated territories, particularly food.

..In addressing ourselves to the momentous problems before us we can well take inspiration from the words spoken, on the occasion of the foun ing of UNRRA, by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, through whose death UNRRA lost one of its greatest friends, and humanity one of its foremost champions:

"The sufferings of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be relieved only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world."

from Report of the Director General to the Council, for the Period 1 April 1945 to 30 June 1945 UNRRA' Washington D.C.

succeeding re rt speak of neeed to cut program because of lack of adequate contributions.

26-7-108

45-7-111

1942 page 153-54. proclaimed Feb 8 as Poland Day.

"The iron heel of hate, lust for power and treachery has left its last imprint upon the fertile soil of civilization and deliverance from oppression and tyranny will soon come."

Speech of Herbert H Lehman, Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations at dinner of Foreign Policy Association NY City, 6/17/43, in Vital Speeches, August 15, 1943.

"The fate of all United Nations' attempts to insure banishment of these global wars may well ~~determine~~ be determined by the success of the first joint action in relief and rehabilitation administration. This work of binding up the wounds of those who suffer, of preventing and halting death by starvation, exposure, disease and neglect, transcends the realm of political allegiances and can give full expression to the highest principles and instincts of all peoples."

Fighting Against Time, in Survey Graphic... December 1945 pp 474 et sequ. points out how much remains to be done.

".. in his recent Navy Day speech on foreign policy--President Truman warned against ' aloss of faith in the effectiveness of international cooperation' and added that in an atomic age this ' would be nothing short of disaster'. UNRRA is the first concrete example of United Nations cooperation; the only one equipped at present for practical action. If it were now abandoned, this would register more dramatically than anything else that loss of faith of which President Truman warned."

Life Saving Food, in Survey Graphic, July , 1946, page 245 et seq.

Exposed the failure of the Federal Government to take the simple action needed to do its part in UNRRA'S campaign to prevent world starvation.

"But while the members of the UNRRA Council were insistent that urgent measures be taken to cope with both the immediate and the future aspects of the world famine--there were those in responsible positions who assured the American public that the world food crisis would last only 90 days-- or, at longest, some 120 days. ..We were told also that so far as this country was concerned , there would be no need for instituting any measures other than those of a voluntary nature. "

...as a result(NQ) UNRRA needs 700,000 tons bread grains monthly, promised 491,000 for May, given 273,000 tons. Has been like this all along.

" ever since January, UNRRA has been getting only from a third to a half of its minimum requirements each month."

Points out that t is administration neglect can mean starvation for millions continuation of food crisis indefinitely etc.

Slashing attack on Truman hypocrisy, appointment of Hoover, etc.
failure to ration to protect American consumers, abandonment of fight for price controls.

editorial in New Republic March 25, 1946.

The resignation of Director General Herbert H. Lehmanof the United Nations Relief and Rehabi itation Administration is a double tragedy. It is the tragedy of a man who selflessly and honestly tried to help the unfortu nate victims of a world at war, and of a nation which failed in its promise to help feed the world's hungry with something more than promises.

Ex-Governor Lehman resigned in disgust. He was disgusted with being pushed around by the present national administrati on. He was disgusted with the Combined Food Board-controlled by the United States, Great Britain and Canada- which allocates world food supplies, and which sliced UNRRA's requests until they were about half what was asked for Europe's an d the Far East's sta ving millions.

Moreexvexx important, Mr. Lehman was disgusted by the sham put up by the national administration in suddenly forming a Food Famine Committee and then sending Herbert Hoo ver to find out what everyone in UNRrA and in the Department of Agriculture has known for more than two years-that America, as the greatest food-supply source in the world, shold have planned for the current food crisis, xx but instead fumbled it.

... Mr. Lehman warned three years ago, two years ago and a year ago that plans for feeding the world's hungry millions could not wait till the end of the war... But there was much that the Truman administration and its Department of Agriculture could have done. By abandoning rationing in the United States for reasons of political expediency, the re st of the world was left holding the bag-an empty one.

Mr. Lehman's resingation was a gesture of protest against this kind of bumbling. It was as strong a protest as a man like Lehman, not given to dramatics, could make.

UNRRA's battle by IF Stone, Nation 3/30/46
Atlantic City March 24, 1xxx

"The most enlightening document made ublic at the Fourth Session of the UNRRA Council was a hitherto 'restricted' report by its Bureau of Supply. Governor Lehman, who seems intent on making a fighting exit as Director General, made it available to the press overBritish opposition The document shows the stepchild treatment accorded UNRRA by the Anglo-American-Canadian Combined Food Board, which controls the disposition of most of the world's surplus foodstuffs. It also discloses the unfair handling of the Soviet Union's very modest requests in the food field. And it indicates that commercial and political considerations play no slight role in the workx of the CFB.

UNRRA requests for fats and oils cut more than 75 per cent. Ukraine and ByeloRussia requests completely thrown out by Combined Food Board. Its allocation to Spain and Portugal xxxxxxxxxxxx 122,000 tons, of 171,000 for all 12 Unrra countries, with many times more population. and Uruguay

Argentine linseed allocated 365,000 tons to US, 304,000 tons to UK, Belg, France and Neth, --- all for paint and other non-food uses; 3,000 tons to all UNRRA countries starving for fats.

The Russians, after being given a run-around on fats and oils (they never asked for cereals) are now looked to for wheat. They have given

Herbert H. Lehman

<u>Lehman and the War Drive.</u>

Senator Lehman, in his campaign for reelection, presents himself as the most effective supporter of the war program in all its aspects. His main claim to election is that he can be relied on as a pro-war candidate, while the Republicans can't:

"... a Republican victory in New York State will be interpreted in Washington and Albany as... a vote of no confidence in the foreign policy which has given us leadership in world affairs and brought us thus far safely through the most dangerous criris our civilization has ever known" (speech to CIO Convention NY State, Ny City, October 7, 1950).

He not only supports the pro-war foreign policy in general, but in each of its particulars. Thus, in his speech of October 9, 1950, over the CBS network, he specifically praised:

President Truman sending the battleship Missouri to Constantinople in April 1946 as an anti-Soviet gesture;

The Truman Doctrine in support of Greek and Turkish royalists and fascists and American oil companies in April 1947;

The Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Military Aid Program, the record of 3½ billions of aid to Chiang Kai Shek, and of course, Mac Arthur's invasion of Korea.

Lehman and the Soviet Union.

Senator Lehman justifies his all-out support of the drive towards war on the grounds of "the mad Hitlerian dream of world domination" of the Soviet Union; "Communist imperialism", and the like.

He knows better. During World War II Lehman repeatedly praised the Soviet Union for its leading role in the defeat of fascism, he stressed our "unforgettable debt of gratitude" to that country for carrying the main burden of the war against Hitler, he stressed the absolute need for cooperation between the two countries, and denounced as "subversive" those who tried to spread distrust of the U.S.S.R. Far from talking of "Soviet imperialism", he showed how the Soviet Union had ended the Tsarist persecution of Poles, Jews, and one hundred and fifty other nationalities, and given us:

"the example of the greatest unity the world has ever seen in defense of the idea of liberty and brotherhood" (speech of Nov. 8, 1942).

He stressed the right of the Russian people to choose their own form of Government:

"There are some among us who are critical of Russia, because they do not approve of its form of government. They close their eyes to the right of every nation to choose its own form of government. They forget the indomitable and noble fight which the Russian people for more than a year have been waging against the forces of evil not only in protection of their own land or their own homes but in behalf of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world."(speech of July 21, 1942).

He said:

"You young peole and we older ones must make certain that the peace is not just a temporary bridging of a gap between wars. We must forge unbreakable ties that will bind nation to nation, man to man, in a great brotherhood of justice, equality and opportunity." (June 2, 1942).

But now he denounces peace as "the Soviet brand of peace with slavery" (speech of October 9, 1950).

Lehman and UNRRA

Lehman learned at first hand who was sabotaging the United Nations, who was responsible for friction between our government and the USSR. He was appointed Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations by President Roosevelt, and was then made Director General of UNRRA when it was set up. He realized the importance of this. In a speech on August 15, 1943, Lehman said:

"The fate of all United Nations' attempts to insure banishment of these global wars may well be determined by the success of the first joint action in relief and rehabilitation administration. This work of binding up the wounds of those who suffer, of preventing and halting death by starvation, exposure, disease and neglect, transcends the realm of political allegiances and can give full expression to the highest principles and instincts of all peoples."

But immediately after VE Day the Truman administration sabotaged the work of UNRRA. In his message as director-general of UNRRA on August 7, 1945, Lehman complained of the refusal of the United States Government, Britain and Canada to supply finances or allocate adequate supplies of goods. He spoke of Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "through whose death UNRRA lost one of its greates friends, and humanity one of its foremost champions".

He expressed confidence that Truman would show the same qualities. But already Truman had entered on the course of atomic murder and atomic blackmail. He was engaged in trying to threaten the Soviet Union, in trying to weaken the Soviet Union and all of the new anti-fascist governments of Eastern Europe by starving their people.

In March, 1946, Lehman resigned in disgust. The magazine New Republic commented:

"He was disgusted with being pushed around by the present national administration. He was disgusted with the Combined Food Board-controlled by the United States, Great Britain and Canada- which allocates world food supplies, and which sliced UNRRA's requests until they were about half of what was asked for Europe's and the Far East's starving millions." (issue of March 25, 1946).

Lehman, writing himself in the Survey Graphic Magazine of July, 1946, exposed the failure of the Federal Government to take the simple action needed to do its part in UNRRA's campaign to prevent world starvation:

"But while the members of the UNRRA Council were insistent that urgent measures be taken to cope with both the immediate and the future aspects of the world famine-- there were those in responsible positions who assured the American public that the world food crisis would last only 90 days-- or at longest, some 120 days.. We were told also that so far as this country was concerned, there would be no need for instituting any measures other than those of a voluntary nature."

... "ever since January, UNRRA has been getting only from a third to a half of its minimum requirements each month."

He pointed out that this administration neglect could mean starvation for millions, continuation of the food crisis indefinitely. He attacked Truman for appointing the hunger president, Herbert Hoover, to make a food survey after ignoring what the UNRRA had told him; for failure to protect American consumers for by rationing, for/abandoning the fight for price controls.

Lehman at this time found no "Soviet imperialism", at this time when he was working with the Russians in UNRRA. Indeed, he recommended that the USSR be admitted to the Combined Food Board, the British-Canadian-United States monopoly which already was using food as a world-wide political weapon. But Truman refused.

Today Lehman has forgotten his own experiences. He no longer criticizes the Administration for following Hoover policies. He no longer attacks the economic warfare against hungry people, but instead praises Truman's 1946 blackmail of hungry people by sending battleships to the Dardanelles.

Lehman and Korea

"We must not accept as mere phrases the Four Freedoms outlined by our great and beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. They must become a charter under which men all over the world can live in freedom, in peace, in security and in contentment."

So said ~~Senator Lehman~~ then Governor Lehman on June 2, 1942. But now that people in Korea, China, Indo-China, and many other countries are trying to win for themselves the Four Freedoms, Lehman denounces it as "Soviet imperialism", and wholeheartedly supports military intervention against them, to impose and maintain colonial slavery. But hypocritically, he tries to hide the real motives of the Administration. One June 26, 1950, he warned the Senate that all Asia is watching us:

"Will they support us, or will they be neutral: That question may be answered by what we here in the Senate say. If they can have confidence in our responsibility, in our motives, and in our purpose, they will certainly turn to us. Therefore let us guard our words."(my emphasis).

But the people of Asia are not listening to Lehman's hypocrisy. They are watching MacArthur's bombers murdering tens of thousands of innocent civilians. ?They are watching Mac Arthur's puppets take the land back from the peasants. They know what has been reluctantly admiited in the press, that there are no Russians in Korea, but just Koreans and invaders sent there by the Truman Administration and John Foster Dulles.

Lehman's course which has already meant tens of thousands of little American casualties in/Korea, can mean millions fighting the people of all Asia. Lehman is quite ready to plunge in anywhere. On June 28, 1950, he said in the Senat e:

"there might be other Koreas, not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world. Such other Koreas might prove much more perilous to our immediate security than the distant peninsula in Asia.."

35-7-48

Lehman in a hurry for war.

In debate on Mutual Defense Assistance Program amendments, Senator Lehman said on June 28, 1950:

"Mr. President, I support wholeheartedly the military-aid program bill. I feel strongly that the Senate must not delay the approval of this vital measure...

Mr. President, I spoke yesterday on this floor in support of the prompt passage of the selective-service bill. I felt it was dangerous to delay the passage of that bill by even so much as 1 hour. I have just as much respect for proper parliamentary procedure as anyone in this Chamber, but in these critical times I do not hink a point of order, unless it addresses itself to something of the utmost importance, is seemly....

I say the same thing about the bill now before us."

Never mind parliamentary procedure, never mind the constitution. Mr. Truman, Mr. Dulles, and Mr. Lehman, do not want to waste an hour in sending American boys to die in "distant peninsulas in Asia".

45-7-128

Lehman and Franco.

Lehman's supporters in the New York campaign are making much of his alleged anti-Franco attitude, supposedly evidenced by his opposition to inclusion of Franco in the Marshall Plan. However, Lehman's actual record in the Senate on this issue shows him to be a cheap maneouverer. On April 27, he opposed including Franco Spain in the Marshall Plan because it would be bad politics, an "affront" to the democratic nations of Europe and Latin America. He explained t at he was not really trying to prevent American funds from going to Spain;

"..if it is money that is required... If it is a loan that is required by Spain, an application can be made to the Export-Import Bank here. That has been testified to by the State Department. Such a loan would be given due consideration. But to insert this amendment into the ECA bill, a mandate for a loan of $100,000,000 through the Export-Import Bank, does not make sense to me." (Congressional Record, page 5925).

In short, all he was concerned about was not putting himself on record, with leaving the Administration free to extract the maximum of military and economic concessions from Franco in return from credits.

In debate on this same subject about August 1, one of the Senators in favor of earmarking funds for Franco pointed out to Lehman that aid to Franco was no different than aid to the Portuguese dictator Salazar, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ which Lehman supports, or aid to the French to shoot down the people of Indo-China, which Lehman supports. He accused Lehman of cheap vote-seeking in New York.

On August third Senator Chavez of New Mexico, pro-franco, pointed out that no American troops had been lost fighting Franco, but asked how many had been lost fighting in Italy (against Mussolini). Lehman answered: We lost a good many. Chavez said: But we are helping Italy. Lehman replied:

"I am not defending Italy, but Italy is today a part of the defense line which this country has set up. If the Senator does not believe in the defense line that has been set up through ECA, why did he vote for an appropriation for ECA" (p. 11911).

In short, Lehman gives away the bluff that he is interested in helping the Italian people. He is interested in turning over Italy to the Pentagon generals and admirals through the Marshall Plan. He prefers to let them accomplish the same aims in respect to Spain in other ways, because o en support would mean political ~~xxxx~~ exposure of the Administration here and in other countries. Never did Lehman object to the State-Department approved loans of the Chase National and National City Banks to Spain. Did Lehman object to the U.S. Army's clearing Nazi engineers to go to Spain to erect munitions plants?, or to the recent invitation of Franco officers to witness U.S. Army maneouvers in Germany? All these things were done by ~~xxx~~ those controlled by the commander-in-chief, the head of Lehman's party, President Truman. Its all part of Lehman's caution about guarding ones words, which he finds particularly important when playing footsie with such an unsavory character as Franco.

Lehman and China

During World War II Lehman protested his affection for China as well as the USSR:

"Let us always remember this: What weakens Great Britain or Russia or China or our other allies weakens us too and may destroy us" (March 17, 1942[A]).

As late as January, 1950, he still posed as a great friend of the Chinese people, and wrote in a letter to Secretary of State Acheson:

"..there are cynical ones among us who would exchange long-term advantage for short-term profit. These are the people who would have us occupy Formosa, or send the Navy to protect it (my emphasis-), or establish a condominion (sic) over it. Who has asked us to do this? By what right would we do this? Did we fight the recent war against Japan only to claim, as some would have us claim now, that because our forces occupy Japan, we have the right to occupy Formosa, too: And if Formosa, why not Hainan, and then Shanghai, and Canton and Amoy, and then all of China? Where shall we stop?

The first principle of the American people in foreign policy today is to search for peace, justice and the well-being of all peoples. It is not to maintain a particular battle line somewhere along the Asia coast or to resist by force those ideologies which are not reconcilable with ours.

..clinging to the dead hand of a regime which has completely lost the confidence of the Chinese people and in the defense of which that people raises not a finger, could be a fatal error. I assume that we must seek the closest possible contact with the Chinese people, and show them that our desire is, as it ever was, the advancement of our welfare and their interest, and the extension to them of an opportunity to gain not only freedom but a chance to live in peace and enjoy a decent livelihood."

On February 7th on the floor of the Senate he denounced Hoover's proposal to "defend" Formosa with the American fleet. He reminded the Senators that in the Cairo declaration the United States had promised that Formosa would be turned over to China, and denounced as a violation of that promise any pretense that Formosa is still part of Japan.

But when Truman and Acheson and Mac Arthur did just what Hoover recommended, and occupied Formosa in the guise of "defending" it with

the U.S. fleet, Lehman was silent, and contented himself with the most fulsome praise of the parallel military adventure in Korea. When the Administration, contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the world's people, and even of most of the reactionary governments represented in the Security Council, did everything it could to block the admission of China to the United Nations, Lehman was silent. When the administration tightened the embargo on trade with China in an attempt to starve out the Chinese people, Lehman forgot his fine words about "advancement of their welfare", and "decent livelihood"; and remained silent. When Acheson denounced the Chinese people as "savage hordes", Lehman forgot about his supposed friendship for them, and failed to denounce this rotten white-supremacist statement.

Moreover, Lehman has also forgotten his fine statement about searching for peace, justice and the well-being of all peoples, about not maintaining a battle line on the coast of Asia. Instead he openly supports not only the policy of extending war in Asia on the ground of a US "defense line", but also in Europe, as we have seen above in the case of Italy.

Lehman and the Police State.

Senator Lehman tries to win votes as a friend of civil liberties for his vote against the McCarran Act. The record shows that his only objection was that parts of the McCarran Act do not jeopardize civil liberties enough, and that Lehman fears its operation would interfere with the attempt to establish an FBI police state.

In debate on September 11, Lehman supported the Kilgore concentration camp bill, saying he was proud to be one of its authors:

"This is the kind of law the FBI would welcome. It would not require the FBI to show its hand, to disclose its sources, and to neutralize its effectiveness before the day comes when the FBI may need to show its hand and act to protect the very life of our nation...

.. In times of internal danger, we would round up those whom the FBI knows to be Communists and threats to the national security, and put them under detention and surveillance. The individuals concerned would not be asked to register. The FBI would register them. But they would have full opportunity to prove that they are not what the FBI says they are. But while they are in the process of proving it, they would be kept under detention, under surveillance, and out of harm's way."

In short-- the secret hand of the Gestapo; imprisonment before trial; concentration camp for all whom the FBI consider Communists and/or "threats to the national security"; or, as Lehman expressed it earlier: "subversives".

On September 20th Senator Lehman expressed his basic objection to the McCarran bill as follows:

"It will have to be proven that they are Communists. It will be necessary to prove in courts of law that these individuals are Communists".

In short, the Registration section of the McCarran Act maintains a shabby pretense of ~~xxxxxx~~ respecting the Bill of Rights. This is too much for Lehman.

Lehman found another advantage in the Kilgore Bill. It leaves it up to the President when to set up concentration camps. He assured the Republicans that this didn't destroy the power of Congress, because the President was given the power for only three years.
In short, dictatorship for war is the path which he supports.

Lehman and O'Dwyer.

Lehman showed his connections with the rotten, corrupt, political machine of New York City by a fulsome ovation in praise of the discredited O'Dwyer ~~xx~~ urging confirmation of his nomination as Ambassador to Mexico on September 18, 1950.

45-7-132

Lehman and Progressive Legislaion

Senator Lehman tried to build up a record for the campaign by posing as sponsor of all sorts of constructive legislation, Thus he Thus, on June 20, he introduced a series of amendments to liberalize the pending social security legislation. All of his amendments were turned down immediately. On September 14, 1950, he made a strong plug for the excess profits tax, hypocritically claiming that his support of it would weaken his election chances, by keeping him tied up in Washington to fight it out. Needless to say, his statement was ignored, and he didn't stay a single day after the Senate passed the police-state law in order to fight for an excess profits ~~tax~~ tax.

Lehman knows full well that the war program he supports necessarily knocks out all of the progressive legislation he pretends to fight for. He knows that the Truman Administration by means of the war program has turned the government over the the most reactionary Republicans, Dixiecrats, ~~and~~ lock stock and barrel. He knows that war and housing, war and social security, etc., do not go together.

Thus, on September 9, 1942; he said:

"It was our hope, as it was the hope of the people of our city and state that our public housing program would make available to low-income families now living in sub-standard housing, the sort of homes which we all agree every American family should have.

That objective, temporarily, has fallen a victim to the madmen of Europe and Asia, just as so many other forward-looking programs and efforts upon which we were engated before war came.

But this is only a postponement. The war will be won. A better world is ahead... Our primary purpose will not be lost sight of."

But the Wall Street bankers have the primary purpose of foreign conquest, of preventing housijg and other rights for the American people. They are using there mobilization for world war , among other things, to prevent, housing, social security, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ etc. Lehman, by supporting the war program, cuts under the very reforms he pretends to be for, and the knowing reactionary Senators can afford to simply ignore his remarks, made for the record, for the 1950 election campaign.

35-7-92

While pretending to be for social legislation which he considers most popular in New York, Lehman d es not hesitate to knife legislation which might be of interest to people elsewhere, such as Western Farmers.

Thus at the beginning of August he voted for a 50 per cent cut in rivers and harbors and flood-control projects on the grounds that it would interfere with the war effort. (Cong. record, Aug 3, p11878). His no logic is no better than that of the other Senators who vote against social security liberalization, etc. on the same grounds.

The full depths of Lehman's hypocrisy was revealed on August 4, when he supported an amendment for more public health funds. In debate on this, he emphasized almost exclusively the large number of men rejected for the draft because of mental reasons. He wanted to triple the number of psychiatrists, people trained in trying to sell young men on the idea that they should die on far-off battle fields. (p12002-3, elsewhere).

45-7-133

Lehman and D.P.'s

Lehman poses as a great humanitarian and supporter of legislation to admit more DP's into this country. But Lehman knows full well that this legislation specifically requires admission of a large number of German Volksdeutsche and all sorts of east European fascist remnants in Europe; that the loyalty tests given to the DP's are designed to limit it exclusively to this type.

Here is what Lehman wrote about them in 1945:

"One of the least welcome phases of the migration, in which we must aid, is in the movement of Germans back to Germany. The Nazi Government, after each conquest, sent thousands of its own nationals into the victimized country to colonize, manage factories, engage in political intrigue... No doubt they will be expelled by the liberated governments after victory" (American Magazine, May, 1945.)

Now Lehman is a leader in bringing this same type to America to provide possible recruits for fascist formations.

Lehman and Poland

In repeated speeches during World War II Lehman gave his heart to the Polish people and looked forward to their liberation. Now they have been liberated, and are enjoying a life they could never have under the old colonel's regime. But now Lehman continues to make speeches for their "liberation". What he means is indicated by his sponsorship of the visit of General Anders, representative of the old Hitlerite colonel's regime, whose only aim is to create a fascist army with American support to re-enslave the Polish people.

Lehman as a Wall Street man.

Lehman's all-out support of the war drive comes naturally to one connected with a powerful Wall Street group. He is ~~a brother~~ an uncle of the leading partners of Lehman Brothers, important Wall Street investment bankers. Herbert Lehman became a partner in this firm in 1908. He was personally director of many corporations. He severed his formal connections when he entered politics, but it is obvious that he retained his property, and his community of interest with Lehman Brothers and its far-flung holdings. Detailed data on Lehman Brothers, the Lehman Corporation, and its holdings and cross directorships, are enclosed.

The following points are of especial interest:

Quite recently Lucius D. Clay was made a director of the Lehman Corporation. This is not on the enclosed sheet, based on the 1950 Poor's, but is shown in Moody's Banks and in the Poor's midyear supplement. Thus the Lehmans have taken to their bosom the General who freed the Beast of Buchenwald, Ilse Koch.

Herbert Lehman is related by marriage to Frank Altschul, head of General American Investors, and former official of the international

banking house of Lazard Freres. (I do not remember whether Altschul's wife is Herbert Lehman's sister or daughter-- this can be checked in Who's Who, I suppose). Monroex C. Gutman, a member of Lehman Brothers, is also a director of General American Investors.

Altschul was one of the main organizers and is now a leader of the the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., which is the main center for the organization of the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ fascist, anti-semitic, emigres from the Eastern European countries. The New York Times of October 4 (page 18) shows a picture of Altschul pointing to Czechoslovakia and Poland, with the caption that he is "pointing to areas that they hope to penetrate." Thus Herbert Lehman's in-law is personally involved in the attempt to organize war against the Peoples Democracies and the Soviet Union. right under Altschul's picture appears that of General Anders.

One of the most prominent members of Lehman Brothers is John M. Hancock. Hancock was a close associate of Baruch in the promotion of the Baruch Plan for not outlawing the atomic bomb. The author John L. Spivak, in the book "Plotting America's Pogrom's", charged (page 35) that Hancock gave money to distribute the notorious Protocols of Zion. So far as I know, that charge has never been denied. It is not surprising that on the floor of the Senate on February 2, 1950, Senator Lehman supported the manufacture of hydrogen bombs (Cong. Record, page 1369).

The Lehmans are interested in various war industries through holdings b the Lehman Corporation or through cross-directorships, or both. Included are the du Pont Company, maker of the hydrogen bomb, and the Consolidated-Vultee Aircraft Corp., maker of the super-bomber.

The Lehman's have substantial interests in foreign col nial properties. They are beneficiaries of Wall Street imperialism, while they prate about so-called "Soviet imperialism". Among the stockholdings of Lehman Corp. ~~their connections~~ are Venezuelan Oil (Creole Petroleum); Standard Oil of California (Arabian Oil),

35-7-25

and Newmont Mining (Southwest African copper and Moroccan lead), as well as Malayan and Indonesian rubber (United States Rubber Co.). A Partner in Lehman Brothers is a director of two Cuban sugar companies. Robert Lehman is a director of United Fruit Company, which runs half a dozen central American countries. Alan S. Lehman is a director of Southern States Land and Timber Company, which works at submormal conditions the Negroes and poor whites of the south.

Another partner in Lehman Brothers, John R. Fell, is a director of the anti-labor Mergenthaler Linotype Co. Another partner William S. Glazier, is a director of the anti-labor American Potash and Chemical Corp.

45-7-136

The Board of Directors of the Lehman Corp includes the Chairman of the Board and another director of the war industry Sperry Corp., whose expanded activities hastened the move of the United Nations headquarters. Also included is Curtis E. Calder, chairman of the board of Electric Bond and Share, key firm in the Morgan utility empire.

The Lehman's have an especial influence on the movie industry in air transport, and in retail trade. One can hardly buy in a department store without running into Lehman influence.

Lehman and Israel.

Needless to say, Herbert Lehman poses as a great friend of the people of Israel. He is honorary President of the Palestine Economic Corporation, supposedly a company to "help" Israel. Actually it is a Wall Street combine which has grabbed all the key spots in Israeli economy. It owns the leading banks and water companies, thereby giving it a grip over Israeli agriculture. It owns the industrial area of Haifa Bay, giving it an interest in any new industry which may be established. It has a 20 per cent interest in Palestine

35-7-96

Potash, the most important mining enterprise in Israel. Together with another American corporation, it owns the American-Israeli Shipping Co.

This "charitable" corporation in 1948, when Israel was fighting for its existence, cleared 11 per cent on its invested capital, and increased its profits still more in 1949, despite markdowns of its investments because of the Wall-Street dictated Israeli currency devaluation, which led to lower living standards in Israel but more profits for the foreign corporations.

45-7-137

Peace NOT WAR WITH CHINA

You want peace.

You can have peace—

But only if you speak out NOW—before the whole world bursts into atomic flames.

A cease-fire order to all armies in Korea can stop the fighting immediately.

United Nations mediation among all sides in the conflict can bring about lasting peace.

The best defense of America is peace—not war with China.

In your own words, in your own way—

- **Write or wire President Truman today. Ask your friends and neighbors and other members of your family to act with you.**
- **Tell the President you don't want war with China. Tell him you want peace—with everybody.**

Send your letter or wire direct to the White House, Washington, D.C.

Remember, nobody is a better spokesman for peace than you, yourself.

PEACE IS EVERYBODY'S JOB

Issued by The American Labor Party

178

TAKE THIS CARD WITH YOU INTO VOTING BOOTH

REGISTRATION DATES:

MONDAY **TUESDAY** **WEDNESDAY**

Oct. 9 **Oct. 10** **Oct. 11**

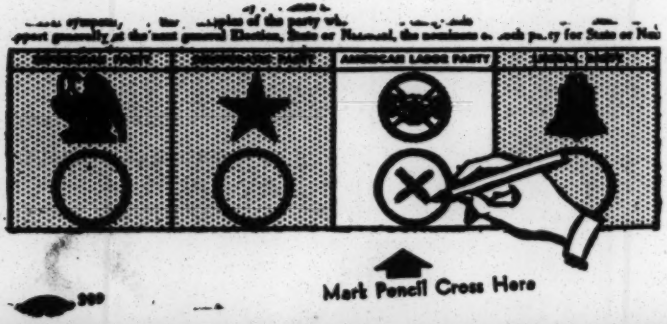
5:00 P.M. TO 10:30 P.M.

THURSDAY **FRIDAY** **SATURDAY**

Oct. 12 **Oct. 13** **Oct. 14**

5:00 P.M. TO 10:30 P.M.

FROM 7:00 A.M. TO 10:30 P.M.



32-19-13 [1980]

Sec. 34.66, PL&R
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
New York, N. Y.
Permit No. 13493

YOUR VOTE

IS VITAL. DON'T LOSE IT!

Re: Most Important Vote of Your Life

ALP VOTERGRAM

Read Every Word of Message Below

To All Citizens **URGENT**

IMPORTANT YOU GO TO YOUR POLLING PLACE TO REGISTER SO YOU CAN VOTE NOVEMBER 7th. MORE URGENT THAN EVER YOU ENROLL AMERICAN LABOR PARTY. AS YOU KNOW, A.L.P. IS ONLY PARTY WORKING 365 DAYS A YEAR TO BUILD LASTING PEACE, STOP PROFITEERING, AND SAFEGUARD CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL AMERICANS. YOUR VOTE CAN END THREAT OF A-BOMB RUIN AND MAKE TOMORROW SECURE FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY. A BIG A.L.P. VOTE WILL BE A POWERFUL BRAKE TO HELP KEEP PRESENT CONFLICT FROM SPREADING INTO THIRD WORLD WAR. YOU WANT PEACE SETTLED AROUND CONFERENCE TABLE. USE YOUR VOTE TO GET IT. REGISTER—ENROLL AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

VITO MARCANTONIO, A.L.P. State Chairman

for U. S. Senator

W. E. B. **DU BOIS**

for Governor

John T. **McMANUS**

for Lieut.-Governor

Dr. Clementina J. **PAOLONE**

for Mayor

Paul L. **ROSS**

for Congress, 18 C.D.

Vito **MARCANTONIO**

for Comptroller

Michael A. **JIMENEZ**

for Atty.-General

Frank **SCHEINER**

DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE

MAKE IT COUNT!

Don't waste your vote on "Payoff Patriots" . . .

Graft . . . Chiseling on the poor . . . Back-room deals . . . If dirty politics were electricity—the Democratic, Republican and Liberal Party leaders—and O'Dwyer's Impy—could light up the entire state of New York.

Look at these "honorable" men:

"Honest" Tom Dewey, Joe Hanley and Corsi — mortgaged to the Chase National Bank and assorted millionaires.

"Honest" Walter Lynch and Ferdie Pecora — Tammany-Flynn "fronts" for bookies and gangsters.

"Honest" Vince Impellitteri — Bill ("South of the Border") O'Dwyer's stooge . . . five years "experience" in City Hall graft and bribery.

"Honest" Liberal Party bosses who sold out their whole Liberal party line to the Boss Flynn-Tammany slate.

KICK THEM OUT !

We've paid enough! In higher taxes! In higher prices! In bloody war profits!

If we give them another chance they will steal the clock off City Hall.

Kick them out! Let the "payoff patriots" yell "Communism" to cover up their corruption. They lie about the American Labor Party just as they lie about their honesty.

All that stands between us and **decent government, equal opportunities** and **peace,** is a curtain on a voting booth. All we have to do is close the curtain and **pull down all levers on Row C.**

VOTE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY — VOTE ROW C

For Peace — Civil Rights — Clean Government

Don't stay home! The only way to beat the bosses is to vote for unbossed candidates!

VOTE ROW 'C'

McMANUS — DU BOIS — ROSS

American Labor Party, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Elect _____

A GREAT NEGRO
A GREAT AMERICAN

U. S. SENATOR

32-12-12

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

VOTE ROW C NOVEMBER 7

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

ELECT THE FIRST NEGRO TO THE U. S. SENATE SINCE RECONSTRUCTION

YOU CAN DO IT

VOTE ROW C FOR DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

Let Us Have **Our Own Representation** in Washington—
Put an End to the Lily-White United States Senate.

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS is:

- **A Founder of the N.A.A.C.P.**
- **A Fighter for Peace**
- **A Fighter for Freedom**
- **A Fighter for Our People**

***The Afro-American* says:**

"One thing is certain, he would be the most qualified man in the U.S. Senate and would bring real intelligence to that body which it could certainly use."

W. E. B. DuBois says:

"The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been to secure for all Americans civil and political rights regardless of race or color. The American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition there can be no progress without peace."

VOTE ROW C FOR DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

One of Our Own

Dr. DuBois says:

"I want progress; I want education; I want social medicine; I want a living wage and Old Age Security; I want Employment for all and Relief for the unemployed and the sick; I want Public Works, Public Services and Public Improvements. **I ask Harlem to Vote for Peace and Civil Rights.**

"You and I know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profits for big business. For that reason I take my stand beside millions in every continent and nation and cry PEACE—NO MORE WAR: END THE RULE OF BRASS HATS!"

Kick the grafters out by voting Row C

DR. DU BOIS *says:* "A pretty batch of scoundrels we are supporting in order to make money for persons who already have more than they can spend. The people of communities like Harlem foot the bill and sacrifice our children for this precious privilege!"

End Corruption in High Office

VOTE ROW C . . . *American Labor Party*

ELECT

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

Fighter . . . Scholar . . . Statesman . . . Teacher

to the U. S. Senate

HE FIGHTS FOR US

On Nov. 7th, Vote for the Party of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

The American Labor Party

TO BE FREE . . . VOTE ROW C

For Governor . . . . . JOHN T. MC MANUS

For Mayor . . . . . PAUL L. ROSS

For Congress . . . . . JOHN D. QUILLIAN

For Assembly, 11th A.D. FRANCES SMITH

END JIM CROW IN POLITICS
END JIM CROW IN THE U. S. SENATE

Issued by the HARLEM COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
2132 Seventh Avenue, New York 27, N. Y.

YES,
AGAIN

the Nazis goosestep

Nazi officials, Nazi generals, teachers and industrialists, Nazi editors and police are back at their old jobs again...

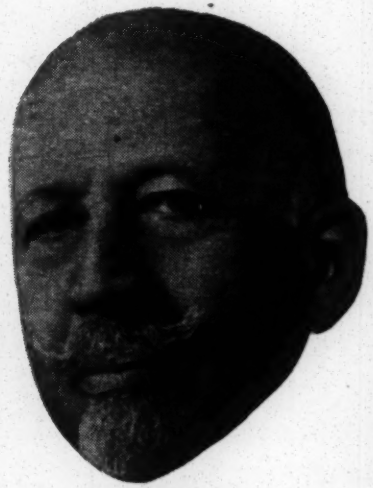
BUT THIS TIME
SUPPORTED BY AMERICAN
MONEY AND BAYONETS!

VOTE AGAINST RE-ARMING OF GERMAN NAZIS!

The only way is to

VOTE ROW C

GOVERNOR
McMANUS



U. S. SENATOR
DU BOIS

LT.-GOVERNOR
PAOLONE

MAYOR
ROSS

Comptroller JIMENEZ; Atty.-Gen'l SCHEINER

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

Issued by American Labor Party, 17 Murray Street, New York, N. Y.

209

again?...

The man responsible for turning the Warsaw Ghetto into a slaughter house for 359,000 Jews is today in charge of De-Nazification in Western Berlin. His name—OTTO VORTISCH!

Do you know who is "advising" the U.S. Army on plans for World War III? None other than Hitler's last chief of staff. His name—GENERAL HEINZ GUEDERIAN!

The man who voted to give full dictatorial powers to Hitler in 1933 is today President of the West German Republic. His name—DR. THEODORE HEUSS!

The personal representative of the Nazi industrialists is today Chancellor of Western Germany. His name—KONRAD ADENAUER!

The author of the notorious anti-Jewish Nurenberg Laws is today top official in the West Germany Cabinet. His name—HERR DOCTOR GLOBKE!

Out of 3,500,000 proven Nazi Party members only 260 are in jail today. Out of 12,000 teachers dismissed in 1945, 11,000 are back teaching again.

YES, the Nazis have come back . . . and American war policy is re-arming them. Guns for Nazis made possible by the Truman-Acheson-Dulles war policy . . . supported by the leaders of the misnamed Liberal Party!

Republican candidate Dewey applauds. Republican candidate Hanley agrees. Democratic-Liberal candidate Lynch votes for it . . . AND DEMOCRATIC-LIBERAL CANDIDATE HERBERT H. LEHMAN SILENTLY APPROVES!

Dewey, Hanley, Lynch, Impellitteri—and Lehman, too—insult the memory of six million murdered Jews by joining together on October 1, 1950, to greet the notorious anti-Semite, General Wladyslaw Anders.

But the American Labor Party will not be silent . . . will not agree . . . will not approve!

The American Labor Party says:

"Stop the Re-Arming of German Nazis!"

"It violates the conscience of world humanity!"

"We will never be found side by side with supporters of Nazis—the murderers of our people!"

"We will be true to the memory of 6 million dead!"

"We will fight against Anti-Semitism and racism!"

"We will fight for peace!"

We must all stand together to defeat this common threat!

VOTE FOR PEACE—VOTE ROW C!

Re: Most Important Vote of Your Life

ALP VOTERGRAM

Read Every Word of Message Below

To All Citizens

URGENT

[1950]

IMPORTANT YOU GO TO YOUR POLLING PLACE TO REGISTER SO YOU CAN VOTE NOVEMBER 7th. MORE URGENT THAN EVER YOU ENROLL AMERICAN LABOR PARTY. AS YOU KNOW, A.L.P. IS ONLY PARTY WORKING 365 DAYS A YEAR TO BUILD LASTING PEACE, STOP PROFITEERING, AND SAFEGUARD CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL AMERICANS. YOUR VOTE CAN END THREAT OF A-BOMB RUIN AND MAKE TOMORROW SECURE FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY. A BIG A.L.P. VOTE WILL BE A POWERFUL BRAKE TO HELP KEEP PRESENT CONFLICT FROM SPREADING INTO THIRD WORLD WAR. YOU WANT PEACE SETTLED AROUND CONFERENCE TABLE. USE YOUR VOTE TO GET IT. REGISTER—ENROLL AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

VITO MARCANTONIO, A.L.P. State Chairman

for U. S. Senator

W. E. B. DU BOIS

for Governor

John T. McMANUS

for Lieut.-Governor

Dr. Clementina J. PAOLONE

for Mayor

Paul L. ROSS

for Comptroller

Misnael A. JIMENEZ

for Atty.-General

Frank SCHEINER

LR-9-76

TAKE THIS CARD WITH YOU INTO VOTING BOOTH

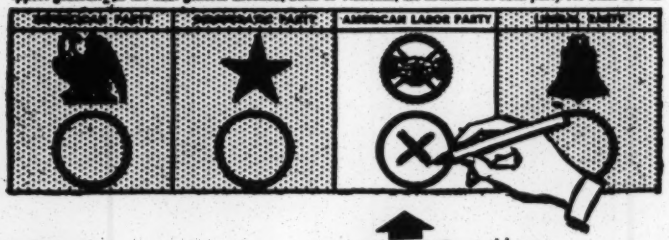
REGISTRATION DATES:

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
Oct. 9	Oct. 10	Oct. 11

5:00 P.M. TO 10:30 P.M.

THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Oct. 12	Oct. 13	Oct. 14
5:00 P.M. TO 10:30 P.M.		FROM 7:00 A.M. TO 10:30 P.M.

...symposia, ... the ... of the party wh... ...ch ... for State or Na... ...ppear generally at the next general Election, State or National, the nominees o...

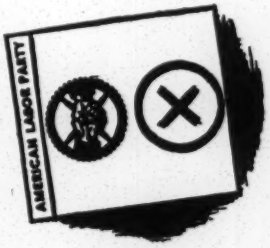


Mark Pencil Cross Here

Sec. 34.66, PL&R
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
New York, N. Y.
Permit No. 13493

William DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
NY 32

YOUR VOTE



IS VITAL.
DON'T
LOSE IT!

DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS
CANDIDATE FOR AMERICAN LABOR
PARTY - U.S. SENATE

October 10, 1950

LEHMAN VOTING RECORD

Foreign Policy

For point four program.
For ECA extension.
For Mutual Defense Act Extension (1,222,500,000 appropriation)
For supplemental defense appropriations (10 billion for army, navy and air force; 5 billion for foreign arms aid, etc.)
Against the loan to Franco Spain.
For amendment to the National Security Act authorizing appointment of General Marshall as Secretary ofDefense.

"Anti-subversive" Legislation

For Lucas amendment adding concentration camp provisions to McCarran Bill.
Against McCarran Bill on final passage of the bill.
Against overriding Truman veto.

FEPC

For cloture on motion to take up FEPC.

Rent Control, Housing and Social Security

For rent control extension.
For middle-income housing bill.
For social security liberalization.

Bolivar mines

PROPOSED SPEECHES

Four upstate: 1. My Platform-- 2. Press Conference Statement 3. American Way of Life.

THE SLAVE STATE

Madison Square Garden--

A review of recent invasions of civil rights in the United States, Police tyranny, thought control, oppression of Foreign born, lynching and courts; our system of taxation, tracing this back to Negro slavery and color caste.

PROPAGANDA

The present propaganda in the United States for war and against social reform; its methods in magazines, press and radio, and its implementation through invasion of civil rights.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Our educational system: the public schools; the high cost of college training; vocational training; our health services; our housing program, wage structure and bargaining; floods, forests, roads, recreation and gambling. We lack money for these things because of preparation for war.

DEMOCRACY

Disfranchisement: rotten boroughs; taxation without representation the house of Representatives; the Senate; the role of Senators in industry. The silence of Lehman.

FREEDOM

The frontier and lawlessness; "Westerns". The necessary regimentation of industry. Democracy in industry; democracy in control of property; the foundations. The possibilities of freedom and industry; choice of vocation law and order.

PROPOSED SPEECHES

Four upstate: 1. My Platform-- 2. Press Conference Statement 3. American Way of Life.

Brooklyn--American Way of Life

Madison Square Garden-- Senator Lehman and Mr. Hanley

New Rochelle--- The Negro Vote Bronx--My Platform

On the platform were local ALP candidates, including Mary Williams, attractive young Negro worker, who is running in the 4th State Assembly District for the Legislature. Chairman of the meeting was 22-year-old Negro steelworker, Rufus Fraser, candidate for Congress from the 44th congressional district.

Entertainment for the rally and an evening reception was furnished by an interracial chorus from the Buffalo Young Progressives.

35-6-95

On Monday, Dr. DuBois and his party motored to Rochester for additional appearances at Colgate Divinity College and an ALP meeting at Hotel Powers. According to George Murphy, campaign manager for Dr. DuBois, the 82-year-old author is campaigning like a veteran politicians "Following the plane trip from New York and the drive from Buffalo, he is eagerly looking forward to speaking to large numbers of his supporters in Syracuse and Schenectady," Murphy said.

Until now, his "political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing," Dr. DuBois said, but he is entering the political arena at this time to continue his fight for peace. "We are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets," he stressed. "If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America."

-30-

A Protocol press release [1950?]

I note with interest that General Mac Arthur has summoned the President of the United States to his presence in order to make clear to him MacArthur's plan for the American conquest of China, or threaten him with reassignment. The President who has consistently refused to visit Marshall Stalin to talk peace, is now compelled to leave his yatch and fishing to appear before our Asiatic pro-consul; before the man who in 1931, tear-gassed and shot down the army vetreans marching in favor of a bonus, and whose administration is about to execute a Negro captain in Korea for refusing to lead his men to certain death. At the same time eight Japanese prisoners are to be released from prison in Japan to join 100 prisoners already pardoned for attacking the United States.

35-6-271

General Mac Arthur's orders for the conquest of China have been outlined by a friendly United States journal: to put Korea in control of the armies of Chiang kai chek and with the cooperation of Syngman Rhee and the whole military, naval and air force of the United States, to crush China and establish America as the dominant force in Asia. Unless this program ~~of our Asiatic pro-consul~~ is accepted the President will be faced probably with the resignation of General MacArthur and something like the end of the world. In the meantime India and all Asia are protesting against American military power in that continent and the Soviet Union instead of taking advantage of our unreadiness for all-out world war and the military helplessness of western Europe, continues to talk peace and to refuse to move its armies. No evidence of Russian infiltration has been found in recaptured Seoul and Senator Austin's dramatic machine gun seems to be the sum total of Russia' arming of the North Koreans. Evidently President Truman's journey is but another determined step in our fighting to rule the world for American business at the rate of 39 billions a year. Last year we wasted three billions on only education and we have only two million disabled war veterans in our hospitals, not mentioning the dead. How long will men like Senator Lehman, Governor Dewey, John Foster Dulles and Joe Hanley support this insane policy of war and more war, forever?

Already MacArthur, entirely ignoring the United Nations has recognized Rhee as ruler of conquered Korea

Yde Moscow Correspondent of the New York Times
writes on the debate

(Copy /

Foolish Russian. They fail to take into
account our ~~the~~ vigilant Defenders the
Wild Men of Tokyo. We continue
steadfast + unmoved

Telephone MUrray Hill 4-6465

Russia now is an ally of the United States in the war against Germany. Every blow struck against the ~~ax~~ Nazis b Russia is a blow in behalf of American defense. Every aid given Russia is help to a fellow combatant.

Russian War Rleief, an American agency, needs funds to send medical and other emergency relief supplies to the Russians. We must allx help in this worthy and compelling cause.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Herbert H. Lehman, Governor of the State of New York, designate Monday, June twnety-second, as

Aid to Russia Day

and call upon the people of New York to recognize the vital assistance given our cause by the Russians, by do nating as generously as possible to Russian War Relief (done June 5, 1942).

similar things for China, Poland, Czec oslovakia.

Speech at dinner of the friendly son of st atrick, hotel ten eyck, albany, 3/17/42.

The Nazi, the Fascist, the Japanese are irrec ncilable enemies off all freedom. They are intent on enslaving the world. They are determined to take from us our hard-earned liberties.

They or we must go...

There are some w o play on a spirit of narrow nati nalism among the United Nations. They stimulate petty jealousies and seek to divide ally from ally.

The United Nations in order to be effective must be truly united, in fact as well as in name. Nothing must be permitted to come between them or to weaken their confidence in each other or to confuse their adherenece to the common cause of freedom. We and our allies must stand shoulder to shoulder- a fighting, vi ile, determined association of free nations.

... We must make certain that we and our allies are steadfas and loy al partners, not only in victory but also in adversity. .. Never let us indulge in recriminations or bickerings. They will inevitably hurt

State of NewYork, Public Papers of Governor Herbert H. Lehman. 1942.

page 171

"A year ago on June twenty-second the German Nazi war machine began its invasion of Russia. Only a few in America believed that Russia would be able to resist the barbarians for many weeks. But the summer's dust of the Russian plains turned to autumn's mud, and winter's snow and ice covered tha land as Russia fought on.

Today, the Russian people are determined to defeat the brutal aggressors who so barbarously have murdered their loved ones and ruthlessly destroyed their homes.

us and help our enemies. Let us always remember this: What weakens Great Britain or Russia or China or our other allies weakens us too and may destroy us. " (pp 655-656.)

Commencement Exercises of CCNY Lewisohn Stadium NYC June 2, 1942.

"Our freed ms have only been loaned to us. They remain our permanent possession only so long as we show ourselves worthy of them.

The only reason they (Americans) enjoyed those privileges was because brave and devoted men and women unflinchingly put their lives and fortunes back of a great ideal-- an ideal which called for the building of a nation of high morality, a nation where all men could enjoy freedom, where all men would be equal, where all men could live in security undef justice, mercy and law.

... But always remember, now and in lateryears, that America will remain great and noble only if its people have clean hearts and an unshakable will to fight for the right and the just, regardless of sacrifice or risk.

You young people and we older ones must make certain that the peace is not just a temporary bridging of a gap between wars. We must forge unbreakable liks that will bind nation to nation, man to man, in a great brotherho d of justic, euquality and oppo runity.
We must not acept as mere phrases the Four Freedoms outlined by our great and beloved President, Franklin D Roosevelt.
They must become a charter under which men all over the world can live in freedom, in peace, in security and in contentment. "

(also speeches to King of Greece and Queen of Netherlands).

Madison Square Garden, July 21, 1942. meeting under auspices of various Jewish orgs.

There are some among us who are critical of Russia, because they do not approve of its form of government. They close their eyes to the right of every nation to choose its own form of government. They forget the indomitable and noble fight which the Russian people for more than a year have been waging against the forces of evil not only in protection of their own land or their own homes but in behalf of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

..

Russia, like Great Britain and China, deserves our fullest assistance--material as well as moral. We must bring our full strength and our resources to her support.
Those who are critical of our allies in many cases have, I believe, unconsciously permited themselves to be influenced by sinister subversive forces that deliberately seek to destroy unity and to sow the seeds of distrust between nation and nation--between man and man.
Do not let us be critical of our Allies. Rather let us be critical of ourselves who sometimes have given too little and too late.
(then argues that people shouldn't press for second front).
(pp 689-690.)

speech at aermonies in con nection with the Fort GreeneDedicatien Brooklyn, September 9, 1942.

first units of Fort Greene Housing .

It was our hope, as it was the hope of the people of our city and stat that our public housing program would make available to low-income families now living in sub-standard housing, the sort of homes which we all agree every American family should have.

That objective, temporarily, has fallen a victim to the madmen of Europe anc Asia just as so many other forward-looking programs and efforts upon which we were engaged before war came.

But this is only a postponement. The war will be won.A better world is ahead.. Our primary purpose will not be lost sight of. We know that in this great metropolitan city of NewYork as in other cities throughout our State many familities still must live in insantiary, unsaf , inadequate homes, and that we have pledged our purpose to help make available homes which a re decent by today's standards; homes with sunlight and air; with the minimum sanitary facilities which we now agree are essential; homes that make for health and some degree of comfort. That was our purpose when the State housing program was adopted. It is still our purpose. It will be even more our purpose when victory comes." (page 708)

35-6-34

At Metting of Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Madison Squqre Garden, New York City, Nov. 8, 1942.

p736 (5-_) quote from 6)

"In Russia there are a hundred and fifty or more nationalities. Formerly these peoples lived at odds with each other. Poles were persecuted. Jews were hounded and slaughteree. People from Siberia were exhibited in circuses as if they were wild animals. Today, all the peoples of Russia fight as one, in defense of their common country, just as the people of our State, descendants of so many different nations, stand as one in defense of our country.

The courageous Russian people have waged a fight which has gained th admiration of the entire world. They have been fighting for nearly eighteen yxxxx months not only in defense of their country and their homes but in xxf behalvf of all the other fre edom-loving peoples of the world. We owe them an unforgettable debt of gratitude.

The Fascists say there cannot and must not be human brotherhodd. They say peace cannot and must not exist between peoples. One people must be masters. All other peoples slaves.

America and Soviet Russia--two great griendly nations-- say that all people must be free. Together they say, all people are brothers. Men can and must live togethex in fraternity. Am ricanx and the Soviet Union declare, neither peace nor freedom for any natiann can exist on earth on any other terms than brotherhood. That is the basis of the friendship of the two peoples.

We--the people of America are a better people for being friends with Russia. Russia is the better for being a friend of America. If we have given them much--the idea of liberty which this Nation brought into the world on July 4, 1776--they have given much in return. They have given us the example of the greatest unity the world has ever seen in defense of the idea of liberty and brotherhood.

Therefore I am proud to be here to honor the friendship of the two peoples who are joined with the other United Nations in the determination to establish security, human brotherhood and peace in the world."

Telephone: LEXINGTON 2-5472 *Cable Address:* AMRUSCUL

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

a non-profit corporation

Research • *Education* • *Information* • *Public Service*

58 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

January 31, 1950

Dear Friend:

Is it important to keep open one center where Americans can obtain unbiased facts about Russia?

Is it worthwhile to have ---open to the public ---right in the heart of New York ---

A Library . . . . . one of the best in America
A Research Center. . . . . for students and scholars
An Information Service. . . . . to answer your questions
New Publications . . . . . for students and the public
A Cultural Program. . . . . for all

In order to make available facts, not fantasies, about the USSR?

We think so. You think so, or you would not have helped us as you have in the past.

The sources of bias on the Soviet Union are legion. The sources of facts are few. And these are under attack from many in government and out, who do not want light shed on all countries equally; or on unfamiliar ideas and ways of life.

The American Russian Institute supplies these facts today as it has for the last 24 years without fear or favor. The enclosed Annual Report tells of our work in 1949. But it costs money to operate. Students can pay little. The ARI must look to you, its friends in New York and throughout the country, to keep it open and thriving.

In.....you gave $. Will you give this amount again this year?

Please fill out and return the enclosed envelope -- NOW.

With thanks for your generosity,

Sincerely,

Henry H. Collins Jr.

Henry H. Collins, Jr.
Executive Director

Dr DuBois —
We wanted you to see our Report.
HHC Jr

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Ernest C. Ropes, *Chairman* • William W. Lancaster, *Vice Chairman* • Basil N. Bass, *Secretary* Miles M. Sherover, *Treasurer* • Frances Adams • Edward C. Carter • Daniel S. Gillmor • Mortimer Graves • Robert S. Lynd Harriet Moore • Arthur Upham Pope • Rose N. Rubin • Richard B. Scandrett, Jr. • Harlow Shapley • Maxwell S. Stewart • David Weingard Henry H. Collins, Jr., *Executive Director*

Hooker

February 21, 1950

The American Russian Institute
58 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find my check for $1.75, for which you will send me the following:

THE SOVIET UNION TODAY (Completely Revised) Now in its completely rivised third edition. $1.25.

THE U.S.S.R. in RECONSTRUCTION, Harriet L. Moore, Editor. 160 pages, including maps---.50¢

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

44-20

List of

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS PERIODICALS

Published by

The AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

58 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Books

The American Review on the Soviet Union (A Yearbook) Successor to the quarterly *Review*

Covers all major phases of life and activity in the Soviet Union. All significant events and developments during the previous year summarized by leading American authorities, by categories, in concise, objective articles. Covers government, administration, justice, economics, arts and sciences, philosophy, trade, foreign affairs, etc., etc.; also a chronology of Soviet news and a bibliography of current books, pamphlets and magazine articles. HENRY H. COLLINS, JR., *Editor.*

Published yearly ..... per copy $3.50

A list of all back issues of the quarterly Review which are still available will be furnished on request. All contain valuable reference material.

The Soviet Union Today (Completely Revised)

Now in its completely revised third edition, this outline study of the U.S.S.R. is being widely used in American schools, colleges, libraries, discussion groups, adult education programs, and by foreign affairs writers, editors and lecturers. An invaluable reference source which surveys the basic factors of Soviet life and organization. Contains a new map, valuable charts and an extensive bibliography and questions for discussion.

118 pages, maps, charts, index $1.25

The U.S.S.R. in Reconstruction

A series of informative articles, by recognized authorities in each field, presenting a factual picture of Soviet post-war reconstruction. Contains chapters by Mary Van Kleeck, Hans Blumenfeld, Vladimir Kazakevich, Rose Maurer, E. C. Ropes, Dr. V. V. Lebendenko and others. HARRIET L. MOORE, *Editor.*

160 pages, including maps ..... 50¢

Pamphlets

The U.S.S.R.—Basic Facts

Designed for wide circulation, this pamphlet gives all the principal facts about the U.S.S.R. in objective, readable form, and includes information that answers the questions most frequently asked. It is of particular value in schools and high schools. It contains more information about the Soviet Union in fewer words (7000) than any other six page publication we know of.

January 1950 ..... 10¢ each; 12 for $1.00; 50 or more, 25% discount

An American Churchman in the Soviet Union

by Dr. Louie D. Newton, *President of the Southern Baptist Convention.* A photo-illustrated, eyewitness report by this eminent clergyman on his post-war tour of the U.S.S.R., with an introduction by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, former President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Contains the full English text of the official statement on religion in Russia, issued by the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists of the U.S.S.R.

48 pages ..... 10¢

50 copies or more, 25% discount

Soviet Health Care in War and Peace

by Rose Maurer. Of especial interest to American health department personnel, child-care social welfare agencies, teachers, women's clubs, civic bodies.

48 pages ..... 10¢

Exact Sciences and Power Development in the U.S.S.R.

by Academicians A. F. Joffee *and* A. V. Vinter. Outlines the organization and development of sciences in the Soviet Union. *Translated by* Leonard Mins *and* Harry F. Mins, Jr.

48 pages ..... 25¢

Twenty-five Years of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

by Academician A. A. Baikov. Describes the departments of the Academy and their functions. *Translated by* Matthew E. Zaret.

40 pages ..... 25¢

Periodicals

Russian Technical Research News

Abstracts, translates, synopsises, indexes major articles and reports appearing in 70 leading Soviet technical journals. One of the most comprehensive English language periodicals, dealing with Soviet technological progress, available to Americans in commerce, industry, and scientific and technical research today. Offers subscribers a 25% discount on the Institute's regular non-profit rates for translation service on the full text of any articles abstracted, synopsised, indexed or listed in its regular issues. Contains a check list of articles. Published 8 times a year.

Annual Subscription $25.00

ORDER BLANK

To The American Russian Institute
58 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed find $ ..... for which you will send me the following:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

[AMERICAN SPONSORING ...]

Dear

I have something of great importance for you. Read this carefully. Please.

You may or may not know that I went, on the invitation of Frederic Joliot-Curie, as an American guest and observer to the "bureau" meeting of the World Defenders of Peace last August, in Prague. The "Partisans de la Paix" have held on Congress for Peace in Paris, in 1949. They plan a second one in London (or elsewhere in Europe, should that not prove feasible), November 15-19, this year. Their "Stockholm Appeal" to outlaw atom bombs has been a subject of great controversy in America, but nevertheless signed by more than 250 million people everywhere. They have been mainly, although not exclusively, a "left" grouping of peace forces including Communist participants from both sides of the Iron Curtain, as well as non-communists from many lands.

Now, why did I go to Prague? It's hard to put it all in words but here are three reasons, which I don't bother to elaborate writing to you. (1) To see if the World Defenders of Peace will accept Christian and non-communist views, or insist on a "hyphenated" peace effort along sectarian lines. (I found them more than open to a broad basis for a people's peace movement.) (2) Because I feel that democratic popular pressure must be built up to correct the power-politics of technical diplomacy, and sentiment for international peace among the people must be nurtured by an <u>international</u> effort. (This seems obvious, but how parochial and tribal we are in our actual performance!) (3) The keystone in any peace effort is East-West understanding, so that peace action has to operate through the Iron Curtain. (As Toynbee makes so clear, diplomacy without cultural cross-fertilization always rigidifies divisions and national paranoia.)

I must admit quite frankly that I came to Prague bearing with me many of the questions, and even criticisms, that had been made mine by many honest people in the United States who want peace who felt that the Stockholm Appeal was not completely satisfactory. I wanted to know, for myself and for others, why the Appeal did not include a denunciation of bacteriological warfare, what about the question of aggression, what about the outlawing of all forms of mass destruction?

What impressed me quite a good deal, quite frankly, was the readiness and willingness of the people in the leadership of this movement to accept these suggestions and ideas. To me, it is a matter of tremendous significance that the call to the Second World Congress goes beyond the Stockholm Appeal and reflects the questions and suggestions that particularly have come from many leaders in the peace movement in the United States. Before this meeting, there had even been the indication that adherence to the Stockholm Pledge was the necessary basis for attendance at the Congress. Now it is gratifying to note that the Preparations Committee has indicated quite specifically that there is no pre-condition of agreement on any given program (especially the Stockholm Pledge), nor, as a matter of fact, will those in attendance be bound by any of the decisions of the Congress.

My teaching duties haven't left me time since my return to write and publish much. There is a lot to say: some things are clear, some questions open. For one thing, I have a long report to make of impressive statements by the theologian Professor Hromadka, whom many know well in this country, and his reasons for religious and non-communist support of the World Defenders of Peace.

The heart of the matter is to get a simple peoples' meeting, face-to-face discussion of peace, recognizing rather than running away from political and philosophical differences. The Abbe Boulier, Pastor Koch, Max Stern, Signor Montesi; these are lay and clerical religious leaders who are "in there" to bring about as much meeting as possible. So with the English Quaker Sandy, the Italian Socialist Nenni, the American lawyer John Rogge, the Russian communist Ilya Ehrenbourg, the Czech writer Jiri Hronek, the Chinese mathematician Hua Lo Keng.

Maybe the ordinary people can do nothing to save the peace (there are those who have lost faith in the democratic process); maybe an attempt to transcend the Iron Curtain cannot succeed; maybe the effort will bog down in political differences of ideal and policy. But we cannot live with ourselves if we don't try. Mr. Rogge expressed sharp disagreement with the majority at Prague about Korea, but at the end (contrary to press reports) he declared his purpose to stay with them - "with all those whose stated aim is peace, for without peace we may end up without a world."

It's clear enough what is at stake. Now to my point.

To make sure there is really an international forum, of all sections of opinion, at the Second World Peace Congress, we have to urge people to attend, especially from America. The "bureau" wants it to be broad, as you will see from the enclosed Call. As D'Arboussier of West Africa put it in Prague, "better a small range of agreement and a wide meeting of peace lovers. We can grow together as we meet together."

Therefore: I am asking you and several other prominent leaders in our country to join a Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Second Peace Congress. It will exist only until the Congress meets, to make sure that our American representatives are as representative as possible. Many of the Sponsors, of course, will be too busy to go themselves. It commits none of us to any doctrine about peace, to none of the Congress' conclusions. Indeed, nobody who goes is committed to more than meeting to try to find a way to avert an impending war.

On behalf of the Committee I will undertake to do everything possible to see that all kinds of groups are urged to send delegates or just "somebody" [illegible] for this purpose. It's a put-up-or-shut-up situation right now, and this is the best opportunity we have. If we get a true cross-section of opinion there, there will be no ground, especially among colonial and socialist-bloc people, to say that we Americans won't even meet to reason and debate together for the sake of peace. Just think, for example, what clues it might produce for the world's leadership in the United Nations!

The first person has been used throughout for emphasis. But you must know that I am joined in this appeal by Mr. O. John Rogge (a vice-president of the World Defenders of Peace), Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, an American scholar and member of the executive committee of the World Defenders, and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, editor of the California Eagle, one of America's outstanding Negro newspapers, all of whom attended the meeting at Prague. It's a great thing to have a lawyer in New York, [illegible], a distinguished Negro scholar and social scientist who helped found the N.A.A.C.P., an outstanding woman publisher and a Christian teacher of ethics all working together like this!

54-5-26

I won't drag this out. You'll see the point, the vital point, at once. Please say Yes. We can try, at least, so that no man can say we refused a canoe to meet for peace in what Willkie wisely called One World or None.

Sincerely, urgently, yours,

Date

54-5-27

[AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE ...]

For information call:

Prof. Joseph Fletcher
6 Phillips Place
Cambridge, Mass.
ELLIOTT 4-0136

or

Rev. Robert M. Muir
135 Liberty Street, Room 409
New York 6, N.Y.
PECTOR 2-9351

FOR RELEASE, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1950

Three Protestant Bishops, an atomic physicist who worked on the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and leading American educators, scientists, religious and cultural leaders have formed an American sponsoring committee for representation at the Second World Peace Congress, to be held in Sheffield, England, on November 13-19, it was announced here today by Professor Joseph Fletcher, Professor of Christian Social Ethics at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Fletcher stressed that the Second World Congress is planned as "an international forum of all sections of opinion which reject the possibility of a Third World War. In essence, the Congress will represent an attempt by ordinary people to try to save the peace by transcending the differences that divide the East and West. The keystone of any peace effort," he continued, "is East-West understanding."

The call to the World Peace Congress issued by the Defenders of Peace from Prague emphasizes that the "recent worsening of the international situation directly endangering the peace of the world imposes new and more urgent responsibilities upon all peace-loving people."

In making public the names of some of those who have agreed to serve on the sponsoring committee, Dr. Fletcher warned that, "This is perhaps the last chance to meet in a world forum for peace."

"The leaders of nations," Dr. Fletcher continued, "have so far failed to find a common road of peaceful settlement of differences. Where the leaders have failed, perhaps the people can succeed. To succeed in this, we must sit down side by side with people of every country and of every political belief."

Among the initial sponsors are:

Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts;

The Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah (Ret.);

Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Atlanta, Ga.;

(more)

Charlotta Bass, publisher of the "California Eagle," Los Angeles, Calif.;

Dr. Allan M. Butler, Harvard University Medical School, Cambridge, Mass.;

Prof. Anton J. Carlson, Physicist, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.;

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Anthropologist and Historian, New York City;

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D.C.;

Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, N.Y.;

Dr. John A. Kingsbury, former Commissioner of Public Welfare, New York;

Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor of the Virgin Islands, Chicago, Ill;

Prof. Philip Morrison, Nuclear Physicist, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York;

Dr. Theodor Rosebury, Bacteriologist, Columbia University, New York;

Vida D. Scudder, Professor Emeritus, Wellesley College, Mass.;

Mr. Fred Stover, President, Iowa Farmers Union, Hampden, Iowa.

While the Defenders of Peace are the sponsors of the Stockholm Appeal, it is important to note that in point of preparation and program, the Second World Congress will go far beyond the single question of atomic control.

As foreshadowed by preliminary meetings of the top policy committee of the World Defenders for Peace, the plan is to mobilize the hundreds of millions of men and women who signed the Stockholm peace appeal in a world-wide crusade to reduce armaments, to ban bacteriological warfare, to bar aggression and armed foreign intervention in the internal affairs of nations, to find peaceful solutions of international differences and outlaw the very concept of war itself.

The purpose of the American sponsoring committee, as defined by Dr. Fletcher, is to do everything possible to see that all kinds of groups are urged to send delegates or observers to the Second World Congress in order to guarantee that American participation will represent all points of view.

- 30 -

uopwa

PIC

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 Liberty Street, Room 409 New York 6, N.Y. REctor 2-9351

October 21, 1950

Dear Friends:

Plans for a representative American delegation to the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England, on November 13-19, are moving fast! An initial group of leading public figures have joined to form the American Sponsoring Committee, (listed in the enclosed Call). Extra copies of the Call, copy of which is enclosed, is available at 1¢ each, $10 a thousand. (This is below actual cost).

24-5-14

There are only 21 days to the opening of the Congress. We must work fast and in the right spirit. Examine carefully Dr. Fletcher's statement announcing the formation of the Sponsoring Committee, and note the way he has emphasized that all those who want peace are welcome. An approach which carries out these principles will bring to Sheffield many community leaders who are anxious for peace, but have not yet supported such efforts as the Stockholm Appeal.

Shirley Graham, the distinguished Negro writer, returned last week from Europe, where she attended a meeting of the Preparations Committee. Everywhere she found a feeling of urgency. Time is short for the peace forces, and the success of the Congress depends on a representative American delegation.

Special efforts must be made to guarantee the presence, not only of leaders of organizations but rank-and-file workers for peace - trade unionists, housewives, youth, etc., who have demonstrated in the past few months their leadership in the peace movement by withstanding hysteria and intimidation, by setting records in the collection of signatures for the World Peace Appeal, etc.

This week-end, 8,400 letters are being sent by Dr. Fletcher to prominent Americans, with a copy of the Call, urging their support and attendance at the Congress. I am sure you will find most of the community leaders whom you would suggest included in this representative list, thus facilitating your approach to them.

So far, the total number of actual delegates is less than 10, although some are very important, such as Bishop W. J. Walls, of Chicago, Secretary of the Board of Bishops of the A.M.E. Zion Church.

We must get reports from you, on a day-to-day basis, if necessary, indicating who your delegates are, whom you are contacting, etc. We especially want to know if steps can be undertaken from this office - individual letters to be written by Dr. Fletcher or myself, or perhaps, members of the Sponsoring Committee, many of whom have expressed a willingness to do all they can in support of our work.

TRANSPORTATION:

We suggest that all delegates and observers make their transportation arrangements through the office of this Committee. Our reason is very simple. For every 10 delegates going to England, it may be possible to send one free. As you know, there are sections of the country, such as the South, where trade unionists and Negro workers will be unable to raise the considerable sum needed for transportation and expenses. Let us know, also, whether your delegates and observers are interested in flying on a chartered plane.

If you or your organization cannot undertake to send a delegate for financial reasons, perhaps you might consider having one person from your community represent a number of organizations, each organization contributing to the expenses of the trip. If you are one of our courageous and inspiring people working for peace in a small community where even this is not practicable, perhaps you can make a contribution to us to help send a worthy delegate who needs assistance.

Please keep in touch with us and let us know what is happening in your community.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert M. Muir

(Rev.) Robert M. Muir
Acting Secretary

Enc.

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE
FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 LIBERTY STREET, Room 409 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.
REctor 2-9351

Initial List of Sponsors:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Prof. Anton J. Carlson
Dr. Mark A. Dawber
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. Fleming James
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Rev. Joseph Moore
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Bishop John Moore Walker

Acting for the Committee:

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

As you all know, the American Sponsoring Committee was set up so that Americans of all points of view should attend the Second World Peace Congress to be held in Sheffield, England, November 13-19.

In addition to those listed on our letterhead, acceptances for membership on the Committee were received from Bishop W. J. Walls of Chicago, Secretary of the Board of Bishops of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, and Honorary Chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President of Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N.C.; The Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Oregon; Mr. Karly Larsen, District President, International Woodworkers of America, CIO, East Stanwood, Washington; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. George A. Parker, Dean of Terrell Law School, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Artur Schnabel, concert pianist, New York; The Rt. Rev. James M. Stoney, Protestant Episcopal Bishop (Ret.) of New Mexico; and Dr. Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven, Conn. I am sure you will agree that this is a distinguished and important group.

A Call was printed and we set to work. Several thousand of these were mailed, and as a result, several hundred prominent Americans, mostly educators, religious leaders and scientists, have sent us messages of support.

Prospects for the delegation seem to be between 60 and 70, from more than 30 states, with the people coming from different occupations, backgrounds, etc. Some distinguished individuals such as Bishop W. J. Walls, Dr. John Paul Jones, and Dr. Willard Uphaus will be attending the Congress as observers for various groups of organizations interested in the program at Sheffield. A number of organizations (like the American Friends Service Committee, as indicated by Clarence Pickett) will have one of their European representatives spend some time in Sheffield in order to personally observe and report.

You will be interested to know that special arrangements for plane transportation at a cost of $400 for the round trip has brought attendance at the Congress within the reach of many individuals and groups who otherwise would find the cost prohibitive. A large number of delegates and observers, as well as prominent individuals who have been

invited as guests of the International Preparations Committee, will be leaving on this plane. A send-off reception has been arranged for the delegates on Friday night, November 10th, at the Riverside Plaza Hotel in New York City. An invitation is enclosed. We hope you will be able to attend or send a message.

Once the delegation has left, we will prepare a fuller report indicating exactly who went, as you will undoubtedly be interested in knowing more about its composition. As Dr. Fletcher may have indicated to you, we are hoping to have a meeting at which some of the delegates can report in New York City late in November or early in December, to bring our activities to a close.

May I express my personal appreciation to all of you for the privilege of working with and for this Committee at a time when the issues of war or peace is in the forefront of the thinking of every person of conscience.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M Muir

(Rev.) Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

November 7, 1950

uopwa
encl.

file World peace

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 Liberty Street, Room 409 RE. 2-9351

FOR RELEASE, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH

Denial of passports to Paul Robeson, Jr., son of the noted singer, and several others seeking to attend the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England, was vigorously denounced as "a form of house arrest" and police state action by Professor Joseph Fletcher of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Cambridge, Massachusetts, acting chairman of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Second World Peace Congress.

"It is an action bordering ominously upon the nature of a police-state arbitrariness of government," declared Professor Fletcher.

In addition to Professor Fletcher, members of the American Sponsoring Committee include The Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; concert pianist Artur Schnabel; The Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Portland, Oregon; atomic scientist, Philip Morrison, Rev. John Paul Jones, Chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union, and some 25 other leading Americans.

"Even if it be agreed that these Americans who have been refused their freedom of travel are holders of unpopular or minority views, what have the American people to fear from them?" declared Prof. Fletcher. "How can we complain that only those of Left convictions come from the socialist countries if our own government refuses to allow anybody who criticizes its policy to go?"

The full text of the statement follows:

(more)

"The State Department has put some of its citizens under a form of house arrest! There is no other term for it. Passports have been arbitrarily refused to Paul Robeson, Jr., to Ernest DeMaio of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Howard Fast and others. Their desire is to attend the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England, next week. No clear and candid reason for the refusal has been given in any of these cases. It is an action bordering ominously upon the nature of a police-state arbitrariness of government.

"The American Sponsoring Committee has appealed to Americans of all stripes of opinion to gather together at this Congress and talk out their differences face-to-face. By a democratic and popular effort to bring peace-lovers of all ideologies and nationalities together there is at least a fighting chance that peace may be preserved. Keeping them apart will guarantee division and that will guarantee conflict.

"Even if it be agreed that these Americans who have been refused their freedom of travel are holders of unpopular or minority views, what have the American people to fear from them? More than fifty other Americans, ministers, trade unionists, housewives, students, have been given passports to attend the Congress. The Congress is morally obliged to hear all views. How can we complain that only those of Left convictions come from the socialist countries if our own government refuses to allow anybody who criticizes its policy to go?

"The American people should know the facts if it has become a matter of arbitrary choice by the State Department who may travel, and who may not. There is not much hope for either peace or democracy if even in the United States there is a form of house arrest and the freedom of travel and communication is denied its citizens. There is a provision for freedom of travel and communication in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Our own government voted for it. Why does it not practice what it preaches?"

- 30 -

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE
FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 LIBERTY STREET, Room 409 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.
REctor 2-9351

Initial List of Sponsors:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Prof. Anton J. Carlson
Dr. Mark A. Dawber
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. Fleming James
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Rev. Joseph Moore
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Bishop John Moore Walker

Acting for the Committee:

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

November 17, 1950

REPORT TO MEMBERS OF

THE AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Events of the past week have developed in so unexpected a fashion that we were unable to report to you. Mr. Muir, our Temporary Secretary, is a member of our delegation in Warsaw and I have been away for several days on speaking engagements. I hope the information which follows is sufficiently clear and explicit, and I shall be happy to furnish you with any additional material you would like to have at hand.

I. THE DELEGATION

The American delegation, composed of delegates and observers, totalled 66 persons - clergymen, youth leaders, Negro leaders, peace workers and observers from many organizations. Rev. John Paul Jones, a member of our Sponsoring Committee and chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union, went as observer for the World Alliance of International Friendship through Religion. Other observers include Rev. Willard Uphaus, who is also a member of our Sponsoring Committee; Mrs. Theresa Robinson, of Washington, D.C., a distinguished Negro leader, chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Elks; Rev. Robert M. Muir, Rev. Warren McKenna, Rev. G. Linwood Fauntleroy, Rev. Massie Kennard, and many others.

On the delegation are many important trade union leaders representing the Pacific Coast District of the International Woodworkers of America, CIO; several important AFL groups; and the bargaining committee of the 15,000 Swift Local of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO. (We shall be glad to furnish you with a full list of the delegates, their backgrounds, etc.).

(more)

II. PASSPORTS

When requests for passports were made at first, no problems seemed to be involved. Later, however, some difficulties arose in Chicago in relation to trade unionists. Members of the Sponsoring Committee in Chicago and the Chicago Civil Liberties Union brought pressure on the State Department to make passports available to delegates and observers. As a result of this pressure, delegates in other cities obtained passports without too much difficulty. At the last moment, however, passports were denied to Howard Fast, Paul Robeson, Jr., Ernest De Maio, who had been elected a delegate by a convention representing 15,000 workers of the midwest district of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; John Flowers, a Negro leader in the Marine Cooks and Stewards, who had been elected as the delegate of his union. (See enclosed press release). In denying these passports, the Passport Division of the State Department referred to the Congress as the "so-called World Peace Congress," and finally refused to discuss the matter with Mr. Muir. This is a serious matter and I feel that as individuals concerned with the preservation of constitutional liberties in America, we must concern ourselves with this problem.

III. SHIFT OF THE CONGRESS FROM SHEFFIELD TO WARSAW

You are probably aware that due to the attitude taken by the British authorities, the Preparations Committee decided to shift the World Peace Congress from Sheffield to Warsaw. What caused this decision was a series of last-minute actions by the British government in refusing to grant visas to large numbers of foreign delegates, refusing to honor some visas already granted, and in many cases barring entry to England to American citizens and others who did not require visas. Summarily barred by the British government were, among others, Joliot-Curie, chairman of the World Committee of the Defenders of Peace, and practically all members of the Preparations Committee; the Metropolitan Nicholai of the Soviet Union; German novelists Arnold Zweig and Anna Seghers; Bishop Laszlo Deszo and Bishop Janos Peter of Hungary; leading Czech, German, Italian and French Protestant clergymen; and General Heribert Jara, former Minister of Defense of Mexico. More than fifty American delegates were excluded, including all those travelling on the special plane, among whom were Rev. Willard Uphaus, Mrs. Theresa Robinson and others mentioned in the enclosed statement.

American delegates and observers on the special plane were questioned for five hours by British immigration authorities and then compelled to turn back for Paris. They voted unanimously to continue on as a group to Warsaw. Most of the other delegates, some of whom had been admitted, have also gone on to Warsaw.

The Congress opened in Warsaw yesterday and I am sure we will be getting full reports in a few days from the many American observers and visitors.

(more)

The New York Times of November 15th, reported a widespread storm of protest in Great Britain, expressed in the press and among the public generally. In the House of Commons, former Prime Minister Churchill and many others took the Home Secretary to task for his action. It should be noted that this action coincided with the award of the Nobel prize in physics to Dr. Frank Powell, leading British physicist and a vice-chairman of the British Peace Committee, who is helping to organize the protest campaign in Great Britain.

We sent a cable of protest to Prime Minister Atlee, (see copy enclosed), which was also released to the press. In addition, we asked prominent individuals and organizations to send telegrams of protest to the British Ambassador. It is obvious, however, that further action should be undertaken by those of us who urged American citizens to attend this Congress. I know that you will want to express your indignation at this action and I would welcome your support on the following matters:

(1) Can you let us have your brief individual statement which can be released here and in Great Britain?

(2) Will you approve use of your name on a statement identical with the cable to Prime Minister Atlee? This will be used in two ways:

(a) As a letter to the editors of the major British newspapers, including the London Times, London Daily Express, Manchester Guardian, etc.

(b) As a statement to be circulated among several hundred prominent Americans for their signatures.

(Please feel free to make any suggestions, modifications or additions to the text of the cable which was prepared within the time limits of the given situation).

(3) May I also ask that you send a wire or letter of protest to the British Ambassador, Sir Oliver Franks, British Embassy, 3100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 8, D.C.

If you have personal acquaintance with leading figures in British public life, a personal note from you setting forth your views would also be of inestimable value.

I regret that this is not a personal letter. I am sure you will understand the difficulties of the situation inherent in my teaching at Cambridge during the entire week, and the fact that the Sponsoring Committee is in New York, where the technical work is handled. A card and self-addressed return envelope are enclosed for your convenience. Since speed is of the utmost importance, I would appreciate your wiring collect your basic agreement on this matter.

Joseph F. Fletcher

(Prof.) Joseph F. Fletcher
Acting Chairman

Enc.

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 Liberty St., Room 409, New York 6, N.Y.
REctor 2-9351

REMARKS OF REV. WILLARD UPHAUS AT SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS, WARSAW, POLAND

(Reprinted from BULLETIN of the Defenders of Peace, Nov. 19, 1950 Issue)

After describing his impressions of the voyage, and the emotion with which the American delegates received the expressions of sympathy and enthusiasm with which they were everywhere greeted, the Rev. Willard Uphaus stated:

We who come from a land that has not endured the privations and devastations of war, are moved by the awfulness of it all, and at the same time are inspired by the courageous spirit with which a program of rebuilding has gone on. We feel this, especially in this great city of Warsaw, in this heroic Poland whose people have so generously given their work, their financial resources and their consent to a delay in their reconstruction program in order to receive this Congress.

We are sixty-three Americans. Forty-nine are delegates to the Congress. Ten of us are members of the Protestant Clergy and one is a Rabbi. Two others are Catholic laymen. We also include eighteen trade unionists and we have twelve Negroes among us, of whom half are women.

We come from Minnesota in the North, from Tennessee in the South; from New England in the East and California in the far West. We represent different political and religious philosophies. We reflect the diversity of life in our country. We came because we desire peace.

The Reverend Uphaus then went on to describe in some detail the activity of the forces driving towards war in the United States: the war propaganda of press and radio, the public utterances of misleaders in Church, labor, business and government, the serious misuse of public and higher education institutions, and the police intimidation and brutalities.

The major part of our press often incites the spirit of war by flaming headlines, lurid and grotesque cartoons of our would-be enemy, and the mongering of columnists. A controlled radio slants the news, omits accurate information, and distorts the truth. Many of our best commentators have been taken off the air. The channels of communication are so alarmingly censored that it becomes almost an international incident when there are exceptions to this situation such as the recent case of the series of four articles by Mr. Harrison Salisbury, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times. Yet even here these articles were printed months after they were written only because a well-known radio commentator kept asking the New York Times why they were not being made available to the public. One can understand why these articles were so long withheld when it is known that the whole body of these articles was to underline what is perhaps the most significant fact for the peoples of the world to know and especially the people of the U.S. - namely, that the people of the Soviet Union want peace, are living in peace and are building for peace.

(more)

"By all odds," he continued, "the most sinister trend is the startling increase in expenditures for war," and, referring to the efforts imposed upon the American people, he explained: "From the accumulated capital of the super profits of spiralling prices and armaments production, stems the demand for control of areas for profitable investment abroad and comes the power for economic domination of other nations. Here lies the source of the United States role in defending the status quo around the world and in opposing the aspirations of colonial peoples for political and economic freedom.

"The picture drawn so far," he said, "has been discouraging, but let me assure you there are many grounds for hope. Millions of Americans, like the peoples of other lands, long for peace and the widespread sentiment for peace is a foundation on which we can and must build. Three million signed the Stockholm Peace Declaration and more than a million others have subscribed to other peace appeals. Our fourteen million Negroes constitute a powerful force for Peace.

In concluding, the Rev. Uphaus expressed the agreement of the American delegation with the appeal which had gone out for the convocation of this Congress and added:

We propose that the United States and the Soviet Union enter into a friendly peaceful competition for the next 10 years, to show the peoples of the whole world which nation can most effectively advance the general welfare. We propose that this peaceful competition to advance human welfare be projected and carried out under the auspices of special commissions within the United Nations. We propose that this special United Nations Commission set the standards of judgment for this 10-year competition: (1) to determine which nation can make the greater advances in fulfilling the economic, social and cultural needs; (2) to determine which nation can do more to meet the economic needs and enrich the cultural life of the peoples of other nations.

We propose that the standards to define these advances be set in concrete terms of food, clothing, housing, medical care, education, civil rights and human freedoms.

In closing, may I say that we have come in humbleness of spirit seeking to learn from an interchange of thought and experience and to find the common ground for joining all men and women of good will in winning the peace.

#####

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE
FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 LIBERTY STREET, Room 409 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.
REctor 2-9351

November 27, 1950

Initial List of Sponsors:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Prof. Anton J. Carlson
Dr. Mark A. Dawber
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. Fleming James
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Rev. Joseph Moore
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Bishop John Moore Walker

Acting for the Committee:

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

24-6-14

REPORT TO MEMBERS OF

THE AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE

The Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw has come to a close. Our first returning delegates, Rev. G. Linwood Fauntelroy and Rev. George Fitch, of Oakland, Calif., arrived yesterday and brought with them a tremendous feeling of enthusiasm and confidence in the power of the peoples of the world to unite for peace. We have additional information as to what took place, although full reports will have to await the arrival of all the delegates as well as the documents of the Congress.

Rev. Willard Uphaus, a member of our Sponsoring Committee and executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, was elected as the spokesman of the American delegates and observers, and we thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of extracts from his report, as reproduced in the Congress bulletin.

We are glad to report that the American delegates, forced behind the so-called Iron Curtain by the British Government, have utilized every opportunity to see for themselves what way of life is followed in the eastern European countries. Following the Congress, the Soviet delegation extended an invitation to a number of Americans to visit the Soviet Union as guest of the Soviet peace movement. Press reports indicated that 19 members of the American delegation accepted this invitation, among whom were Rev. Uphaus, Mrs. Theresa Robinson, Rev. Robert Muir, Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Rev. Massie Kennard, Dr. John P. Kingsbury, and Mr. Carl Flodquist. At this writing, it is not certain exactly how long their trip will last, but we gather from correspondence that it may be a matter of two or three weeks before they return. This will give us a rare opportunity to receive first-hand reports from Americans of varied backgrounds.

Several weeks ago we wrote to you about our plan to hold a "report meeting" on the World Congress in New York City on November 30th, at the St. Nicholas Arena, but this has had to be postponed to December 8th. While plans for the program are not complete, it is our hope to work it out in a manner fully consistent with the basis on which the

(more)

Sponsoring Committee was set up, and to particularly bring forth reports from the many American delegates who will have returned by the time of this meeting. Dr. John Paul Jones of New York, former chairman of the National Peace Conference, who went as an observer for the World Alliance for Friendship Through the Churches, is definitely slated to appear. We were particularly anxious to have the presence and participation in the program of as many members of the American Sponsoring Committee as can be assembled. We hope you will indicate on the enclosed card whether or not you will be able to be present at this important meeting, and we will greatly appreciate any suggestions from you as to the program.

People in several major cities have indicated to us their deep desire to hold similar meetings, particularly in view of the publicity which developed with the shift of the Congress from Sheffield to Warsaw. We hope the members of the Sponsoring Committee will give whatever help they can to make such meetings as all-embracing as the basic sentiments which united all of us.

After these report meetings, our job will be completed. I am sure many of you have asked yourself what further steps you can take as individuals to help give further stimulus and leadership in movements for peace in our country and throughout the world. Would you, for example, think there would be any value in forming another committee of people interested in continuing liaison effort with the World Peace Congress, as expressed in the World Peace Council? Such a committee might maintain contact with, and make information available about, other international peace organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the World Council of Churches. These organizations, and others like them, carry on intensive work for peace which unfortunately is not widely known outside of their own particular field.

This is simply one idea. I would be anxious to have the benefit of your advice and opinion with regard to any continuing activity for peace, including this specific proposal.

PROTEST TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON BANNING
OF THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS AT SHEFFIELD

A letter from Rev. Muir indicated that following the banning of the entire passenger list of the special plane, the delegation on its return to Paris, presented a statement of protest to the British Embassy and to the American Ambassador. A press conference was also held attended by all the American news services and correspondents. However, apparently none of this has appeared in the American press.

Further reports from England indicate that the storm of protest against Prime Minister Atlee's action has not abated. You may be particularly interested in the protest voiced by Sir Richard Acland, parliamentary spokesman for the Liberal Party, who you may know because of his work in the religious social action field. Sir Richard particularly cited the banning of our group of 33 Americans as an example of the "importation of American hysteria" into England.

(more)

As far as our own protest is concerned, most British newspapers gave considerable attention to the cable addressed to Prime Minister Atlee. Enclosed you will find a list of the members of our Sponsoring Committee who have joined in endorsing the protest statement which will be sent over our joint signatures as "Letters to the Editors" of major British newspapers. If you have not already done so, we will greatly appreciate your sending us your agreement, plus whatever individual statement you wish, so that we may send these letters off within the next few days.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Fletcher

(Prof.) Joseph F. Fletcher

dpems

[Enc.]

Dear Prof. Fletcher:

1. Enclosed is my personal statement ☐

2. I approve use of my name on statement contained in Atlee cable for use as indicated ☐

Name _____

Remarks: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

dpowa

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
135 Liberty St., Room 409, New York 6, N.Y.
REctor 2-9351

STATEMENTS OF MEMBERS OF AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Re: Exclusion of A merican Delegation from World Peace Congress by British Government

* *

MRS. CHARLOTTA A. BASS, Los Angeles, California: I most heartily agree with the cable sent to British Prime Minister Clement Atlee condemning his and the action of the British government in shutting their door in the face of a peace-loving group which asked only to sit in a conference and plan a way to rescue the world from the scourge of war and slaughter such as goes on in Korea at the present time. I am afraid the British government a nd her war-mongering satellites will live to rue this act and bow before the altar of mankind with her head bowed in shame.

* * * * * *

REV. PROF. FLEMING JAMES, SR., North Haven, Connecticut: The action of the British Government in suppressing the World Peace Congress meeting in Sheffield seems to me to be a denial of the fundamental British principle of freedom of speech and a blow to men's hopes for peace over the world. It made impossible a meeting of communist and non-communist men and women to talk face to face about the world's most urgent problem, in which the non-official people of the world are vitally concerned. I earnestly hope that the British Government, to which many of us in America look with trust, will again take the lead in fostering freedom of assembly and of discussion and conference for all peoples.

* * * * * *

DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Lake Zurich, Illinois: The attitude of the governments of the United States and of Great Britain toward the Sheffield Peace Congress is a definite blow to the cause of peace. If this Conference was planned by the Communists, it should be welcomed as a sign that they are ready for discussions without which there is no alternative to war. The people everywhere demand peace.

* * * * * *

PROF. PHILIP MORRISON, Ithaca, New York: I am distressed at the summary action of the British government, so unworthy of the one country where independent expression has been most prized. Can the peace be saved if no intercourse is to be allowed between East and West, save on terms wholly pleasing to one side or the other? The attack on Sheffield was a bitter blow at the idea that reason and good-will can yet prevent catastrophe. It cannot be allowed to stand as an example of true British policy.

* * * * * *

THE RT. REV. ARTHUR M. MOULTON, Salt Lake City, Utah: The British Government has muffed an immense opportunity to add impetus to the peoples' persistent appeal for peace. England's reputation for fair play has received a heavy setback. Here were people of all points of view eager to get together and find common ground - which is the only way to reach peace. When England declares, "Not on our soil," she narrows the area and loses a splendid chance to lead. This Congress for world peace had every right to expect welcome hospitality from a nation which loves freedom and has been in the vanguard of science and learning. It is a bitter disappointment.

* * * * * *

(more)

THE RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, San Francisco, California: Both the British and American governments have denied in action their professed democratic faith. Both have given ammunition to the enemies of freedom. Both have made more difficult the attainment of the peace they seek; for that peace depends upon opening more and more means for mutual understanding.

* * * * * *

MR. FRED W. STOVER, Hampton, Iowa: Your cable to Attlee is truly a masterpiece. Glad to sign it. Great Britain has made it clear "who it is that openly seeks to isolate its people from other views and opinions."

* * * * * *

THE RT. REV. JOHN MOORE WALKER, Atlanta, Georgia: Sooner or later we must talk about our differences calmly or fight about them disastrously. Hence the justification of the World Peace Congress.

* * * * * *

24-6-10

The following members of the American Sponsoring Committee have agreed to the use of their names on a statement similar to the cable sent to Prime Minister Clement Atlee, copy of which you have already received:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. A. J. Carlson
Bishop Benjamin D. Dagwell
Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
The Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur M. Moulton
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Bishop John Moore Walker

World Peace

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE
FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

135 LIBERTY STREET, Room 409 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

REctor 2-9351

December 6, 1950

Initial List of Sponsors:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Dr. Alan M. Butler
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Bishop Benjamin D. Dagwell
Dr. Mark A. Dawber
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Mr. Karly Larsen
Rev. John Howland Lathrop
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Bishop Walter A. Mitchell
Rev. Joseph G. Moore
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur M. Moulton
Dean George A. Parker
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Artur Schnabel
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Bishop James M. Stoney
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Rev. Willard Uphaus
Bishop John Moore Walker
Bishop William J. Walls

Acting for the Committee:

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

24-13-4

REPORT TO MEMBERS

THE AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Despite our efforts, the management of the St. Nicholas Arena cancelled our contract for lease of the auditorium for the report meeting on Friday, December 8th. However, we were able to secure the Golden Gate Ballroom, 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue, for Monday evening, December 11th.

On the advice of the staff of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, we are taking steps against St. Nicholas Arena to secure legal redress. At the same time, we are making every effort to guarantee an overflow attendance at our 11th meeting as the best answer to the attempts to suppress the peace movement in the United States.

The change in date permits a fuller program. Professor Philip Morrison, an outstanding nuclear physicist and a member of our Committee, will speak. It will also insure my personal participation. The extra days permit us to include on the program Dr. Willard Uphaus, Mrs. Theresa Robinson and Charles P. Howard, who were among the American delegates who went on to the Soviet Union following the Warsaw Conference, in addition to other delegates, so that we look forward to a full and significant program appropriate to the hour of crisis.

If there is any chance that this change in date will make your attendance possible on the 11th, please let us know. If not, we would greatly appreciate having a statement from you, to be read at the meeting, expressing your support of a program for peace to prevent the outbreak of a Third World War.

Some of the returning delegates are bringing with them complete files of the material issued at the Congress and other documents which the Arrangements Committee has sent to be given to the members of the Sponsoring Committee. As soon as our meeting is over, we shall send these to you, together with some of the reports of the delegates.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Fletcher

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher

373

dpows

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE
FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

135 LIBERTY STREET, Room 409 NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

REctor 2-9351

December 22, 1950

FINAL REPORT TO MEMBERS

AMERICAN SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Initial List of Sponsors:

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Allan M. Butler
Prof. Anton J. Carlson
Dr. Mark A. Dawber
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. Fleming James
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Rev. Joseph Moore
Prof. Philip Morrison
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Linus Pauling
Dr. Theodor Rosebury
Dr. Vida D. Scudder
Mr. Fred W. Stover
Bishop John Moore Walker

Acting for the Committee:

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Robert M. Muir
Temporary Secretary

The American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress has completed its task and come to the end of its work. Through our efforts, more than 50 American delegates and observers from all parts of the United States and from all sections of our population attended the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw (originally scheduled for Sheffield). Attached you will find a list of these individuals with their addresses and partial identification.

Within a month the complete proceedings of the Congress should be available and sufficient copies will be sent to me so that you will be able to receive a text for your use and information. In the meantime, I am enclosing copies of two of the basic documents of the Congress which will be of more than ordinary interest. In addition, a report of the Congress has been prepared by Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., one of the members of the American delegation who, incidentally, was elected as one of the secretaries of the new World Council of Peace. Rev. Darr's report, together with a full set of the resolutions, will be transmitted to you within the week, as soon as the technical process is completed.

Although I am personally far from satisfied with the wording of the resolutions, in my opinion they represent a real step forward in the meeting of minds between east and west. I feel that comments and suggestions from all of us will help perfect a program for peace to avert the danger of a third world war.

Thank you very much for having joined in our effort to secure representation at this Congress of Americans of all points of view who want peace. Should there be any further information or material that you may desire, I shall be glad to furnish it to you. You can reach me at my home, 6 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Fletcher

Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher

encl.
dpcwa

34-8-23

P1C

LIST OF PEOPLE RECEIVING PERSONAL LETTERS FROM DOCTOR FLETCHER ASKING THEM TO JOIN SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Dean Paul Roberts, Denver (Dear Paul)

Harlow Shapley (Dear Mr. Shapley), Mass.

Colston Warne (Dear Colston), Mass.

Olin Downes (Dear Olin Downes), N.Y.

Dr. John Paul Jones, N.Y.

Dr. John Howland Lathrop, N.Y.

Dr. Theodore Rosebury, N.Y.

Bishop Mitchell (Dear Bishop Mitchell) Calif.

Dean John Warren Day, Topeka

Linus Pauling, Calif.

Dr. Leo Szilard, Ill.

Philip Morrision (Dear Philip Morrision), N.Y.

Bishop Dagwell, Oregon

Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago

Bishop Ludlow, Newark (Dear Ted)

Bishop Moulton, Salt Lake City

Emily Greene Blach, Mass.

Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D.C.

Allen Butler, Mass.

Ralph Harlow, (Dear Ralph), Mass.

Bishop Parsons (Calif.)

Fleming James, Sr. Conn.

Robert Lynd, N.Y.

Frederick Schuman, Mass. (Dear Frederick Schuman)

Fred Stover (Dear Fred) Iowa

James Luther Adams, Chicago (Dear Jim)

Stringfellow Barr (Dear Stringfellow Barr) N.Y.

Vida Scudder (Dear Aunt Vida), Mass.

Henry Cadbury, Mass.

Ralph Barton, Perry - Mass.

William Hocking, N.H.

Dr. John Kingsbury, Shady, N.Y.

Mark Dawber, N.Y. (Dear Mark)

Bishop Baynes, Olympia, Wash. (Dear Steve)

Bishop Lane Barton, Oregon (Dear Lane)

Bishop John Moore Walker, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Kirtley Mather, Mass.

Dean Muelder, Boston (Dear Walter)

Anton J. Carlson, Chicago

Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Chicago

Thomas I. Emerson, Conn.

Dr. Artur Schnabel, N.Y.

Bishop Lawrence, Mass. (Dear Appie)

Recopied & Mailed
May 4, 1950

April 28, 1950

Miss Dorothy Gottlieb - American Youth for a Free World
144 Bleeker Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Gottlieb:

Shirley Graham tells me that she mentioned to you the fact that my granddaughter, DuBois Williams, is interested in the Youth Congress to be held in Prague this summer.

She was seventeen last October, graduates from high school in Baltimore this June and expects to attend Fisk University next fall.

If I can afford the expense, I should like to have her attend the Congress.

Will you please send me from time to time any information or advice that you may have.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

24-27-1

Corres. N

June 16, 1950

Miss Ann Norton
American Youth for a Free World
144 Bleecker Street, Rm. 4
New York, New York

My dear Ann Norton:

Since talking with you, I have been thinking over various matters concerning the Student Congress and my granddaughter. I am afraid that she would have to return before the time of that boat from Italy. This is her first year as a freshman at Fisk and for various reasons she had better be there on time and comply with all conditions. If she can make an air trip by a safe line, I am quite will that this should be done; although I rather prefer a boat on a regular line. Let me know what you have found out about this.

With regard to your Southern trip, I think perhaps in the case of Fisk, you would better not mention me. You might, if you go to Fisk, ask for an interview with Mrs. Bonita Valien. She is the wife of the head of the Department of Sociology and also she is secretary to the President, and a rather powerful person. She was a former student of mine and very well disposed. At the same time say nothing to her about Du Bois and the trip or about me. I think that would be better for Du Bois in the long run. In the case of Dr. Mays or anyone else, you are quite at liberty to mention my name.

Let me know how matters are going and what, if any payments toward the trip are necessary. Du Bois and her mother would be glad for you to drop by anytime.

It was very nice to see you and talk with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-27-5

Anne Norton

144 Bleecker St. Room 4.

New York City, N.Y.

24-27-6

will not go to Europe. - —
all for yourself; and secondly because of my
granddaughter. I wonder if you advise, that under

July 7, 1950

Miss Ann Norton
144 Bleeker Street
American Youth for a
Free World
New York, New York

Dear Ann Norton:

I have heard with great concern of your recent illness and the probability that you will not go to Europe. I am so sorry. First of all for yourself; and secondly because of my granddaughter. I wonder if you advise, that under the circumstances, she should go? Of course I do not dare suggest to her that the trip be given up. I am sure she would expire immediately. She is so tremendously enthusiastic over it.

I understand you are going to be in Baltimore the week of July 8, totalk with her and her mother about it. Meantime I should like to talk very carefully with Miss Gotleib or anyone else whom you recommend, concerning the whole trip and all the details.

Will you advise me in this matter? I trust this will find you recovering your health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-25

July 7, 1950

Miss Dorothy Gotlieb
American Youth for a
Free World
144 Bleecker Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Gotlieb:

May I talk with you this week about the Prague Students Conference?

My granddaughter still wants terribly to go inspite of the fact that Miss Norton will not be going.

I should like to go over the details with you. Will you make an appointment with my secretary, the number is MU. 3-7894. I shall be glad to come to your office or to have you come to mine.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-24

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR A FREE WORLD

144 BLEECKER STREET • NEW YORK 12, N. Y. • AL 4-9822-92

November 13, 1950

DOROTHY GOTTLIEB, *Executive Secretary*

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As you may know, the World Federation of Democratic Youth publishes an exciting international magazine for youth monthly. We are pleased to enclose a copy for your own interest and information.

We have just received a request from the Editorial Board of "WORLD YOUTH" which we would like very much to forward to you:

> "The December, No. 24, issue of WORLD YOUTH will be quite special—48 pages, bright colors, many photos, poems, etc. In this issue we hope to carry brief messages from leading personalities, outstanding fighters for peace; that is, peace and new year greetings to the youth of the world."

On behalf of this request and of American youth, we hope that you might agree to send such a message to world youth.

We have been informed that this issue will be going to press on the 21st of November and that we hope to be able forward such greetings to the magazine's office in Prague by that time. You may send your message to our office at which time we will be very happy to forward it to Prague.

May I express the deep appreciation of American young peace fighters for your interest and inspiration.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy Gottlieb

Dorothy Gottlieb,
Executive Secretary

P.S. Just a note regarding your grand-daughters valise -- it had already been sent out before your office called last week. She must have already received it by now.

24-3-36

December 7, 1950

Miss Dorothy Gottlieb
Executive Secretary
American Youth for a Free World
144 Bleecker Street
New York 12, New York

My dear Miss Gottlieb:

I am sorry that I could not assent to your request for a word to World Youth; as my Secretary told you, I was out of town.

The valise has been received by my granddaughter. I am wondering if you have in mind any interesting job that she could do this Summer; the remuneration would not be important, if she could get enough to pay her expenses. But I would like to have her in contact with inspiring persons and in work worth while. She is a student at Fisk University, and has just passed her 18th birthday.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

1943-47

Read

MINUTES - PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE AMERICANS FOR WORLD PEACE

(Meeting held at home of Mr. and Mrs. Rubenberg, April 3, 1950)

Present:

Mr. James Aronson
Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Dr. Edward Barsky
Mr. Cedric Belfrage
Rev. John W. Darr
Mrs. Muriel Draper
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Mr. and Mrs. Kyâle Elkin
Mr. Howard Fast
Mrs. Victoria Garvin
Mr. and Mrs. Michael Gold
Miss Shirley Graham
Mr. and Mrs. Janofsky

Mr. Albert Kahn
Mr. Arthur Kahn
Dr. and Mrs. A. Kingsbury
Mr. Rockwell Kent
Mr. John Howard Lawson
Miss Ray Lev
Miss Jo Martin
Mr. John McManus
Mr. Richard Morford
Mrs. Elizabeth Moos
Mr. Anton Refregier
Mr. and Mrs. Rubenberg
Miss Maud Russell

Mr. Theodore Shapiro
Mr. Samuel Sillen
Mr. Joseph Starobin
Mr. Leon Straus
Mr. and Mrs. Johannes Steel
Mr. P. Frankel Thau
Mr. Louis Weinstock
Mr. Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Miss Maxine Wood

16 15 11 / 2

CHAIRMAN: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

Dr. DuBois opened the meeting by giving a brief account of the "Congress of World Partisans of Peace" held in Paris a year ago. At that gathering, he said, 72 nations were represented, and delegates expressed the will for peace of 800 million men and women. A committee of Americans - Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Mr. Paul Robeson, Mr. Donald Henderson, Mr. Howard Fast, Mr. Albert Kahn, Bishop Arthur Moulton and Dr. Gene Weltfish - was appointed at that time. Mr. O. John Rogge was appointed Vice-President of the Bureau of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

24-18-2

Dr. DuBois introduced Rockwell Kent who, with Mr. Rogge, was a member of the peace delegation to the U.S.S.R., (organized by the World Partisans of Peace). Mr. Kent described the meeting of the Supreme Soviet. The delegation spoke freely and frankly, he said, and he and Mr. Rogge were warmly welcomed. Mr. Rogge's criticisms of some aspects of Soviet policy were courteously received. The delegation was feted by many groups in Moscow.

Johannes Steel, who attended the meetings by special invitation, not as a member of the Committee, gave a general picture of the situation in Europe, stressing the desire of the peoples everywhere for peace. He reported on the reception of the peace delegations in France and Italy.

Albert Kahn, who attended the meeting of the Presidium of the World Partisans of Peace in Stockholm, then outlined the decisions reached at that meeting. There was general agreement, he said, that the work of peace in all countries must be broadened in scope, that organisational forms must be flexible. Local community, farm and factory groups should be formed. The Presidium issued the following appeal which they hope will be embodied in petitions of one sort or another throughout the world: "We consider that any government which would be first to use the atom weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal." This appeal will be incorporated in the Call to the Second World Peace Congress to be held in October in Italy. Mr. Kahn emphasized the fact that it is hoped that this Congress will have very broad representation and that work should begin in the very near future to assure this representation.

Dr. DuBois introduced Mrs. Moos, who had been asked at a previous meeting to act as Temporary Secretary and to draw up practical proposals. She proposed the establishment of a "Peace Information Center" or Bureau for the Promotion of Peace"

whose purpose and program would be to aid and stimulate the peace movement in the United States in the following ways:

1. Supply information about peace activities abroad to organizations, to the press, magazine, radip; to issue fact sheets and/or a bulletin from time to time.

2. Cooperate and assist in plans for cultural exchange by helping to arrange American delegations to peace conferences abroad and by receiving and touring foreign visitors who come to the U.S. to speak in the interest of peace.

3. Disseminate information about peace activities in the U.S.A. to groups and individuals working in other countries for the same ends.

Mr. Elkin, Treasurer, reported on the income and expenses of the Welcoming Committee and of the Provisional Committee. He outlined a proposed budget for a "Center" - minimum space, telephone, salary for a director and technical assistant, printing and postage - would require a budget of from $6,000 to $8,000 a year. He suggested that such a Center might be financed by individual donations, by contributions from groups receiving material and from monies collected at meetings, public or private, addressed by returning delegates or visitors. Mr. Kent, Mr. Kahn, Mr. Steel and Mr. Rogge will be speaking at many gatherings. They will be invited because they have been able to attend these meetings abroad, and they will, of course, arrange for a share of the monies collected at these meetings to be turned over to establish the permanent organization. Delegates from Australia will soon be coming back to the U.S., and meetings can be arranged for them. Mr. Elkin reported that many efforts had been made to plan a large meeting for the returning delegates in New York, but this had been unsuccessful because of the pressure of other events.

24-18-3

Mr. Morford reported on the Australian Peace Conference to be held April 16-17, and said that Mr. Fred Stover and Rev. Joseph Fletcher had accepted invitations to attend. Mr. Stover is a leader of the Farmers Union, Vice-President of the Progressive Party and a mid-westerner. Rev. Fletcher was invited as a distinguished spokesman for peace and leader of the Protestant Church.

A full discussion of the proposals followed, during which the role of the proposed organization was clarified. Its purpose is not the coordination of the peace movement in this country. This, many speakers pointed out, was the job of organizations already at work. The Center would service the peace movement in the U.S. by supplying information. In this connection, Mr. Morford said that the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives was projecting a U.S. peace conference which would not be associated, however, with the world peace movement.

In discussing the organization of the Committee, there was agreement that there should be an Advisory Council, including individuals from all organizations concerned with peace, and with broad geographical representation. It was suggested that a sub-committee explore the possibilities of strengthening and broadening such a Committee. After consideration of may angles of the work of a Center, the following motions were made, seconded and passed:

That the proposal made by Mrs. Moos for a Peace Information Center be accepted;

That those present constitute themselves the nucleus of an Advisory Council;

That Dr. W.E.B. DuBois be elected Chairman of the Advisory Council, Mr. Moos Executive Director and Mr. Elkin as Treasurer.

That Dr. DuBois, Mr. Elkin and Mrs. Moos select an Action Committee or Executive group of six or more to work with them in setting up an office and carrying forward the plans.

Meeting adjourned at 12:00 midnight.

24-18-4

[Americans for World Peace]

MINUTES

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE, AMERICANS FOR WORLD PEACE

Meeting held at Home of Mr. & Mrs. Rubenberg
April 3, 1950

PRESENT:

Mr. James Aronson
Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Dr. Edward Barsky
Mr. Cedric Belfrage
Rev. John W. Darr
Mrs. Muriel Draper
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Mr. & Mrs. Kyrle Elkin
Mr. Howard Fast
Mrs. Victoria Garvin
Mr. & Mrs. Mike Gold
Miss Shirley Graham
Mr. & Mrs. Janofsky
Mr. Albert E. Kahn
Mr. Arthur Kahn
Dr. & Mrs. A. Kingsbury
Mr. Rockwell Kent
Mr. John Howard Lawson
Miss Ray Lev
Miss Jo Martin
Mr. John McManus
Mr. Richard Morford
Mrs. Elizabeth Moos
Mr. Anton Refregier
Mr. & Mrs. Rubenberg
Miss Maud Russell
Miss Rose Russell
Mr. Theodore Shapiro
Mr. Samuel Sillen
Mr. Joseph Starobin
Mr. Leon Straus
Mr. & Mrs. Johannes Steel
Mr. P. Frankel Thau
Mr. Louis Weinstock
Mr. Max Weber
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Mrs. Maxine Wood

CHAIRMAN: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Du Bois opened the meeting by giving a brief account of the "Congress of World Partisans of Peace" held in Paris a year ago. At that gathering, he said, 72 nations were represented, and delegates expressed the will for peace of 800 million men and women. A committee of Americans — Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Mr. Paul Robeson, Mr. Donald Henderson, Mr. Howard Fast, Mr. Albert Kahn, Bishop Arthur Moulton, and Dr. Gene Weltfish — was appointed at that time. Mr. O. John Rogge was appointed Vice-President of the Bureau of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

Dr. Du Bois introduced Rockwell Kent who, with Mr. Rogge, was a member of the peace delegation to the U.S.S.R. (organized by the World Partisans of Peace). Mr. Kent described the meeting of the Supreme Soviet. The delegation spoke freely and frankly, he said, and he and Mr. Rogge were warmly welcomed. Mr. Rogge's criticisms of some aspects of Soviet policy were courteously received. The delegation was feted by many groups in Moscow.

Johannes Steel, who attended the meetings by special invitation, not as a member of the Committee, gave a general picture of the situation in Europe, stressing the desire of the peoples everywhere for peace. He reported on the reception of the peace delegations in France and Italy.

Albert Kahn, who attended the meeting of the Presidium of the World Partisans of Peace in Stockholm, then outlined the decisions reached at that meeting. There was general agreement, he said, that the work of peace in all countries must be broadened in scope, that organizational forms must be flexible. Local community, farm and factory groups should be formed. The Presidium issued the following appeal which they hope will be embodied in petitions of one sort or another throughout the world: "We consider that any government which would be first to use the atom weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal." This appeal will be incorporated in the Call to the Second World Peace Congress to be held in October in Italy. Mr. Kahn emphasized the fact that it is hoped that this Congress will have very broad representation, and that work should begin in the very near future to assure this representation.

Dr. Du Bois introduced Mrs. Moos, who had been asked at a previous meeting to act as temporary secretary and to draw up practical proposals. She proposed the establishment of a "Peace Information Center" or "Bureau for the Promotion of Peace" whose purpose and program would be to aid and stimulate the peace movement in the United States in the following way:

1. Supply information about peace activities abroad to organizations, to the press, magazines, radio; to issue fact sheets and/or a bulletin from time to time.

2. Cooperate and assist in plans for cultural exchange by helping to arrange American delegations to peace conferences abroad and by receiving and touring foreign visitors who come to the U.S. to speak in the interest of peace.

3. Disseminate information about peace activities in the U.S.A. to groups and individuals working in other countries for the same ends.

Mr. Elkin, Treasurer, reported on the income and expenses of the Welcoming Committee and of the Provisional Committee. He outlined a proposed budget for a "Center" - minimum space, telephone, salary for a director and technical assistant, printing and postage would require a budget of from $6,000 to $8,000 a year. He suggested that such a Center might be financed by individual donations, by contributions from groups receiving material, and from monies collected at meetings, public or private, addressed by returning delegates or visitors. Mr. Kent, Mr. Kahn, Mr. Steel and Mr. Rogge will be speaking at many gatherings. They will be invited because they have been able to attend these meetings abroad, and they will, of course, arrange for a share of the monies collected at these meetings to be turned over to establish the permanent organization. Delegates from Australia will soon be coming back to the United States, and meetings can be arranged for them. Mr. Elkin reported that many efforts had been made to plan a large meeting for the returning delegates in New York, but this had been unsuccessful because of the pressure of other events.

Mr. Morford reported on the Australian Peace Conference to be held April 16-17, and said that Mr. Fred Stover and Rev. Joseph Fletcher had accepted invitations to attend. Mr. Stover is a leaders of the Farmers Union, Vice President of the Progressive Party, and a mid-westerner. Rev. Fletcher was invited as a distinguished spokesman for peace and leader of the Protestant Church.

A full discussion of the proposals followed, during which the role of the proposed organization was clarified. Its purpose is not the coordination of the peace movement in this country. This, many speakers pointed out, was the job of organizations already at work. The Center would service the peace movement in the U.S. by supplying information. In this connection, Mr. Morford said that the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives was projecting a U.S. peace conference which would not be associated, however, with the world peace movement.

In discussing the organization of the Committee, there was agreement that there should be an Advisory Council, including individuals from all organizations concerned with peace, and with broad geographical representation. It was suggested that a sub-committee explore the possibilities of strengthening and broadening such a Committee. After consideration of many angles of the work of a Center, the following motions were made, seconded, and passed:

— That the proposals made by Mrs. Moos for a Peace Information Center be accepted.

— That those present constitute themselves the nucleus of an Advisory Council.

— That Dr. Du Bois be elected Chairman of the Advisory Council, Mrs. Moos as Executive Director, and Mr. Elkin as Treasurer.

— That Dr. Du Bois, Mr. Elkin and Mrs. Moos select an Action Committee or Executive group of six or more to work with them in setting up an office and carrying forward the plans.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:00 midnight.

Respectfully submitted,

Augusta Petroff

Augusta Petroff
Temporary Secretary

NOTE

Since the meeting, very interesting material has been received by delegates who attended the Presidium meeting. We will be glad to send you copies upon request, or even better, perhaps you can come into our office and look it over. We are at Suite 801, 56 W. 45th St., New York. Phone: Mu 2-1033

[APTHEKER]

5/2/50 5 P.M. Executed by Aptheker

He was a man of Normal Appetites,
who despite extraordinary ~~be~~
circumstances and the handicap
of color carved out a good +
valuable career.

42-18-36

P. S. Aptheker called
at 4.50 P.M. and asked
permission to visit this -
I said O.K. - If not
agreeable to you. I would
call him tomorrow

June 9, 1950

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Miss Shirley Graham
173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, L.I., New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker and Miss Graham:

I have received the enclosed letter from Professor Kellogg. He worked here several weeks last year on my files at the same time that Mr. Broderick worked here.

I think I told both of you of these cases. Mr. Broderick is finished but Professor Kellogg wants to come this summer.

I know nothing of him, although he makes a good appearance. Will you two answer this letter and decide just what should be done.

It's rather a nuisance having anyone work here and also a certain risk in opening my personal files freely to a stranger.

I am writing him telling him that the matter is being referred to you two and giving him your addresses.

I shall thank you for deciding this matter for me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-b-30-3

Aptheker

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT,

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

6/22/50

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of an article of mine that appears in the current JEWISH LIFE.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

24-34-17

It is a matter of record that the National Conference has not lifted its voice for the federal FEPC bill, which logically should be of major concern to it. While the Conference does not reject FEPC outright, it counsels caution. Thus a pamphlet by Hilda Taba, director of the Project on Intergroup Education, gives the following advice: "Decide which of the problems of importance in the community would constitute a good first step. This problem or project should not be too ambitious. For example, instead of tackling the problem of FEPC legislation right away, it might be wise to try to get jobs for some Negro young people or youth of some other minority group."

At no time has this "powerful" good will organization dared to protest against or even comment on flagrant violations of civil rights, on Jimcrow or, for that matter, anti-Semitism. The riots at Peekskill last year did not evoke the slightest reaction, official or unofficial, on the part of the Conference, which claims to possess the "know-how to overcome hates and prejudices." There is not on record a single piece of evidence to show that the National Conference has dealt with any specific cases of prejudice inside or outside the church.

But, on the other hand, the Conference never fails to whitewash the Republican Party of any accusations of anti-Semitic or anti-Negro offenses. When, for instance, during the 1944 presidential elections campaign, the infamous insinuation of "Clear it with Sidney," spread by Dewey's henchmen, reverberated throughout the country, the National Conference of Christians and Jews issued millions of leaflets in an effort to prove that both political parties, Democratic and Republican alike, were free of anti-Semitism, and that those who charged any major political party with spreading anti-Jewish propaganda were injecting an anti-Semitic issue into American politics. It was of course obvious that Roger W. Straus was cynically making use of the Conference to bolster Jewish support for candidate Thomas E. Dewey—for Roosevelt surely did not require the defense of the Conference to prove to American Jews that he was free of anti-Semitism.

Constantly fearful lest its pronouncements on prejudice, no matter how innocuous, involve it in some specific issue, the Conference's public relations specialists adhere to a policy of keeping its copy on an abstract level, unless they can slant it to serve reaction. One of the Conference's experts, speaking to this writer, described the approved technique in this way: "Good will must be sold in the same way as one would sell soap or cigarettes. We must keep hammering away on good will as one repeats a trade mark, without trying to explain too much."

(To be continued.)

Jewish Life July, 1950

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND WHITE CHAUVINISM

By Herbert Aptheker

THE United Press reported on December 20, 1949, that Senator John J. Sparkman, an Alabama Democrat, "clashed with Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, president of the National Council of Negro Women, over whether civil rights legislation would improve the economic lot of Negroes."

The honorable Democrat was of the opinion that the enactment of a fair employment practices law might "actually do a lot of harm" and that the area of civil rights was more amenable to moral suasion than to legislation. There are many people very much more well meaning than Mr. Truman's Alabama friend who are confused by this type of argument.

The argument and the confusion are of long standing. Thus, in one of the earliest cases—*Plessy vs. Ferguson*—a Negro's challenge of Jimcrow legislation was rejected in 1896 on an argument identical with that advanced by Senator Sparkman. The Negro challenged, on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, the constitutionality of a Louisiana law providing for segregation aboard trains. But the Supreme Court rejected his plea, asserting that civil rights could not be legislated but required, rather, a long process of education.

There is an interesting inconsistency in the reasoning of the Supreme Court and of Senator Sparkman. This inconsistency may be brought out in the form of a question, namely: *if laws are ineffectual against Jimcrow, why are laws needed for Jimcrow?*

Most people seem to have the impression that segregation and discrimination suddenly make their appearance in a brutal and naked form below the Mason and Dixon line very much like the warmer weather—as something natural and inevitable. The truth, however, is quite otherwise.

Jimcrow is man-made; ruling class-made, to be exact. And it rests upon ruling class law; it is imbedded within the governmental apparatus. The ruling class does and will fight against the repeal of Jimcrow laws and the enactment of civil rights legislation because it knows that segregation and discrimination, that white chauvinism, is one

---

HERBERT APTHEKER, who is Associate Editor of *Masses and Mainstream*, has done pioneering research in Negro history. His new book, *A Documentary History of the American Negro People*, will be published by Citadel Press in the Fall. The article above was read before the "Conference on Aid to the South and the Struggle for Negro Rights" held by the Communist Party of Brooklyn on January 27-28.

of its most potent weapons for maintaining imperialism.

Indeed, American imperialism and white chauvinism are blood relations. American imperialism breeds and needs white chauvinism.

I would like, in this paper, to sketch briefly the historical evidence of this integral connection. We have said that Jimcrow rests upon ruling class law. Yes, it does, and fairly recent law, at that. Laws providing for discrimination and segregation and for disfranchisement make their modern appearance from the late 1880's to the early 1900's.

Let us indicate the facts concerning this with a few examples. The approximate time range of modern Jimcrow laws may be seen in the fact that Mississippi's statutes stem from an enactment of 1888 (this applied to the living; in 1890, Jackson, Mississippi made it complete by Jimcrowing the dead—i.e., requiring white and Negro cemeteries), while those of North Carolina stem from an enactment of 1899. Disfranchisement, a more complicated process, was accomplished—after fierce opposition from many whites as well as Negroes—by new constitutions adopted as follows: Mississippi, 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1901; Alabama, 1901; Virginia, 1902; Georgia, 1908; Oklahoma, 1910.

One may observe immediately that these laws and constitutional enactments appear with the burgeoning of American monopoly capitalism, with the appearance of American imperialism. This relationship is not simply one of time; it is one of cause and effect.

Much has been written about the development of monopoly capitalism in this post-Civil War generation. There is a mountain of literature on the Rockefellers, Hills, Harrimans, Carnegies, Armours, Havemeyers and Morgans who make their debuts during this era, crush competition, perfect their monopolies and start—especially with the Spanish-American War, 1898-99—their careers as international tycoons.

White Chauvinism Spurred by Imperialism

But just as the enslavement of millions of Negro workers here for hundreds of years is neglected in historical literature as a key explanation for the speed and magnitude of the development of American capitalism, so the conquest of the South and the forcible repression of the Negro people is neglected in the literature on the rise of American imperialism. The fact of the matter, however, is that when American monopoly capitalism turned its attention seriously to overseas investments and to the appropriation of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, it simultaneously turned its attention seriously to investments in the South and to the establishment of terrorist domination of the Southern masses and especially of the Negro people. Just as the former activity produced the most rabid type of jingoism, so the latter, basing itself on the racism derived from slavery, produced the most virulent form of white chauvinism. Just as the former resulted in the imposition, by law, of second-class citizenship upon the people of the new colonies, so the latter had the same result for the masses of the so-called New South and especially for the Negro people.

Contemporaries, especially among Negro leaders like Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter, pointed out the connection between American aggression overseas and the mounting terror against the Negro people. The latter is reflected in developing white chauvinism. Others observed this, too. Thus, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, one of the very few Republican leaders to oppose imperialism, pointed out that the ideological justification for the subjugation of the people of Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines was identical with that hitherto offered by Bourbon Democrats on the Negro question. Moorfield Storey, distinguished Boston attorney and later the first president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, was a leader in the anti-imperialist movement. In 1905, while reasserting his conviction "that our Philippine policy is wrong," Storey added, "I feel that it is also responsible for the reaction at home against the Negroes."

And at the same period the Bourbon Senator Tillman of South Carolina remarked: "Republican leaders do not longer dare to call into question the justice or the necessity of limiting Negro suffrage in the South." And again, on the floor of the Senate: "I want to call your attention to the remarkable change that has come over the spirit of the dream of the Republicans. Your slogans of the past—brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God—have gone glimmering down the ages. The brotherhood of man exists no longer."

It is pertinent to observe that the treaty annexing the Philippines would certainly have failed of ratification by the Senate had there not existed a coalition on this question between the Republicans and the Bourbon Democrats.

By the late 1880's there was in full swing in the South what its people called "The Great Barbecue," by which they meant the invasion of their land by Northern Capital. In 1880 the South produced 400,000 tons of pig iron; by 1890 this was quadrupled. In the same decade the quantity of timber taken from Southern forests more than doubled and there ensued an enormous expansion in the furniture industry. From 1880 to 1900 the number of textile mills in the South increased three and a half times, the number of spindles over seven times, and by 1915 there were more cotton textile mills in the South than in the rest of the country. Bituminous coal production in the South leaped from six million in 1880 to 52 million tons in 1900. Other industries, like tobacco and railroads, grew correspondingly.

Consolidation came with growth, a fact which may be indicated by mentioning the appearance in the 1890's of such giant corporations as the American Tobacco Company and the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company. While much of the early capital for this expansion was local, as the movement continued a greater and greater proportion of the capital investments came from great Northern monopolies. Thus, by 1900, while half a billion

dollars were invested abroad, one billion dollars had been invested in Southern manufacturing. By 1900, J. P. Morgan & Co. controlled the Baltimore & Ohio, the Southern and the Central of Georgia, and by 1907 the recently formed United States Steel Corporation (also dominated by Morgan) had absorbed the tremendous properties of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad trust centered in the Birmingham-Chattanooga area.

Negro Resistance in Eighties and Nineties

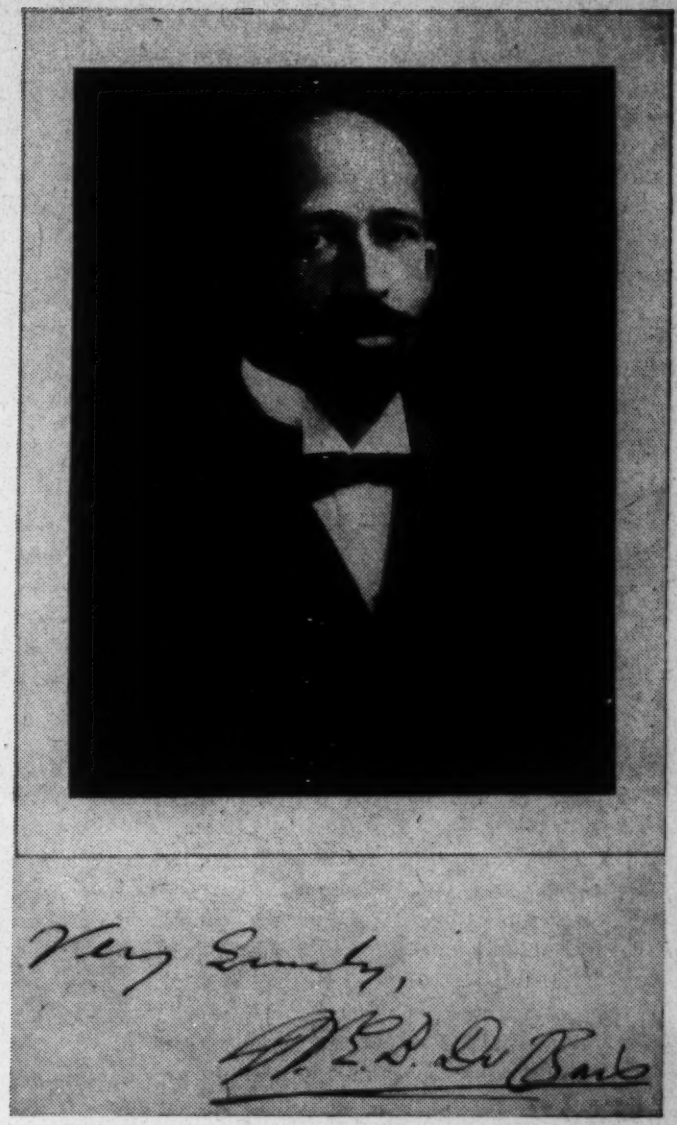
Monopoly capitalism has fastened itself nowhere and upon no people without a struggle. This is as true of the Southern people in general and the Negro people in particular as of any other people in the world. Here we shall barely indicate the facts in connection with this resistance.

It is very widely assumed that with the crushing of Reconstruction late in the 1870's the Negro people lost all political effectiveness and simply lay down, not to get up again until, perhaps, the Niagara Movement of the first decade of the twentieth century. This is nonsense. The 1880's and 1890's were years of fierce struggles, of some notable, though temporary successes, and of the most brutal and violent suppression comparable to that practiced upon the Filipino peoples by the same imperialism during the same general period.

It will surprise many to learn that during the post-Reconstruction period—that is, from 1877 to 1901—there were 11 Negroes elected to Congress. They were: from Mississippi, Blanche K. Bruce and John R. Lynch; from South Carolina, Richard H. Cain, James H. Rainey, Robert Smalls, Thomas E. Miller and George W. Murray; from North Carolina, James E. O'Hara, Henry P. Cheatham and George H. White; from Virginia, John M. Langston.

It will surprise many to learn that Negroes sat in the House and the Senate of all Southern legislatures throughout the 1880's and 1890's. The facts for Mississippi may be presented as typical of the situation: the legislature of that state in 1878 contained seven Negroes; in 1880, eight; in 1882, 11; in 1884, 10; in 1886, seven; in 1888, seven; in 1890, six and even that of 1899 still had one Negro member. It will surprise many to learn that dozens of Southern cities had Negroes appointed and elected officers on all levels of administrative responsibilities and that cities like Danville, Virginia, Jackson, Mississippi, and Wilmington, North Carolina, had anti-Bourbon administrations, uniting Negroes and whites, in the 1880's and 1890's. Indeed, only terrible massacres in 1883 and 1898, engineered by the bosses, overthrew the governments in the last three cities.

It will surprise many, too, to learn that the great Populist third party anti-monopoly movement of the 1890's captured several Southern state governments and seriously challenged the rule of the oligarchy throughout the South. On the executive committees of this People's Party everywhere in the South, when it was vigorous in the early 1890's, were Negroes together with whites, officials elected on this ticket in the South were Negroes as well as whites,



W. E. B. DuBois, great Negro scholar and fighter for his people, in the early nineteen hundreds.

and one and a quarter million Negroes (including over 300,000 women) were members of the Colored Farmers' Alliance, one of the main mass bases of that Populist movement.

White Chauvinism and Terror

To conquer this South and to smash the rising unity of Negro and white and to re-subject the Negro people to special oppression, American imperialism turned to the weapons of fraud, terror and white chauvinism. When these three instruments succeeded in smashing opposition, it was that imperialism which saw to it that the laws codifying and sustaining white chauvinism, to which reference has already been made, were passed.

The brutality of this imperialism was complete everywhere. It was H. O. Havemeyer, of the Sugar Trust, who told the Federal Industrial Commission in 1899: "I do not care two cents for your ethics. I don't know enough of

them to apply them. . . . As a business proposition, it is right to get all out of a business that you possibly can."

It was a leading Republican newspaper, the San Francisco *Argonaut,* which said in January 1899: "The Anglo-Saxon methods of warfare do not appeal to the Malay [i.e., the Filipino]. In pursuance of our imperialistic plans, it would be well to hire some of the insurgent lieutenants to betray Aguinaldo and other chieftains into our clutches. A little bribery, a little treachery and a little ambuscading, and we could trap Aguinaldo and his chieftains. Then, instead of putting them to death in the ordinary way, it might be well to torture them. The Spaniards have left behind them some means to that end in the dungeons in Manila. The rack, the thumbscrew, the trial by fire, the trial by molten lead, boiling insurgents alive, crushing their bones in ingenious mechanisms of torture—these are some of the methods that would impress the Malay mind. It would show them that we are in earnest. . . . This may seem to some of the more sentimental of our readers like grim jesting. It is not. It is grim earnest."

In June 1894, the *Nation* reported the Right Reverend Hugh Miller Thompson, Bishop of Mississippi, as justifying lynching because "the laws are slow and the jails are full." In November 1898, Colonel A. M. Waddell said in North Carolina, according to the Raleigh *News & Observer,* that "we are resolved" to win the elections in Wilmington, "if we have to choke the current of Cape Fear with carcasses. The time for smooth words has gone by, the extremist limit of forebearance has been reached." Five days later the colonel led an armed force against the Negro-white administration of Wilmington, slaughtered scores, and announced himself the new mayor and the federal government gave silent assent.

In 1900 the San Francisco *Argonaut* said: "We do not want the Filipinos. We want the Philippines. The islands are enormously rich, but, unfortunately, they are infested by Filipinos. There are many millions there, and it is to be feared their extinction will be slow." That same year Senator Tillman of South Carolina announced on the floor of the United States Senate: "We took the government away. We stuffed the ballot boxes. We shot Negroes! We are not ashamed of it."

"Science" Aids Chauvinism

And the respectable Republican papers of the North—the organs of monopoly capitalism, of that which had usurped the South and that for which the Tillmans worked—nodded approval. Thus, in 1898, the Philadelphia *Record* said: "We have evidently just begun the task of Americanizing the African," and the Providence, Rhode Island *Journal* editorialized that same year, that perhaps the Negro "could be made a more orderly citizen if there were restored something like the old interest taken by the masters and mistresses in the Negro boys and girls around them."

The Negro "boys" and "girls" were made "orderly citizens" and "Americanized" in the inimitable manner of American imperialism. That is, from 1889 through 1901 there were 1,955 *recorded*[1] lynchings or an average of 165 lynchings per year for 12 years. That is, in these dozen years of the rise of American imperialism occurred 42 per cent of all recorded lynchings from 1882 through 1947.

And to back up the fraud, terror and laws went the evolving of a modern "scientific" white chauvinism. The writings of Herbert Spencer in sociology, Madison Grant in anthropology, William A. Dunning in history, William McDougall and the whole paraphernalia and corruption of so-called intelligence tests in psychology, the distortions of Darwinism, bolstered this chauvinism.

To give an idea of what this meant I shall quote simply the work of an anatomist, R. B. Bean of Johns Hopkins University. In 1906, Bean published in the very widely circulated popular magazine, *Century,* a study of "The Negro Brain." Here were his conclusions—and they were broadcast by the general press: "The Caucasian and the Negro are fundamentally opposite extremes in evolution . . . it is useless to try to elevate the Negro by education or otherwise, except in the direction of his natural endowments. . . . Let them win their reward by diligent service." When, three years later, Franklin P. Mall, Professor of Anatomy at Johns Hopkins and founder of the *American Journal of Anatomy,* proved Bean's work to be fraudulent and his conclusions nonsensical, his—Mall's—report appeared only in the *American Journal of Anatomy.* It did not reach the audience which had been exposed to Bean's vicious lies.

We conclude, then, by declaring that modern white chauvinism is organically connected, from its origin, with American imperialism. Imperialism refurbished the racism of slavery and used this white chauvinism to help it succeed in the conquest of the South and the subjugation of the Negro people. This chauvinism is integrally related to the jingoism of imperialism which appeared most virulently at the same time. The conquest of the Cuban, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian and Filipino nationalities occurs at the same time and for the same reasons as the conquest of the budding Negro nation.

In *New Times,* published in the Soviet Union (1950, No. 1) an Azerbaijan poet writes: "No people is born chauvinist, even if at some subsequent state of its life it comes to be infected with the virus of chauvinism. This, we hold, is not an inborn vice. National chauvinism, the teaching of Lenin and Stalin affirms, is an ideology of the capitalist class, a class that suppresses all true human freedom."

And specifically, in the United States, the historical evidence demonstrates that American imperialism, basing itself upon the white supremacy of slavery, developed and nurtured white chauvinism as its ideological reflection and bulwark.

---

[1] The count comes from Tuskegee Institute and undoubtedly is a minimum. The Mississippi white historian Vernon L. Wharton, writing of the post-Civil War generation, states: "It is impossible to make any estimate of the number of individual Negroes lynched or murdered by whites during the period. Such matters attracted little or no attention in the press."

September 19, 1950

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

My granddaughter, Du Bois Williams, has returned from the Youth Congress at Prague filled with enthusiasm for the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

She has just entered Fisk University, a conventional if not reactionary Negro college. She wants me to send her some Marxist literature, which of course would be unwise. However, I thought perhaps you might recommend some good statements in either book or pamphlet which she could read and the possession of which at Fisk would not involve her summary expulsion.

Will you kindly advise me in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-10-10

Books

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT,

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

24-10-3

9/20/50

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have found the question that you pose in regard to your granddaughter a difficult one because of the numerous conditions surrounding it. But under the circumstances you have posed I would recommend the reading of the following four volumes:

1) Ten Classics of Marxism published by International and available at $1.90. Contains in one volume basic writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

2) R.P.Dutt, Britain's Crisis of Empire, International, $1.25. Remarkable panoramic view done in 160 pages.

3) Leo Huberman, Man's Worldly Goods, Harpers

4) Leo Huberman, America Incorporated, Harpers

I think my own critique of Myrdal (which I'm sure will be a standard text at Fisk) The Negro People in America (International, 40¢) might also be helpful. Some ambiguity in above sentence I mean Myrdal will be the text, not my critique!

With warmest personal regards,

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

Order

209

Letters of Negroes

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

12/14/50

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have today mailed you a copy of my AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS. I do not enclose a bill as you requested, because I hope you will accept the volume as a Christmas gift and as some indication of the warmest regards held for you by Mrs. Aptheker and me.

With every best wish for a splendid Christmas holiday and New Year,

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

24-2-28

December 19, 1950

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
New Century Publishers
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

I have received your book with great joy. I am almost ashamed to let you give it to me because the "Laborer is worthy of his hire;" but I deeply appreciate the gesture.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-2-29

THE LOMESHIE RESEARCH CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY & RACE BIOLOGY

(Hon. Director : Prof. Dr. Gunnar Dahlberg, M.D., LL.D.
Hon. Consultant to Section C., Geheimer Medizinal-Rat Ernst Krüger, M.D.).
(Director : R. E. G. Armattoe, M.D., L.R.C.P.E., F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.S.A., Scot.)

File

Section A. — Anthropology
Section B. — Human Biology
Section C. — Medicine
Section D. — Art and Literature

Consulting Hours : By appointment only
'Phone : Londonderry 2903
Morning, 10 to 12-30 ; Evening, 7 to 8
Sunday and Saturday Evening Excepted

24-20-1

~~7, Northumberland Road,~~
~~LONDON, N.W.10.~~
Private Post Bag ,
Kumasi /Gold Coast .
November 16, 1950

Dear Dr DuBois ,

I have been reading a lot about you in the Guardian , but I have been moving a great deal and could not contact you as I desired . I spent the greater part of my time flitting between Europe and Africa and finally decided after 20 years' stay in Europe to return and help this country of ours . I had hoped my example might lead others also to come back and help rebuild our sadly neglected part of the world .

My family are still in Ireland but hope to join me over the Xmas season .
I have brought numerous surgical instruments which our dilatory Government Railways allowed to be stolen and so far I have not been given any compensation .

But my real problem which I should like you and Dr Hunton to handle and bring to the notice of the World Press and the Negro one in particular is the fact that the local British Government which does nothing disinterestedly , has refused to give my clinic water and electricity facilities and my Xray plant , the only private one in the whole of British West Africa remains unusable although there are numerous patients who need it . Nor am I given water although the nearest communal pump (pipe borne) is only 15 yards away , and the electric pole 150 yards away .

The whole of the Gold Coast , with a population of 5 millions has not even nine surgical operating theatres ! Of course without running water I cannot start surgical operations without great danger to the patients .

The aggravating part of the whole affair is that if I could bribe these officials or their subordinates everything will be done. Were I white, and not even engaged on any activity calculated to help the public , I could get anything .

I made arrangement to see the Commisioner who pompously told me that he was engaged for the whole week in advance and delegated a junior to listen to me.

And this to me who had done so much during the war on researches for the British people without ever taking a penny from them. A common obscure Englishman has no time to see one who has been received by the foremst intellects of the world.

But that is what we have to suffer , and I would be glad if you could rouse the Negro people to see that something is done about it .

I have never asked England for a penny in my life , and she has never given me one farthing

You remember I had written to you some time in 1948 that I was then a candidate for the Nobel Prize , I am glad Bunche has beaten me to it

Yours very sincerely ,

R. E. G. Armattoe

December 7, 1950

Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe
Private Post Bag
Kumasi, Gold Coast
British West Africa

My dear Mr. Armattoe:

I was very glad to receive your letter of November 16, and to know of your whereabouts. I hope this will find you in good health and that your family will be able to join you.

Neither Mr. Hunton nor myself have any facilities just now for publicity. We are both on the subversive list of the government, because of our activity for peace.

I shall, however, be very glad to publicize what you have said whenever I can. I hope that opportunities for you in Africa will broaden, for there you have of course a splendid field for your work.

My best regards to you and hope for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

20 West 40th Street

New York 18, N. Y.

23 W 26

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:-

B. G. Malah,

Esumeja,

P.O.Box 14, Bekwai,

Gold Coast.

To open cut here

Essumeja,
P.O.Box 14, Bekwai,
Ashanti, Gold Coast.
June 13, 1950.

Honourable Sir,

During the last meeting of the " Ashanti Readers' Union "(of which I am the secretary) I was asked to address some appeals to our well wishers for help in the form of books. Among the list of names to which the appeal is to be addressed, yours [redacted] appeared. You are respectfully begged to extend the appeal to any movement or body in the U.S.A. which has the welfare of Africa at heart.

The following list serves as the basis of our request, but if any organization or individual feels like sending any book or magazine which is likely to be of use to us in our struggle with the imperialists, we shall be grateful to the giver.

1. The Soul of John Brown (by S.Graham)
2. The Rising Tide of Color (by Stoddard)
3. Black Folk: Then and Now (by Dr.W.E.B.DuBois)
4. Black Reconstruction (by " " " " ")
5. An American Dilemma (by Gunnar Myrdal)
6. Columbia Encyclopaedia
7. Funk & Wagnalls New Std. Dictionary of the English Language.
8. Modern Democracies (by Bryce)
9. Autobiography (by Nehru)
10. Glimpses of World History (by Nehru)

The Union will be pleased to have the names of the individuals or the organization which contributed anything as a response to this appeal. The aim of the Union is to educate its members (and through its members the public) about the methods by which we can do away with imperialism as early as possible. This, we feel, can best be done ~~by~~ re

24-29-2 [Ashanti Reader's Union]

by treading the way which was ~~xxxxxx~~ and is being trodden by the experienced heroes of yesterday and to-day.

I am the one who wrote to ~~xxx~~ ask you for some particulars about some books. I was then at Ahafo-Mem, Via Goaso as a school teacher. I have now been appointed as the State Secretary for the Essumeja Division in Ashanti. I am also the Secretary of the A R U ("Ashanti Readers' Union)

I read of your retirement from the Research Department of the N.A.A.C.P. from the local papers. I am glad to remark that your retirement did not end your zeal to help the race for which you have been struggling from your ~~xxxx~~ youthful days up to now. The great number of books you have written for the betterment of your people will serve as an imposing monument to the generations yet unborn after the fingers which pushed the pen in writing them are no where to be seen.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Your humble servant,

B. G. Nsiah

State Secretary.

[Ashanti Reader's Union]

July 21, 1950

Mr. B. G. Nsiah
State Secretary
Essumeja
P.O. Box 14, Bekwai
Ashanti, Gold Coast
Africa

Dear Mr. Nsiah:

I have your letter of June 13. I regret to say that my books which you mention are nearly all out of print and almost impossible to get.

Of course books by Nehru and the Columbia Encyclopaedia and the Funk and Wagnalls dictionary are available but I would not be able myself to buy them and send them to you. "The American Dilemma" by Gunnar Myrdal is also avialable, but the price is high.

If at anytime I have any books that I can send you I shall be glad to do so and I deeply appreciate the work which you are doing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-29-1

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

The Hospital-Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT
HARRY SESAN
Vice President

80 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 9-2800

42/113/30

January 9, 1950

In any inquiry, please refer to certificate or claim number shown below.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

Mrs. Nina DuBois
Certificate 2 760 415 A

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of January 4, 1950, advising us of your wife's anticipated admission to the Providence Hospital in Baltimore for "observation".

Under the terms of your contract with this organization, the extension of benefits may only be considered when a subscriber is admitted as a registered bed patient to a general hospital with a specific diagnosis for necessary bed care and treatment. No coverage is provided for admissions undertaken primarily for diagnostic study.

However, we shall be glad to consider the extension of benefits if you have Mrs. DuBois' physician complete the enclosed medical questionnaire and return it to our office.

A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience, and we sincerely hope that it will be possible for us to be of service.

Cordially yours,

Josephine L. Pilger

Josephine L. Pilger
Hospital Department

JLP;ad

Enc. DH

hac 3, cp nmh

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

The Hospital-Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT
HARRY SESAN
Vice President

80 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 9-2800

January 19, 1950 sb

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 13 H
New York, N. Y.

In any inquiry, please refer to certificate or claim number shown below.

Re: Nina G. Dubois
Claim No: N 77714
Admission Date: 12-29-49
Hospital: Provident

Approved for: 21 days
plus 30 discount days

Dear Mr. Dubois:

It is a pleasure to let you know that Blue Cross will assist you in paying the hospital bill in this case.

Your contract provides for a cash allowance towards the hospital charges when .. as in this instance .. care is received in a non-member hospital. The amount of the allowance is based on the schedule shown on the enclosed summary.

However .. benefits greater than these cash allowances may be available because of arrangements we have with other Blue Cross Plans. Therefore, we have asked the Plan nearest the hospital to handle this case for us. In most cases this cooperative arrangement between Plans results in benefits in excess of the payment ordinarily allowed. We will see to it that you receive whatever additional benefits might be available through this Inter-Plan arrangement .. otherwise, our regular non-member allowance will apply.

We shall be happy to be of assistance.

Cordially yours,

Paul J. Curry

Paul J. Curry
Hospital Department

BASX

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

The Hospital-Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT
HARRY SESAN
Vice President

80 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 9-2800

May 1, 1950

42.18/32

Mr. W. E. R. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y., Apt. 13 H.

In any inquiry, please refer to certificate or claim number shown below.

Re: Nina G. Dubois
Claim No: 77714
Hospital Provident Hospital
Admitted: 12-29-49
Check Enclosed: $ 20.14
Amount not covered by Plan: $ 85.00

Dear Member:

The report sent us by the hospital shows you did not receive the full allowance on your bill to which you are entitled as a member of our Plan.

Therefore, we are pleased to enclose our check for the additional amount which you should have received. The sum, if any, not covered by the Plan is shown at the top of this letter.

We are glad to be of service to you, and may we congratulate you on your foresight in securing this protection which is proving so helpful to you now.

Cordially,

H. J. Conlan
Claim Payment Department

REC:AP
CP 550

[Assn for the Study of Negro Life...]

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 1, 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am in the midst of arrangements for the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History that meets here, October 27-29. This is a crucial meeting, for the structure of the Association must be re-fashioned; really, fashioned, for, as you know, the Association has been really one man.

Won't you come down and help us out on this?

Moreover, we would like to put you on for a paper. Choose your own subject. The topics of the sessions will be:

1. The Influence of Carter G. Woodson.
2. Aspects of Military History.
3. Expanding and Improving Research.
4. The Teaching of Negro History.
5. Some Problems of Editors and Authors.
6. The Negro in Two Hemispheres.

I recall that you'd prefer not to speak on the Atlanta University Campus. This is no difficulty for sessions are being held on the other campuses and in the city.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

24L-33-48

August 11, 1950

Mr. L. D. Reddick
Atlanta University
Atlanta , Georgia

Dear Mr. Reddick:

Answering your letter of August 1, I would be glad to speak at the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, on the following conditions:

1- That my round-trip travel expense by air be paid.

2- That I do not speak on the Atlanta University Campus.

I should prefer in order the following places.

A- Chapel of Morris Brown College
B- Chapel of Clark College
C- A church in the city

If these conditions can be met I would speak for one-half hour on "The Negro in Two Hemispheres."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24k-33-49

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 17, 1950

Dear DuBois:

Thanks for your note of August 11. It is easy enough for us to meet your second condition; the difficulty comes with the first one. Logan, Bacote and I talked it over yesterday and conclude that our slim budget for this meeting will not allow payment of traveling expenses of any delegates. Our hope is that the institutions who may be represented by the persons who come, will take care of that.

Do you think that the Council on African Affairs will be able to send you?

At any rate please let me know by September 1.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR:h

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West Twenty-Sixth Street
New York 10, New York

24L-33-32

August 21, 1950

Mr. L. D. Reddick
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Reddick:

Dr. Du Bois is at present in Czechoslovakia. He is expected to return about September 3. I will bring your letter to his attention as soon as he returns.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

24k-33-33

September 20, 1950

Mr. Lawrence Reddick
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Reddick:

On my return from Europe I find your letter of August 17. I am afraid you will have to give up the matter of my appearing at Atlanta.

The Council on African Affairs could not under any circumstances undertake the expense; and also under no circumstances could I pay it.

I thank you for the offer and regret my inability to come.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

2406 - 33-50

File

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY SERVICE

December 6, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

One of our students in the Atlanta University School of Library Service is writing for a master's thesis, an historical sketch of the development of public library service to Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. We have learned that on the day of the opening of the Carnegie Library in Atlanta for whites you, representing a committee of Negro citizens, called upon the president of the new public library board to protest because no provision was made for Negro citizens to use the library and to ask that public library facilities be made available for Negroes and that there be appointed a Negro member of the public library board.

24-1-76

I am writing to ask if you have or can refer us to any records kept of the work of the committee that you represented on this occasion. Could you give us the names of the members of the Committee? If you could lend us any materials from your files pertaining to this struggle of Atlanta Negroes to secure public library service, we would be most appreciative. We would be happy to pay the postage on such material and return it to you promptly. Whatever information you can give us on this development will be most useful. We plan to do a series of such historical sketches for several southern cities.

My husband joins me in kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia Lacy Jones

(Mrs.) Virginia Lacy Jones
Director

VLJ:W

[Atlanta Univ.]

December 19, 1950

Mrs. Virginia Lacy Jones
Director
School of Library Service
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Jones:

Answering your letter of December 6, I have been hoping to find time to go through my files and get hold of some of the original documents on the library matter; but the task is too much and I shall have to simply say; that the year after the Carnegie Library was opened in Atlanta, a committee of Negroes was formed of which I was one. I am not quite sure of the other members; I think John Hope, and probably Dr. Porter were but that I cannot now remember.

We made an appointment with the trustees and met them once. There were four or five of us and five or six of the trustees. I was the main speaker. I hesitated at first as to whether I should make a straight out demand for full rights or compromise by asking for a branch library. I decided to make the full demand.

I demanded of the committee the same rights to use the library as were accorded white citizens. I pointed out that the discrimination was unfair; that although my own books were in the library, I could not take them out; and that this sort of discrimination was not democracy. Some of the trustees were quite angry at the demand and showed it in their faces and by what they said. The result of the visit was that we not only got no rights in the Central Library but for 10 years no branch library was established.

LL-11-116

If your student should ever be in New York and want to examine my files for the original documents, I should be glad to give him such facilities as I can.

I trust this will be of some use to your student.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:ln

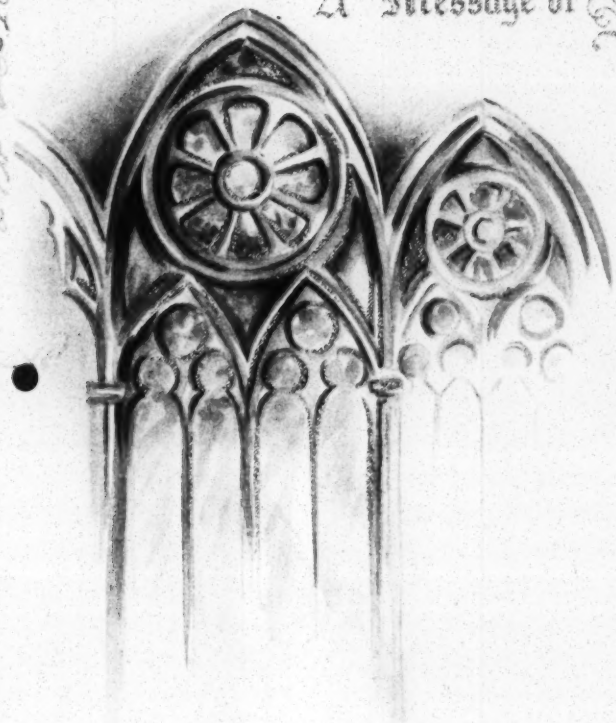
This message comes to bring
a heartfelt prayer
That He who understands
our every care
Will be your strength, your comfort,
and your guide--
A loving Presence, ever at your side.

The Atlanta Univ. Alumni Assn.

A HALLMARK CARD
2558-9

COPYRIGHT
HALL BROTHERS, INC.

A Message of Sympathy



January 9, 1950

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree, Post Office
Jamaica
British West Indies

My dear Pearl:

Those damned books have gone at last unless something else happens!

I have been trying months to get them off. First to get something to pack them in; after weeks I got a stout pasteboard container. The Shipping Company advised that it should be wood. It a month to get that.

I sent a check to the Shipping Company to cover full carriage; but when the expressman came he wanted to collect cash. I told him where he could go--politely of course and with dignity.

The next day I got the thing down stairs and bought a cab for the seven mile drive to the shipping office! The royal personage in charge there agreed to accept it. You would think that I was transferring the British Museum or the Paris National Library. What I am really sending is chiefly junk, but good pass-time reading. I hope it don't choke you.

My love to you and the Doctor and best wishes for a Happy New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

January 27, 1950

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree, Post Office
Jamaica
British West Indies

Dear Pearl:

Enclosed is a statement that the books went forward on the Cape Cumberland which sailed on January 18. I am hoping that by 1951 you may receive them.

Remember they are prepaid, and if any demand is made upon you for further payment be sure to let me know.

My best regards to you and Dr. Bailey.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

9-4-57

Walba Lodge,
3 Bradley Ave.,
Half Way Tree,
28th February, 1950.

My dear Dr. DuBois,

This letter should have been written last week but all this to-do at the University College of the W. I. has kept us socializing and pomp and circumstancing so much we've hardly had chance to eat and sleep.

All the things have arrived at last! The ham is half gone, and was really delicious. It did taste like ham and was oh! so good. You know, I'm rather glad it was put up in individual tins like that, for I could stretch it out over a longer period of time than if I had to cook an entire ham at one time. As it is, we still have 2 tins left.

24-1-53

The books are here in our den!!!!!
But oh! the pain of it; oh! the nuisance of it.

You told me not to pay anything since all was prepaid. Well! my first intimation they had arrived was a bill for 7s 6d. for "handling" and "storage". As the box was consigned to a broker, he had to get his charges. I paid the 7s 6, only to be told that the box had to go through 7 or 8 steps before they would be released. A "bill of sight" had to be gotten, a Customs Office had to be sought out for an appointment at the Office & the box could be opened for Customs duty if any; a quadruplicate copy of this must be filled out etc, etc, etc. ad infinitum. It ended up that even my American aggressiveness was squelched and a "broker" had to take over at one guinea and 10 shillings to wave the magic brand to "clear it". At the appointed time - 5 days later, I was called up and informed I could call for

the box or - they would deliver it at an extra cost. So! here our chauffeur and I go down town again with gasolene (~~Petrol~~) at 3 shillings per gallon, to pick up the box. There was no duty as books are duty free, but, ye gods, they sure know how to pile up charges. I have paid around 2 pounds.

So now I am in the midst of thrillers. I am solving murders one a day. Ellery Queen, Mary Rhinehart and I could stage a contest. They would win, however.

We are sending you some papers containing articles and pictures of the big event - the installation of Princess Alice the Countess of Athlone as Chancellor of the University. There was truly a social earthquake. Everybody quaked for fear he would not be invited to this or that. Curtsies, white kid gloves, white ties and tails were much in evidence. Culture, knowledge, and intelligence were so thick you could cut it with a knife - "atlass" - to give it local colour.

1-13-37

We were at the University so much our steering wheel has developed an educational bias. Seriously, it was epochal and I wouldn't have missed it for anything. You must come over and breathe some of our rarified English inoculated atmosphere.

Also seriously, this Island is the true melting pot of the Western hemisphere. The U.S.A. is out of it in this respect. Jamaica is a mixing pot as well. If the racial problem is settled any place on earth, it is settled here. Here they meet, intermarry and socialize class for class. But don't forget to include class that is paramount. Only, don't be black. In this event one must have outstanding qualifications which will then be your passwords. To be a Mason helps marvellously - British Masonry. The American Negro lodges are out.

Unfortunately few American Negroes of culture and refinement visit Jamaica. Those who do are mostly the blustering bragadocia type, well-to-do, but coarse. I suppose these are the ones who have the money to travel.

In the future send books and magazines by parcel post 4-6 in a package (book). Several packages if you wish. Parcel post is not subject to all the red tape freight has to go through. I'll learn these laws some day. The first two years are the hardest. Goodbye. Thanks and Love

4-1-35

March 17, 1950

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
Walba Lodge
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree
Jamaica, British West Indies

My dear Pearl:

I am glad that at last you have gotten the ham and the books. I shall send more books in time, but as you say will send them parcel post. It's too bad that they cost you so much time and money.

I am glad, but a little alarmed at your social activities.

My regards to the Doctor.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

64-1-12

Bailey (1)

Walba Lodge,
3 Bradley Rd.
Half Way Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.
25th Oct. 1950.

24-1-52

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Having returned, however briefly and precariously, to the land of the living, I am attempting to get in touch with my friends who have been so helpful, kind, and sustaining during those dark hours.

Strength, energy, endurance and stamina are still at a premium, but I'm clinging by the tendons of hope and faith.

We felt with you very deeply your recent bereavement. Our regret was that because of my illness we could not express it more adequately. However, we wish you to believe we realized fully the extent of your grief.

The tribute to Mrs. DuBois as expressed by the card sent us was not only unique but so expressive of your love for her and your life together.

Dr. Bailey joins me in expressions of sympathy to you, daughter, and grandchild.

Since I'm still house bound, with a day nurse in attendance, will appreciate hearing from you at intervals.

Our love and best wishes,

As ever,

Earl.

November 28, 1950

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree
Jamaica, British West Indies

My dear Pearl:

I have not had an answer from my last letter but of course hardly expected it. However I am rushing this off so as to be sure to wish you and Dr. Bailey a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. Do write and tell me how you are getting on.

As you probably know, I ran on the American Labor Ticket for Senator from New York, and had a very interesting time saying things on the platform which I could not have said otherwise without being put in jail. I received 200,000 votes which I think is a compliment even though it was but a tenth of the total vote cast; but every voter here is scared out of his pants and cannot be expected to do much.

After the election, I took a little trip up in Connecticut to the home of some friends, then to Wilmington and Washington and finally wound up with my daughter in Baltimore where I had Thanksgiving dinner. I have just come back to my desk.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-58

R. WELLESLEY BAILEY M.D.

3 Bradley Avenue,
Half Way Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

30th June 1952

My dear Dr. Dubois:-

Letter writing is not one of my delights, I usually leave it to Pearl, but she is too sick to act as my very valued "Secretary".

24-1-50

Since the 9th June 1950 she has been suffering from violent pain in the abdomen. X-rays have shown a blockage of bowel contents. An operation has been avoided but the inevitable is about to happen. It must be done and the chances are not very promising.

This news will be a shock to you, I know, but fate decrees these events not always to our liking.

That the pleasures & entertaining in in her new and very comfortable home remain, nevertheless the hope is still encouraged though

doubtful, since her strength is failing her rapidly.

So far as having had the operation performed earlier, seems did not force the issue, since temporary relief gave promise of a complete relaxation the spasm, but waiting has been abandoned.

She is in one of the finest Nursing Homes in the island — The Nuttall Home. The attention there is very satisfactory and Medical care by several of my colleagues is supplied day & night. Everybody has been lovely. The neighbors & friends have rallied to our call handsomely. She does not need for anything. To-day I have visited her four times, up to as late as 11. o'clock to-night.

Hope is my only hope. Human efforts are at their best, but the inevitable confronts us all. She is cheerful through it all.

Wishing you well & hoping to hear from you very soon,

Sincerely yours,

R. Wellesley Bailey.

July 7, 1950

Dr. R. Wellesley Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree
Jamacia, British West Indies

Dear Dr. Bailey:

I have your letter of June 30, and hasten to reply. I do hope that Pearl will survive the operation. I know how difficult a time tis is through which you are passing.

Mrs. Du Bois died June 26, after four years in bed and six years of illness. I am only glad that I lived long enough to see that she had the best care even to the end. She was buried June 30 in my hometown, Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

Let me hear from you at your convenience. Love to Pearl.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-1-51

[Baldwin]

The Croydon Hotel

Chicago 11, Ill.

Friday

There is a buffet supper being held tonight at which Henry Wallace, Cong. Marcantonio and Elmer Benson will be present, and to which you are invited. Time is 6:00 PM. Call room 1011 after 5 PM for the address.

The supper will be over in time for everyone to get to the convention.

Vi Lonski
Sec. to C.B.Baldwin
Room 1011

At Rush and Ontario Streets
Five Minutes Walk to the Loop. Distinctive Modernized Hotel Rooms and Apartments

Carl-M

[BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN]

April 21, 1950

Mr. Carl Murphy
AFRO-AMERICAN
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Will you please send [redacted] copies of THE BALTIMORE*AFRO*AMERICAN, of April 8, 1950, with bill?

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

24-7-12

[BALTIMORE Afro-American]

file "Afro"

August 11, 1950

Mr. Carl Murphy
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Enclosed is the correspondance which I had with President Jenkins of Morgan State College.

1- A telegram March 23, from Jenkins

2- Telegram March 24, from me to Jenkins

Before this time I do not remember ever having met President Jenkins or having any correspondance with him. I certainly had no thought of speaking at Morgan.

3- Letter from President Jenkins, April 23.

4- Answer from my secretary, April 28.

5- Letter from President Jenkins, April 29.

6- Letter from my secretary May 4.

When I returned from Paris I read the letter from President Jenkins but did not answer it. The originals of all these communications are in my files and I would be glad to show them to you personally if you wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-48

[Baltimore Forum]

3508 Reisterstown Rd.
Baltimore 15, Md.

Dr. E. Dubois
National Council on African Affairs
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The Baltimore Forum would like the honor of having you as its next speaker on Sunday April 30th at the third of its regular monthly series.

Dr. Apethker and Mr. Israel Epstein were the first two speakers. Because of your recognized contribution for peace and the unity between Negro and white people, we feel that your presence in Baltimore at our forum would be a major contribution to the growing peace movement in Maryland.

We have many sponsors in the cultural field, among whom are Dr. Alexander Walker, Professor of Political Science at Morgan State College; James S.Martin, Progressive Party Co-Chairman; Mr. Carl Metzler, noted sculptor and many others.

We would like you to speak on the subject of peace with some emphasis on the H-bomb. You are free to choose the exact title and contents. I hope you will accept out invitation. Please notify me immediately so that we can begin our publicity. Please send us some biographical material and if possible, a newspaper cut.

Unfortunately our funds are so limited, however, we would gladly pay your expenses.

Sincerely yours,
Lillian Finn
(Mrs.) Lillian Finn
Secretary, Balto. Forum

24-6-35-18

April 3, 1950

Mrs. Lillian Finn
Secretary, Baltimore Forum
3508 Reisterstown Road
Baltimore 15, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Finn:

Dr. Du Bois is accepting few engagements for lectures or addresses on account of his commitments for literary work.

If in exceptional cases he consents to speak, he must make the following charges, since, being retired he receives no salary.

For talks in New York City $50. Outside New York City, $100 or more according to distance.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYMam

Ltr Cons

3508 Reisterstown Rd.
Balto. 15, Md.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I regret very much that I must write you that we cannot afford financially to have you as our guest speaker on the 30th of April.

We are a new forum and until such time as we are able to build financial support, we are unable to take on an obligation of so much money. However, we hope that we will be able to invite you here in the very near future again.

I want to thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. L. Finn
Mrs. Lillian Finn
Baltimore Forum

24-7-7

Valedictorian
ROBERT AVON BENNETT, JR.
Salutatorian
BETTY LOUISE JACKSON

AWARDS

Alumni Medal	Robert Avon Bennett, Jr.
Morgan State College Scholarship Awards	Victor Emanuel LaGrange Sallie Smith
Irene D. Wilson Award	Charles H. Carter
Secondary Schoolmen's Award	Alphonso B. Smith
William Leroy Berry Award	Janet Audrey Burke
Parent-Teachers Association Award	Daniel Thomas Wheatley
Faculty Award	Ronald Cassell Watts
Chi Eta Phi Sorority Award	Rosetta Idella Ford
Alpha Kappa Alpha Award	Bettye Jeanne McLemore
Delta Sigma Theta Award	Yolande Du Bois Williams
Iota Phi Lambda Award	Gloria Betzy Hill
Zeta Phi Beta Award	Norma Christina Jenkins
Silhouettes, Kappa Alpha Psi	Wilhelmina M Steele
Howard University Alumni Association Award (Baltimore Chapter)	Ralph Thomas Quarles
Bessie Quille Memorial Scholarship Award	Robert Avon Bennett, Jr.
Minnie Ella Samuelson Scholarship Award	Beverly M. Williams

BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS

ROSZEL C. THOMSEN, *President*

DR. ELIZABETH MORRISSY
DALLAS F. NICHOLAS
DR. J. BEN ROBINSON
MRS. WILLIAM J. RYSANEK, SR.
JOHN R. SHERWOOD
DR. D. C. WHARTON SMITH
WALTER SONDHEIM, JR.
J. TRUEMAN THOMPSON

BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS

DR. WILLIAM H. LEMMEL
Superintendent of Public Instruction

MARY A. ADAMS
Assistant Superintendent, Elementary Education

JOHN H. FISCHER
Assistant Superintendent, General Administration

DR. ELMER A. HENDERSON
Assistant Superintendent, Colored Schools

JOHN W. LEWIS
Assistant Superintendent, Business Division

DR. CHARLES W. SYLVESTER
Assistant Superintendent, Vocational Education

DR. J. CAREY TAYLOR
Assistant Superintendent, Secondary Education

RALPH W. RECKLING
Principal

D. Williams
[Baltimore Pub. Schools — Douglass H S]

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

Frederick Douglass High School

DOUGLASS HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

Wednesday Evening, June Fourteenth

NINETEEN HUNDRED FIFTY

EIGHT O'CLOCK

Program

MUSICAL PRELUDE . . . . . Douglas High School Band
Turn Thee Again . . . . . Russian Liturgy
The Great Century . . . . . C. Richter
Prayer from Hansel and Gretel , Humperdinck, arr. J. McLeod
Fughetta . . . . . J. Stainer

PROCESSIONAL . . . . . Schmitt

INVOCATION . . . . . THE REVEREND CECIL B. LAGRANGE
Pastor of John Wesley M. E. Church, Glen Burnie, Md.

CHORAL PRAYER . . . . . Class
The Grail Motive from "Parsifal" . . . . . R. Wagner

CHORUS . . . . . Class
One World . . . . . Geoffrey O'Hara

CHORUS . . . . . Class
The Vesper Hymn . . . . . Ludwig Beethoven

SEXTETTE . . . Sylvia L. Waters, Janet A. Burke, Bettie Langley, L. Doris Simpson, Shirley L. Clayton, Juanita Y. Williamson,
Clair de Lune . . . . . C. Debussey

VIOLIN SOLO . . . . . Soloist: Jerome E. Prettyman, June '50
Largo . . . . . Handel

CHORUS . . . . . Class
Homing . . . . . Teresa Del Rio
Smoke Gets In Your Eyes . . . . . Jerome Kern

PRESENTATION OF DIPLOMAS . . . . DR. WILLIAM H. LEMMEL
Superintendent of Public Instruction

VOCAL SOLO . . . . . Soloist: Romona A. Williams, June '50
O, Divine Redeemer . . . . . Gounod

CHORUS . . . . . Class
Libestraum . . . . . Fr. Liszt

ANNOUNCEMENT OF AWARDS . . . . . RALPH W. RECKLING
Principal

CHORUS . . . . . Class
Swing Along . . . . . Will Marion Cook

ENSEMBLE . . . . . Audience and Class
Baltimore, Our Baltimore . . . . . Hemberger
Salute to the American Flag
The Star-Spangled Banner . . . . . Key

BENEDICTION . . . . . THE REVEREND CECIL B. LAGRANGE

RECESSIONAL . . . . . Class

Music under the direction of W. LLEWELLYN WILSON
Leader of the band, STANLEY WILLIAMS Accompanist, SHELLMAN JOHNSON, June '51

All guests are respectfully requested to remain seated until after the class recessional

GRADUATES—JUNE, 1950

Florise Aurelia Adams
Bernice Helen Anderson
Colease Anderson
Doris Pecola Anderson
Elijah M. Alexander
June Fransetta Backus
Sarah Elizabeth Bagwell
Donald Nathaniel Bailey
Kenneth Barnes
Helen Shirley Bantom
*Lillian E. Bascome
C. Patricia Bayton
*Robert Avon Bennett, Jr.
Martha Elizabeth Betts
Douglas Fairbanks Bishop
Delores Pearl Bigby
Pearl Helen Birckhead
Floyd Russell Bivens
George C. Bolling
Lorita Alice Booze
Frances Alease Bowman
James Nathaniel Boyd
Delores Boyer
*Jeanne Aurelia Branford
Cleo A. Brooks
Lillian Beatrice Brooks
Howard Lincoln Brown
Jack C. Brown
Roland A. Brown
Shirley Delores Brown
Shirley Ann Bruce
Ella Louise Bryant
Ruth Etta Bryant
Carmelita P. Burge
Janet Audrey Burke
Margaret Elizabeth Burnside
Thelma Bush
*Marie Louise Byrd
Arneatha Caesar
Bettye J. Cannaday
Charles H. Carter
Bertha Lee Chapman
*James H. Chase
Shirley Chase
June Clark
Louis Winfield Clayton
Shirley LeRay Clayton
Harriette Coates
Sylvester Thomas Coles
Wyman Lee Colona
*Marion Elizabeth Conway
Charles William Cooper
James Hezekiah Cottman
James Edward Courtney
Gloria Winifred Cupee
Ronald D. Curry
William Joseph Curtis
Robert Dandridge
Beatrice Diggs
William Carr Dixon
*Grace Elizabeth Dorsey
Carlton Harde Dotson
William Melvin Dukes, Jr.
John Charles Earket
Ethel Llewellyn Ennis
Betty L. Evans
Esther Mae Ferrell
Rosetta Idella Ford
Lorenzo Earl Foy
Stanley Jerome Franklin
William Donald Garrett
Charles Gilbert Gaskins
Claretha Gee
*Jerry Douglass Gillian
Charles Edward Gilmore
Annie Mary Golder
Josephine Gordon
*Shirley Green
William Green
Charles Hilary Griffin
Charles Hillary Griffin
Donald W. Hall
William A. Hall
Leonard C. Harper
*Mary Delores Harvey
John Lee Haskins
Constance Mae Hatcher
Shirley Henson
Alfred James Hill
*Gloria Betzy Hill
Lucille Elizabeth Hill
Mary Jane Hodges
Elaine Burnett Holland
Elizabeth Arbenia Holly
Evelyn Marjorie Horried
Calvin Edward Howard
*Christine Eugenia Howard
Berline Ernestine Irvin
*Betty Louise Jackson
Harvinia Jackson
Alfred W. Jenkins, Jr.
Myrtle Elizabeth Jenkins
*Norma Christina Jenkins
Shirley Delores Jenkins
Joyce Virgie Jennings
Audrey Laretta Johnson
Daniel R. Johnson, Jr.
*Shirley Mae Johnson
Carolee Jones
Donald Carrington Jones
*Harriet Marie Jones
Helen F. Jones
Rita Bernadine Jones
*Veola Mae Jones
*Eugene Clarke Jubilee
*Robert Milton Julius
Francis I. Kyler
*Victor Emanuel LaGrange
*Arthur Washington Lambert, Jr.
Bettie Louise Langley
Noel Augustus Lansdowne
Dorothy Louise Lee
Ellen Mae Lee
Roberta Lewis
Janita Lide
Muriel Frances Mack
Vivian Beatrice Mackel
John Marshall, Jr.
*William Henry Mason, Jr.
Samuel Edward Moss
Doris Ann Matthews
Theodore Roosevelt McClain
Annie McLaurin
*Bettye Jeanne McLemore
Thurman McMillan
Doretha Ida Middleton
Helen Elizabeth Middleton
Patrick Middleton
Carl W. Miles
Gloria Isabell Milliner
Lula M. Montague
Richard Lewellyn Moore
Robert B. Morton
James Hutchinson Murray
Katherine Celestine Newton
Vivian Lorriane Nichols
Zerita Mae E. Nichols
Talmadge Emmanuel Nimmons
William Archer Owens
Consuella Ann Outlaw
*Laura Mae Page
Lucille Palmer
Ralph Parr
Joseph Francis Payne
Jerome Eugene Petty
William Pointer
Shirley A. Portee
Geraldine Pretlow
Alma Price
Barbara Adelaide Pullen
*Ralph Thomas Quarles
Gloria Sophronia Queen
Mary Elizabeth Ragin
*Beverley June Ransom
William McKinley Rawlings, Jr.
Guy Reginal Regusters
Doris Gertrude Reynolds
Theodore Rhodes, Jr.
Alphonso Rickard, Jr.
Thomas Leon Roach
Robert Robins, Jr.
*Gertrude Bernard Rogers
Thomas Louis Rogers, Jr.
Ella Lillian Sanders
Beatrice Leslie Savage
Betty Lorraine Scott
Lucille Sholtz
Julius Luckiano Simms
Lou Doris Simpson
William Lee Sivels
*Alphonso B. Smith
Edith Mae Smith
Gladys Delores Smith
*Helen Rebecca Smith
Jeanette Cornilia Smith
*Levada Smith
Lois Angela Smith
*Sallie Smith
*Alverta Mae Stanton
*Ethel Marie Stanton
*Wilhelmina M. Steele
George Edward Stewart
Evangelyn I. Strickland
Helen Beatrice Strickland
Geraldine Sutton
Irvin Marcellous Sutton
*Constance Mae Tate
Fred Thomas Tate
Rowena Wadell Thaxton
Regina Elizabeth Thomas
Barbara Ann Thompson
*Gloria June Thompson
Evelyn Tilghman
Edgar Netz Tompkins
Dorothy Elizabeth Valentine
*Edith Cordette Walker
Abraham D. Wallace
*Lois Natalie Washington
William Joseph Washington
Sylvia Lois Waters
*Ronald Cassell Watts
Delilah Ernestine Wheeler
*Daniel Thomas Wheatley
Cecelia Alma White
Donald Marvin Winder
Samuel Leon Winder
*Bevery M. Williams
Doris Williams
Eva Dell Williams
*Leo Richard Williams, Jr.
Ramona A. Williams
Yolande DuBois Williams
Juanita Yvonne Williamson
Ernest Benjamin Womble
Blanche Irene Wright
Lelia Elizabeth Wyatt
Marjorie Young
Patricia Ann Young

*Honor Roll

State College
Prairie View, Texas
July 7, 1950

Dear Ones:

"He who is wise at heart sorrows not for the living nor the dead. What lives will live forever. Only the shell, the perishable, vanishes. The spirit is without an end — eternal — without death."

From The Bhagavad-Gita.

Our love to you all — always.

Sincerely,
Gloviva Virginia
and
Mikelle Rutherford Bass

21-96-17

With Deepest Sympathy

Dr & Mrs H. M. Barnes

24b-26-24

Da Bose Funeral.

EDWARD B. DOLBY
FLORIST
GREAT BARRINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS

CARD ENCLOSED

Spray of Pink Carnations

EDGAR ALLAN POE
ROBERT DIXON BARTLETT
J. KEMP BARTLETT, JR.
EDGAR ALLAN POE, JR.
FRANCIS A. MICHEL
C. DAMER MC KENRICK
RICHARD W. KIEFER
JAMES A. BIDDISON, JR.

J. KEMP BARTLETT
1863-1948
L. B. KEENE CLAGGETT
1875-1929

LAW OFFICES OF
BARTLETT, POE & CLAGGETT
S.W. COR CALVERT & REDWOOD STS.
BALTIMORE-2, MD.

TELEPHONE
LEXINGTON 5610

February 10, 1950

William - DuBois
II

Dallas F. Nicholas, Esq.
14 East Pleasant Street
Baltimore - 2, Maryland

24-8-27-10

Dear Mr. Nicholas:

Thanks for your letter of February 6th enclosing your check for $50. I have received Mrs. Woods permission to accept $50.00 in full settlement of Mr. & Mrs. Woods claim for damages against Dr. William E. B. DuBois growing out of the delay in receiving possession of the property, 2302 Montebello Terrace.

If you desire any further receipt other than this letter, please let me know and I will obtain it for you.

Very truly yours,

Robert D. Bartlett

RDB:IT

Structural Campus

306 Sycamore Drive
Bakersfield California
October 17, 1950

Dr W E B DuBois
PEACE INFORMATION CENTER
222 West 23rd street
New York NY

Greetings:---

We deem it a distinct pleasure to be able to address one of so varied experiences and who possesses rare good gumption. Yes, we mean YOU--WEB. We were more than happy to hear of the good news that you would enter the race for a seat in the U S Senate. The people need progress-minded persons in high public places---particularly in the legislative halls of the nation. Our one great regret is that we shall not have the opportunity to cast a vote for your election---but rest assured that, in our opinion, the electorate of New York cannot have a better chance to elect real representation in the highest legislative body in the U S A.

Regardless of the fact that we are 16 years your junior we believe that we are in a position to help you to arrive at some really good conclusions.

24-5-2

The nation that was "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are createdd equal" is being destroyed by the same unholy gang of gangsters that aided franco in the subversion of the Spanish people's Republic (BIG BUSINESS plus the church plus the military). Can any well-informed person remain complacent when it is most apparent that the same gang is pulling the reins in America? We cannot!!

Communism

There are two forces, today, seeking ascendancy throughout the world. The one is on the side of "progress" and "decency" and "justice" and "democracy" and "peace"---which we shall now designate as [redacted]; and the other force is diametrically opposed to the aforementioned ideals---it is on the side of "reaction" and "obscurantism"--and it should not be too difficult to guess that this force is the papal government.--it is not a Christian organization--it is a temporal sovereign state (foreign), operating behind the cloak of "religion"--and through its insidious machinations striving for the downfall of all governments "of the people, by the people, and for the people". In its eagerness to attain its diabolical ends, it is now encouraging the murdering of American boys simultaneously with the wanton slaughter of the Korean people. Its motto being: "The end justifies the means". Do you have to look very far to discover that the minions of the papal government in the USA controlled the election of 1944 (i.e. the convention) and nominated for the post of vice-President the "product of the pendergast machine"? So, we find that since the demiseof F D R every day has been a day of "infamy", and that practically every policy (both foreign and domestic) has met with the approval of the papal government.

Since 99% of the newspapers (daily) of the United States are in favor of WAR as an antidote for depressions one is reminded all too frequently that the pope is against "Communism" and

"secularism".

Of course, "secularism" means "government by the people, of the people, for the people--and does "communism".

However, the higher-ups in our government have not seen fit to the present time to establish a definition for the term "communism". It is going to have to be left to the more lowly in the community (that sounds like "Communism" doesn't it?) to come up with a definition if we are to be successful against the enemies of our government. It is our firm belief that the enemies of "democracy" and "justice" and "progress" and "decency" and "peace" can be turned back--and the prison gates opened to release those persons who have been illegally incarcerated because of their political beliefs. You are in a position to help in the instruction of the people of the United States, at this most crucial time; and here we pass onto you a definition of the term "Communism" that was provided by the personnel of the various Congresses that were convened between 1894 and 1923. As the result of a concurrent resolution a Committee was assigned the duty of compiling messages and papers of the Presidents of the United States from 1789 to 1894. A set of 20 volumes issued, and were titled: "Messages and Papers of the Presidents". Amongst that 20 volumes there are 2 volumes of Encyclopedic Index. Under the heading of "Communism" the following is what we find as the meaning of that "dread" word:

24-5-3

"Communism.--That creed or program holding that private property in essentials should be abolished, and that all necessary goods should be held in common, to be used by the individual according to his needs and desires. Examples of communist practice are to be found today in municipal streets, libraries, police and fire departments, schools, parks, sewage systems, street-lamps, etc.; and extension of the communist principle would occur if the individual were able to ride on railroads without payment of fare, the expense of the railroad systems being borne by the state irrespective of the varying usage of individuals. Obviously, extension of communism would depend upon increased production, and the practicable value of communism may be held to depend upon the extent to which the community is able to produce more goods by more scientific methods of procedure and by decreasing the production of non-essentials.

"Communism is found in practice in the earliest records of civilization, and it is possible that the pre-historic tribes may have passed through a stage of communistic existence. In many respects, the plan for an ideal state outlined in Plato's 'Republic' may be called communistic, and if any one sociological label could be applied to the early Christian teachings, it would be 'Communism'. There were a number of communist groups in medieval times, largely Christian sects, and Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia' was founded upon a basis largely communistic".

There is more in the definition, but, we believe that you are supplied with enough ammunition to counteract what is being attempted by tom c clark and the other destroyers of "democracy". There is not much time to be wasted. Years add up--and our strength wanes--and we must ply the hammer while the iron is hot.

The above definition forces us to the conclusion that "any project that is owned and supported and operated by the whole people is communism"--whether that project be the Post Office Department or

zoological gardens or a dog pound or the US Army orthe Marines or even the governments of our various political subdivisions and their departments. In other words, everyone who receives his paycheck in whatever sums, takes it from what is known as the public pocketbook (or "community" or "communistic" pocketbook). Some few persons take from the common pocketbook to provide their subsistence, while the great majority are called upon to keep the coffers full.

Sad it is, though, that the few who are on the "receiving" end of the common pocketbook do all in their power to indoctrinate the many that we should not have "communism"--but that we should do everything possible to advance "private enterprise"--which, purely and simply is piracy plus mendicancy. And that is what our economic system is made of----------most hellish!--- -and is not justified by the Federal Constitution.

O yes, the members of Congress who rigged up the "definition" of "Communism" for posterity tells us further that when our Tom Jefferson stood for JUSTICE he was called "Communist".

24-5-4

Which takes us back to the persons and organizations that are listed as "subversive" have always supported and promoted the ideal of JUSTICE! Let's all be willing to stand or fall along with the framer of Declaration of Independence.

It ought to be patent to all that were the great personages of history to re-appear today they would be smeared with red-baiting. The list would include many thousands--such as Tom Paine and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Huey P Long and Galileo and Confucius and Jesus Christ (if he ever lived). (of course, we are told that he drove the money-changers out of the temple--and that he gave the lawyers the dickens because they lade men with burdens grievous to be borne and did not life a finger to help and that they stood in the way so that the people could not get knowledge) for these indiscretions, it is said, he was crucified. All the way down through history the persons who were in the vanguard in thought have always been persecuted, or murdered. Even the Huegenots, and others, who felt that they shold enjoy religious freedom without interference, have been slain and burned at the stake. When we look we find that the "Christian" religion is the only religion that burned human beings at the stake. Won't people ever get civilized?

President Adams said one good thing when he voiced the opinion that: "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there were no religion in it". Without religions there could be no conflict of opinion as to whether there is a hereafter (when no one knows anything about it). With the result that there would be no WARS.

Use the ammunition in the best manner possible (we know that you are capable), and we shall sign off with the wish that the people of New York will be intelligent enough to employ your services as their next U S Senator.

Peace is the condition that we want for Progress!

Sincerely,

D G Bayne

D G Bayne.

December 7, 1950

Mr. D. G. Bayne
306 Sycamore Drive
Bakersfield, California

My dear Sir:

May I thank you very much for your letter of October 17, with most of which I am in firm agreement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-5

WALTER N. BEEKMAN, D. D. S.
746 FULTON STREET
BROOKLYN 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE NEVINS 8-1433

June. 26/50

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Recalling my visit to your home last April and finding Mrs. DuBois in such good spirits despite the burden of her illness, to learn of her death so shortly after gives me a feeling of deep sorrow. Mrs. Beekman joins me in saying respects to you and family

Sincerely yours
Walter N. Beekman

24-26-5

13 H

24-5-32

[Bell]

TARJETA POSTAL

INDUSTRIA ARGENTINA

Vista de Buenos Aires - Republica Argentina

View of Buenos Aires - Argentine Republic

EDICIONES ARTPOST

Mother + I are enjoying seeing the other side of the western hemisphere!

— Katherine

1. - El Cabildo

The Municipal Council

Reproducción Prohibida

24!

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

409 Edgecombe Ave

New York City

New York

U. S. A.

September 18, 1950

Miss Katherine Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Katherine:

I got y ur card and hope you have returned safely. I have been for a month in Czechoslovakia and France.

My love to your mother and sister, and the little boy. I hope to see you one of these days.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-33

September 22, 1950

Miss Catherine Bell
340 Belmont Ave.
Newark, N. J.

Dear Miss Bell:

Dr. DuBois will conduct his first press conference since his return from Eastern Europe at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, Sunday afternoon, September 24th at 12:30 - Room 102.

The conference will also mark his first press interview since his acceptance of the American Labor Party's nomination to run for United States Senator from New York.

Because of the international significance of Dr. DuBois's leadership today in the struggles of Negro and colonial peoples for freedom, we are happy to invite you to be present on this historic occasion as his special guest.

Cordially yours,

George B. Murphy, Jr.

Sept. 22, 1950.

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, N. J.

Dear Mrs. Bell:

Dr. DuBois will conduct his first press conference since his return from Eastern Europe, at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street & 7th Avenue, Sunday afternoon, September 24th at 12:30 - Room 102.

The conference will also mark his first press interview since his acceptance of the American Labor Party's nomination to run for United States Senator from New York.

Because of the international significance of Dr. DuBois's leadership today in the struggles of Negro and colonial peoples for freedom, we are happy to invite you to be present on this historic occasion as his special guest.

Cordially yours,

George B. Murphy Jr.

(BENDER)

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TOUGALOO, MISS.

WILLIAM H. WATKINS
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 17,1950

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Baltimore, Md.,

My dear Dr. DuBois:

We exchanged letters concerning your leaving the NAACP some time ago. I never knew your address after that. Recently I read of the passing of your dear helpmeet at Baltimore. Conceiving the idea that that is your home, I am taking the liberty to write you there- (letter anywhere will reach YOU). First of all let me assure you of my deep regret in the passing of Mrs. DuBois. The two of you had a long and outsatndingly useful wedded life. I pray the strength of the Almighty will sustain you in this great loss that has come to you.

At the NAACP in Washington,I got a chance for just a word with you. I asked if you will be kind enough to come to Mississippi under my management and speak to us. I want everyone in Mississippi to hear you at one of our largest churches in Jackson. You said you would be glad to come. Can you arrange to favor us in this way during the month of August or early September- just anytime that suits your convenience.

You don't need to hesitate one bit about coming to Mississippi. Many of us down here are fighting from within. In the past they have made much of those who are "outside meddlers." We began aggressively meddling from within when we took up the fight from within, against Bilbo. Its effects are felt throughout the state. We are still fighting for teachers salary. Our Jackson case comes up in New Orleans in the Federal Court of Appeals about October.

Please stipulate the terms of your visit. For comfort and all, plan to come by plane. Whatever you ask we will do it. Please let me hear from you just so soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Bender

College Minister and Assistant
to the President

I am not accepting many lectures for the Duration of the War, but I will come to Jackson early in September for $150 all expenses. The address + Religion will be $150 which will make the total cost to you fairly heavy. For 2 or more lectures $100 for each lecture. I appreciate your kind words

246-33-30

July 21, 1950

Mr. W. A. Bender
College Minister and
Assistant to the President
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Bender:

I am not accepting many lectures now, but I will come for one lecture in Jackson early in September for $150 and expense. The expense of flying will be about $150 which will make the total cost to you pretty heavy.

For two or more lectures, $100 for each lecture. I appreciate your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24A-33-31

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TOUGALOO, MISS.

WILLIAM H. WATKINS
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 31,1950

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Replying to your letter of July 21,I wish to inform you that we gladly accept the terms of your letter for a lecture in Jackson early in the month of September. Kindly give us the date of the lecture and we will begin our responsibility of making known your coming.

I should be glad to seek a date with a Memphis friend,if you care to have me do so and will state the terms so that I may pass them on to him.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Bender

August 4, 1950

Mr. W. A. Bender
Office of the President
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Bender:

I have your letter of July 31. I will be glad to lecture in Jackson during the latter part of the week of September 3, the understanding being that you will pay my fee of $150 and my round trip travelling fee from New York by air, and board and lodging while I am in the city.

I can speak either on "Peace", or "Africa."

I would be glad to make arrangements to speak in Memphis. Will you put me in touch with persons interested. My terms would be $150 plus any extra travelling expense incurred by stopping there.

I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

246-28-105

August 16, 1950

Mr. W. A. Bender
College Minister and Assistant
to the President
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

Dr. Du Bois has asked me to inform you that he will be unable to speak for you the week of September 3. He wishes, if possible, for you to change the date to either September 8, 9, or 10.

Dr. Du Bois is in Paris at present and is not expected back until September 3 or 4.

May I hear from you as early as possible?

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TOUGALOO, MISS.

WILLIAM H. WATKINS
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 18, 1950

Miss Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Miss Murphy:

We were in the midst of putting on the finishing touches for the coming of Dr. Du Bois. Your letter of yesterday stopped us for the time being.

Now that he cannot come as scheduled, and the reason is a mighty worthy one, we shall have to start all over again. In some respects that will serve us better. Around September 3, all schools and colleges will be opening in this area. That puts on one grand rush. Therefore, another time will suit us far better. The 8,9 or 10 of September would make things but little better with reference to the above. Dr. Du Bois has never been to Mississippi, so we want to make his coming one of the greatest events in this section.

Please allow me to confer further with our local Board of the NAACP and write Dr. Du Bois. In the meanwhile, I'll be contacting again my friend at Memphis in respect to his coming. This much had been done previously. You'll hear from me again just so soon as possible.

With every good wish for you and Dr. Du Bois, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Bender

24-B-33-29

C. F. Hayfron-Benjamin,
Barrister-at-Law,
Solicitor of the Supreme Court

Telegraphic & Cable Address "TOBY"

Telephone No. 148

Ref. CFHB/CD/1/50.

Carver B

Scott Chambers,
P O. Box 118,
Cape Coast, Gold Coast.

6th January, 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois,

This will naturally come to you as a surprise packet, but it need not be as I have known you back as far as 1922 when you held the 2nd Pan-African Conference in London. Many years have since floated by but you always occupy a revered place in my memory.

To start with, I am an African of the Gold Coast and a Barrister of some 24 years stand-ing and Editor of the Gold Coast Observer, Cape Coast. Sometime in 1948, my twin daughters won Scholarships from Christine Smith Institute, Accra, and proceeded to Edward Waters College, Jacksonville to prosecute studies. They have been there ever since.

Owing to the fact that Edward Waters College is not a recognised seat of learning in the United States, the Gold Coast Government does not permit me to send dollars to them by way of pocket money. Consequently the poor children are without funds and they write pathetic letters to me. I am naturally worried since they are so far away from me.

24-1-26

In the circumstances, I respectfully request you to find them admission into a recognised School. I am quite willing and prepared to pay for their fees. When they secure a good recognised School, permission will be given me to transmit dollars to them. Before then, the situation seems hopeless. I trust you will do your very best for them and me.

In the meantime, I ask of your kind-ness, occasionally to give them a few dollars a month pocket money on my account. I promise faith-fully to make good any amount spent on them when suitable arrangements materialise.

I am making frantic efforts to get the children helped but I have my trust in you and I am convinced you will be of assistance in my hour of need.

With renewed thanks and all good wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely &
Respectfully,

C. F. H. Benjamin

TO DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS, [illegible]
PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
C/O NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLES,
NEW YORK, U.S.A.

P.S. The address of the Twins is as follows:-
(a) Lilian Hayfron-Benjamin)
(b) Victoria Hayfron-Benjamin)
C/O Edward Waters College,
Kings Road,
Jacksonville, Florida,
U. S. A.

C.F.H.B.

January 20, 1950

Mr. C. F. H. Benjamin
P. O. Box 118
Cape Coast, Gold Coast
British West Africa

Dear Mr. Benjamin:

I have your letter of January 6. I appreciate the predicament in which you find yourself. If you will send me a duly attested certificate stating your financial ability and standing, I will see if I can get some organization to contribute to your daughters' upkeep until they can get transferred to some recognized college.

I do not know just how this can be done, but I will try to find out.

I am sorry not to be of more help to you but, personally I should be unable to afford the financial outlay.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

C. F. Hayford-Benjamin,
Barrister-at-Law,
Solicitor of the Supreme Court

Telegraphic & Cable Address "TOBY"

Telephone No.148

Ref.....CFHB/CD/1/50.....

Scos Chambers,

P O. Box 118,

Cape Coast, Gold Coast.

50

31st....January.....19....

Dear Doctor DuBois,

I am infinitely obliged for the prompt attention you gave to my letter concerning my Twin Daughters in Jacksonville. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for what you have done in the matter.

Before the receipt of your letter, however, Bishop Noser of the Roman Catholic Church, Accra, had arranged for the girls' admission into St. Mary's Academy, 717 New Orleans Street, New Orleans and they are both expected there on the 1st of March.

24-1-20

In the circumstances, I respectfully request you to hold matters in abeyance until they are actually admitted into St. Mary's Academy or otherwise.

I shall need to be introduced to noted organisations in America which can be of assistance to aspiring young africans in the pursuit of knowledge in the United States. I know of a number who are thirsty after higher knowledge but have no help.

Trusting to hear favourably from you at your convenience.

I remain,
Yours Respectfully and
Sincerely,

C. F. Hayford-Benjamin

DR. W.E.B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10 N.Y.

ELMER A. BENSON
Appleton, Minn.

May 29, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to ask your cooperation in something I believe deeply important to the future of the progressive movement in America.

Undoubtedly you are familiar with National Guardian, the progressive newsweekly. I am sure you realize what it has meant to our movement to have this hard-hitting, uncompromising weapon of truth placed every week in the hands of progressives throughout the country. Progressives everywhere have taken it to their hearts as a "must": in less than two years of existence it is now read by 100,000 people in over 4,000 U.S. communities.

The Guardian has had a tough uphill fight to establish itself in what must be the most difficult period in U.S. history for anything progressive. Considering how little organized support it has had, the three men who launched it (John McManus, Cedric Belfrage and Jim Aronson) and its whole staff are to be congratulated on the fact that the movement up the hill continues.

When I undertook recently to explore the Guardian's problems with its management, I found them in complete agreement with me on certain ideas I had.

They feel, as I do, that while the paper has established its position as an authentic voice of American progressives the time has come for the Guardian to be established on a broad national base by and for the movement as a whole.

I believe you will agree that this is a logical culmination of the Guardian's development since its inception at the end of 1948; that all of us have a vested interest in its growth and strength and should now express that interest in clear, positive fashion.

The paper's management have cordially accepted my proposal that a national Board of Trustees be set up which will hold the ownership of the Guardian in trust and guide its destinies.

I am inviting you to serve with me on this initiating Board of Trustees. Those accepting positions on the board will, while exercising over-all authority over the policies of the Guardian, undertake no financial liabilities.

This is a matter of real immediacy. I therefore ask that you notify me as quickly as possible of your willingness to serve as a trustee. Together, we can enable the Guardian to take a tremendous stride forward.

While I ask an immediate reply to this request, please accept my assurance that no public announcement of your acceptance will be made until you have been further consulted on all details of our plans for the Guardian, which will be mailed to you for your consideration and approval upon receipt of your acceptance to serve.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer A. Benson

64-55-35

This communication has been sent to the following people:

EAST:
Charles Collins
Martha Dodd (Mrs. Alfred K. Stern)
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Rev. Joseph Fletcher
Corliss Lamont
Vito Marcantonio
Elizabeth Moos
Joseph Selly
Dr. Mary Van Kleeck
Katherine Van Orden

MIDWEST:
Charles P. Howard
Oliver S. Loud
Curtis MacDougall
Fred Stover

WEST:
Charlotta Bass
Hugh Bryson
Howard Koch
Linus Pauling
Nels Peterson
Craig Vincent
Frances Williams

SOUTH:
John Coe
Clifford Durr
Velma Hopkins
Jennings Perry
Norman Wright

24-5-36

Reg for Info

THE BERKSHIRE COURIER ★ ★ ESTABLISHED IN 1834
GREAT BARRINGTON MASSACHUSETTS The Local Newspaper of Southern Berkshire

Published THURSDAY MORNINGS by THE BERKSHIRE COURIER, Inc.
JOHN M. FRANCIS, Editor

Book and Commercial Printing

February 16, 1950

Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois
200West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Boise

I have notice that you are to observe your birthday on February 23, and being one of our town's most distinguished sons, I wonder if you would send me some material for a story that we can use in the February 23 issue of the Berkshire Courier and also for a Springfield newspaper.

Would it be possible for you to send us two photographs of yourself, and also any pertinent information that you can send along, (i.e.) your official capacity now, etc.

Would like to have it as soon as possible. I'm also sending you a letter of similar nature to your Baltimore address in case you happened to be there.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, sincerely yours,

John La Fontana

John La Fontana

P.S. The best wishes for the birthday.

2yk-29-54

who's who + 2 pictures

February 18, 1950

Mr. John La Fontana
THE BERKSHIRE COURIER
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. La Fontana:

I am enclosing date which you asked for. I have known THE BERKSHIR COURIER since I was a child and read it all my life until I left Great Barrington.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

July 31, 1950

Mr. Leonard Bernstein
Berkshire Music Festival
Tanglewood, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

It has been reported to me that you signed the World Peace Appeal while you were in Amsterdam and in Israel.

As you are doubtless informed, numerous distinguished personalities throughout the world have signed the Appeal, including George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Mann, Henri Matisse, Jacques Thibaut, Arnold Zweig, the Prime Minister of Finland, the Premier of Egypt, ex-President Cardenas of Mexico, the Archbishop of Trieste, the Cardinal-Primate of Poland, etc. Recently the Rabbinical Council of France endorsed the Appeal.

In this country, in addition to Thomas Mann, Marc Chagall, Bishops Moulton, Oldham and Greene, other putstanding public figures have endorsed the Appeal. Dr. Carlson, and Dr. Morrison, atomic physicists, Miss Emily Green Balch, Nobel Peace Prize winner, as well as several hundred clergymen have added their names.

I think it would be of importance to the peace movement in this country if you would make a brief statement of endorsement and send it to the Peace Information Center, particularly for use among cultural leaders.

You will be heartened to learn that the world total of signers has passed the 250 million mark -- more than one-tenth mankind. More than ten million signatures have been collected in France alone. In Israel approximately one-quarter the population has endorsed the Appeal.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois, Chairman

DB/adk

uopwa

[Bethel AME Church]

P R O G R A M

DuBOIS MEETING - FEBRUARY 7, 1950

TUESDAY

8:00 P.M.

BETHEL A.M.E. CHURCH

Selection	-	Y.M.C.A. Boys Harmonica Band
Invocation		
Introductory Remarks	-	Chairman Rev. Charles A. Hill
Significance of Negro History Week	-	Mrs. Rosa Gragg
CRC's Program (FEPC post cards - chm)	-	Joseph Tumkin, Unity Chapter CRC
Selection	-	YMCA Band
The Crockett Case	-	Attorney, Dean A. Robb
Remarks	-	

Presentation by Youth and Intruduction of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

uopwa26cio

24-12-12

76 EAST BLAKE AVENUE
COLUMBUS 2, OHIO

Lillian Hellman
23 W 11th St

Feb. 26, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Hotel Royalton
44 West 44th St.
N.Y., N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Have sent you to-day, in response to your night letter, a telegram accepting your invitation to join the sponsoring group for the forthcoming peace mission of the eminent Europeans. Wish, too, to contribute something to help defray your organizing expenses, so am enclosing a check.

The issue being so momentous, it would seem that, if need be, you should be able to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars for requisite campaign expenses.

This statement may argue an optimistic naivete on my part. Still, I'll maintain this opinion until convincing counterevidence appears.

I had only once in my life the occasion to direct a money-raising campaign. This was when my friend, Dr. Gerald Benesh of Avon, Ohio, was arrested for "practicing medicine without a license" at the instigation of the medical dictatorship. The principal move of the National Benesh Defense Committee was to send out a circular -- a copy of which I am enclosing for your possible interest; and to visit with interested people in about half a dozen Ohio cities. In spite of woeful shortage of planners, inadequate clerical help, and some costly mistakes, we collected around $2500, which nearly covered all expenses prior to the appeal from the guilty verdict of the Court of Common Pleas. (The judge was flagrantly biased, and we have strong hope that he will be reversed on appeal).

Comparatively, it would seem not arduous to collect 100 times that amount for the cause of peace. That is, if the campaign is well prepared, appeals to the imagination of both progressives and conservatives -- and why not get under the skin of the conservatives and rectionaries, who are too confused to have a consistent, logical opinion on almost <u>any</u> vital issue? -- and a reasonably adequate number of energetic planners, organizers and workers are enlisted.

We have the instance of the apparently to-be-successful campaign of The National Guardian to preserve its precarious life.

24-13-5

The Jews in Columbus number about ten thousand -- men, women and children. Yet they raise annually approx. a quarter of a million dollars towards the United Jewish Appeal, which represents just temporary, stop-gap charity.

On the other hand, Labor numbers fourteen million, more or less, adults. Yet it complains about the slanted propaganda and false inventions of the reactionary press, instead of contributing, say, the tiny sum of $3 per person per year, which would give it the means to found new, progressive, truth-telling dailies each year. But, of course, Labor knows better how to cut its own throat than to achieve something so cryingly needed.

In the last analysis, the strength of Satan is not intrinsic, but derives from the weakness of will, faith and method in the professed virtuous.

Fraternally yours,

Henry Blumberg

21-13-6

[B'nai B'rith]

JAMAICA LODGE No. 1575

B'NAI B'RITH

President
GEORGE R. SELIG
90-04 161st St.
Jamaica 2, N. Y.
Business Phone: 01.8-0600
Home Phone: 01.8-0990

Vice Presidents
GERSON SELDIN
HAROLD TESSLER
JOSEPH B. STACK
HAROLD BLUMENFELD

Corresponding Secretary
MAX SIEGEL
83-22 Edgerton Blvd.
Jamaica 3, N. Y.

Recording Secretary
I. ROBERT SHNIPER

Financial Secretary
LEON GRUBER
86-97 Palo Alto Ave.
Hollis 7, N. Y.

Treasurer
SAMUEL A. GIFFORD

Chaplain
MORRIS MARGOLIN

Board of Trustees
MARTIN M. ALPERT
DR. CHARLES AMSTERDAM
SHELDON BLUM
LEONARD DAVIS
BENJAMIN DIAMOND
SAMUEL FRANK
JULIUS GASMAN
MORTIMER GOLD
CHARLES GREENBAUM
GEORGE J. GROSS
MOE HELLMAN
DR. MAX A. HENKIN
DR. STEPHEN R. HOFFMAN
BENJAMIN HOPPIN
AARON KAGAN
RAPHAEL KASPER
SAMUEL KATZ
ZOLTAN KLEIN
LOUIS J. LIPTON
SAMUEL RABIN
NORMAN RAUCH
JACK ROGERS
SIDNEY M. SPERO
CHARLES VENITT

Representatives to Grand Lodge
Delegates
MORRIS MARGOLIN
GEORGE R. SELIG

Alternates
SIDNEY M. SPERO
MARTIN M. ALPERT

Representatives to Regional Council
Delegates
GEORGE R. SELIG
MORRIS MARGOLIN
GERSON SELDIN

Alternates
HAROLD TESSLER
JOSEPH B. STACK
HAROLD BLUMENFELD

October 6, 1950

Hon. William E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

It is my pleasure to invite you to attend a CANDIDATE'S NIGHT which is being sponsored by our Lodge and which is to be held on Monday evening, October 23, 1950, commencing at 8:45 P.M., in the Grand Ballroom of the Jamaica Jewish Center, 150-91 87th Road, Jamaica, N.Y.

The evening will, I am sure, provide you with a splendid opportunity to present your candidacy and discuss the issues of the campaign. This function is a community project, open to the general public, and we expect a very large and live audience.

This meeting will be greatly publicized and promises to be replete with enthusiasm and excitement. It but needs your presence and campaign oratory to give it lasting zest and fulfillment.

In order that I may provide for proper publicity and arrange the evening's program, I would appreciate your advising me as to whether or not you will be with us on the evening of October 23rd.

Enclosed is a self-addressed post card for your convenience.

With warmest personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD TESSLER
Program Chairman

My Phone: JAmaica 6-5234

October 9, 1950

Mr. Harold Tessler
Program Chairman
Jamaica Lodge No. 1575
B'nai B'rith
90-04 161st Street
Jamaica 2, New York

Dear Sir:

I regret to say that my engagements are such that I shall be unable to accept your kind invitation for October 23, as much as I would like to.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

January 4, 1950

Mr. Arna Bontemps
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bontemps:

Thank you very much for your letter, it clears the matter up thoroughly.

During February, I have engagements for speeches out of town on the 5, 8, 9, 10 and 12. After the 13, I shall be in the city for the remainder of the month and shall be glad to see you.

Can you give me any idea what it ought to cost to send my granddaughter to Fisk outside of travel?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

NGD

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

OFFICE OF LIBRARIAN

July 28, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. DuBois. Thank you however for your beautifully worded and deeply felt announcement. I am sorry I never knew Mrs. DuBois better. I met her once of course at the time of Yoland's first marriage. I hope I may also help "keep her memory green."

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps
Lib rarian

AB/alj

24-15-22

October 9, 1950

Messers Bragg and Jones

Dear Mr. Bragg and Mr. Jones:

As I presume you know, Mr. Foley has refused to consent to a conference in Washington and still demands our registration. This puts a new face on the situation and we shall have to take consel as to whether legal defense is now possible or desirable.

We will communicate with you further. In the meantime, may I thank you very heartily for your courtesy in giving time and thought to the consideration of this case.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-16-1

Cyrus. B

BRANDT & BRANDT
101 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17
Telephone MUrray Hill 3-5890

January 24, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our London office, A. M. Heath & Company, Ltd., 91 Regent Street, London W1, England has written us that the firm of Melantrich in Czechoslovakia have expressed interest in reading THE SOUL OF BLACK FOLK. If you would like the London office to take up the inquiry, won't you write to Mr. Cyrus Brooks in that office.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice Baumgarten

BB:SH

BRANDT & BRANDT

(1/52)

February 16, 1950

Mrs. A. C. Braxton, ~~Admx. P.C. 58~~
P. O. Box 285
Wakefield, Massachusetts

My dear Mrs. Braxton:

I am sorry that I did not get a chance to talk with you longer while in Boston. It was nice to see you again, and I hope that all is going well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-25

The Braxton Property Case is Without a Precedent

H Bill No. 696—1939
H Bill No. 1346—1941

Nov. 11, 1942

SHALL WE ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT BY APPLYING THE RULE OF JUSTICE AND REASON?

An Appeal to Our Governor, Leverett Saltonstall, in Keeping with His Proclamation for Armistice Day, November 11, 1942

"Until victory is won we wish no appeasement with our foreign enemies. We can neither yeild nor compromise in our defense of the fundamental rights and privileges of mankind. But we can, among ourselves, declare an armistice in the race discriminations, the class prejudices, the religious differences, which are still impending our all-out program. Internal jealousies and dissentions have no place in the United States today."

The following letter was printed in the Herald and Traveler, dated Nov. 15, 1938 Pg 22

Plea to Governor Saltonstall

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Now that the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall is Gov.-elect of the Commonwealth, the writer wishes to know if he will apply the splendid principles which he set forth during his campaign and which are the principles of the Republican Party in assisting the Braxtons to gain their constitutional rights.

"I am making this appeal for justice on Armistice Day since my late husband, Major George W. Braxton of Company L, 6th Regiment, M.V.M., and a Spanish War Veteran, gave his best to his country."

[Signed] Mrs. A. C. Braxton, Wakefield

On Nov. 11, 1942, we renew our appeal to Governor Saltonstall and pray that he may present the petition in his possession, dated June 1, 1942, to Att'y General R. T. Bushnell, and request a ruling.

Governor Saltonstall, will not the splendid example of Hon. David I. Walsh, when he occupied the high position you now hold, influence you see that justice is done by securing a favorable decision on our request?

A Special Message of Gov. Saltonstall in Senate Document No. 1—1942

"The situation calls for the exhibition of physical, mental and moral courage by every man, woman and child in our nation. We must all get to work and tighten our belt."

Page 33

"With faith in our system of government, trust in our future, and courage to face our problems as they arise, we may be sure that we are doing utmost to preserve our country in days to come."

A copy of the petition is on file with Frederic W. Cook, Secretary of State, Room 340 B, and with Director of Accounts, Theodore N. Waddell, Room 251.

Facts are on file in the archives of our State House.

All copies filed with the request they be opened to the public.

Respectfully submitted,
In the name of our Stars and Stripes,
Mrs. A. C. Braxton, Admx. Pro Se
P. O. Box 285, Wakefield, Mass.

Refer to the Journal of Senate Feb. 18, 1946

Facts on file at N A A C P Headquarters New York; 40th Anniversary Year.

Endorsed by N A A C P., Boston Branch

Endorsed by 50,000 voters in the State of Massachusetts

Mrs. Braxton is a member of the Boston Branch of the N A A C P

Member of the United Nations

N A A C P meets in Boston in 1950.

Probate No. 164099, Equity, Middlesex, SS

Refer to House Bill No. 196 - 1946.

No. 1 Broadcast to the Voters and Taxpayers.

Corres-B

[Braxton] [enc?]

★ ★ ☆ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

THE BRAXTON PROPERTY

Land

Purchased jointly by Mr. and Mrs. Braxton on November 7, 1896

What Every Taxpayer and Voter Should Know . . .

C-1-8-24-3

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

Feb. 19 - 1950

A. C. Braxton

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Sept. 28, 1949

To the Taxpayers and Voters of Wakefield, Mass.

May we call your attention to the request for Silent Prayer appearing on Page 3 of the Wakefield Daily Item of Sept. 28, 1949, This refers to the Braxton Property Case, endorsed by 50,000 registered voters in the State of Massachusetts and concerns the property on Jordan Ave., Wakefield, Mass., purchased jointly by Mr. and Mrs. Braxton on Nov. 7, 1896, and recorded with Middlesex SS District, Deed Book No. 2513, Page 463.

A summary of the facts are on file at the office of the Town Accountant, Charles C. Cox, Town Hall, Wakefield, with the request that they be available to the Taxpayers and Voters of Wakefield. Facts are also on file with the State House Press and the Mass. Secretary of State.

Mrs. A. C. Braxton, Admx Pro Se
P. O. Box 285 No telephone
Wakefield, Mass.

An Appeal for Silent Prayer

May we renew our appeal for silent prayer to the Christian citizens of Massachusetts including all races and creeds.

I feel that my appeal for justice is in keeping with our constitution both state and federal.

As Washington prayed at Valley Forge (1776) when he was informed that Benedict Arnold was deceiving him, I quote: "I consider this my stern duty."

Refer to the bronze by J. E. Kelley on the Sub-Treasury Bldg., Wall St., New York.

May I thank you.

(Signed) **Mrs. A. C. Braxton**
Admx Pro Se
P. O. Box 285
Wakefield, Mass.

Note: The request for silent prayer refers to the Braxton Property bills and petitions on file with the House and Senate, endorsed by 50,000 voters.

Printed in: Wakefield Daily Item
Sept. 28, 1949 Page 3

Mrs. Braxton Asks Silent Prayers

On the eve of her appearance next Monday morning, at the 9:30 session, before the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, Mrs. A. C. Braxton of Wakefield, central figure in the Braxton Property Case of long duration, is requesting silent prayers in all churches. Her request, endorsed by 50,000 voters, has already received responses from St. Mark Congregational Church, Townsend St., Roxbury, of which Rev. S. L. Laviscount is pastor, and in union services at the Wakefield Baptist Church.

Printed in: Boston Cronicle
October 1, 1949 Page 2

Refer to letter printed in Boston Herald and Traveler dated Nov. 15, 1938, Page 22.

Ex. No. 16

NOTE: Evidence omitted from H. Bill No. 152

COPY

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Middlesex SS — Superior Court
No. 2458 — in Equity

Copy of Receipts from E. K. Bowser

Alice C. Braxton to E. K. Bowser, Dr.

Negotiating mortgage and obtaining loan, Feindel & Knox to G. W. & A. C. Braxton	$6.00
Drawing Mortgage, Deed, Note, etc.	1.50
Drawing Deed, E. K. Bowser to A. C. Braxton .	1.50
Drawing Deed, G. W. Braxton to E. K. Bowser	1.50
Fee paid for Recording Mortgage	1.35
Consultation April 1, 1908, and April 2, 1908 .	4.00
	$15.85
Paid April 21, 1908 to E. K. Bowser	5.00
	$20.85

Received payment
(Signed) E. K. Bowser

First, Second and Third checks Paid as follows:

Exhibit 18 - Year 1907 - Dec 14th, Sat.	$750.00
Exhibit 19 - Year 1908 - Jan. 27th, Mon.	$750.00
Exhibit 20 - Year 1908 - Feb. 25th, Tues.	$750.00
Total Amount Received	$2,250.00
Amount of Loan	$3,000.00
Difference	$750.00

Why was $750.00 Illegally with-held????

Refer to Exhibit No.'s 75, 55, 8, 22, 71

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Middlesex SS — Superior Court
No. 2454 — in Equity

Note Filed in Woburn Court

$450.00 — April 21, 1908

For value received, we, George W. Braxton and Alice C. Braxton, promise to pay to Henry A. Feindel and William E. Knox on order the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars in one year and six months from this date - with interest semi-annually at the rate of six per cent per annum, during said term, and for such further time as said principal sum, or any part thereof, shall remain unpaid.

Witness — Signed
George W. Braxton
Alice C. Braxton

On left margin - Secured by mortgage of Real Estate in Wakefield, Massachusetts recorded in Middlesex South District Registry of Deeds.

On back of Note:

Interest rec'd to Oct. 21, 1908	$13.50
Interest rec'd to April 21, 1909	$13.50
Interest rec'd to Oct. 21, 1909	$13.50
Interest rec'd to April 21, 1910	$13.50

Note: When Mr. and Mrs. Braxton signed the note in the presence of witness it read "Then or Within one year".

Who changed the wording of the note before filing at the Registry of Deeds in Cambridge?????

Exhibit 71
A.C.B.

Boston - July 9, 1909

Hon. J. G. Maguire

My Dear Judge:

As I telephoned you, Mrs. Braxton is very desirous of paying the plumber who has long since done his work and is a needy man, $175.00 is due him. This, outside of the contract is, Mrs. Braxton says, the only unpaid bill and the contractor's balance is well within the balance you will hold if the $175 is advanced. The contractor is, however, very slow in completing, and so Mrs. Braxton would like $175 for the plumber instead of waiting perhaps a month longer for the house to be finally completed. Would be an accommodation and the plumber should be paid for.

Will the Co-operative Bank do it?

Very truly yours,
Ref. to Aff. (Signed) M. E. S. Clemons

Refer to Article XI Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Article XIV Constitution of United States.

Murphy

December 6, 1950

Breakstone Brothers, Inc.
Breakstone Brothers, Inc.
New York
New York

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me two of the enclosed butter dishes, C.O.D.?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-7-13

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
OFFICE IN SHAW BUILDING
SEVENTH STREET AND RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

WILLIAM M. BREWER
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT
DIVISIONS 10-13

Miner College
March 8,1950.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
New York City
New York.

My dear Dr. BuBois:

Enclosed is a copy of my review of The World and Africa in the " Journal of Negro History" for July 1947.You told me after your lecture at Metropolitan Baptist church here in February 1949 that you had not seen it.In a paragraph next to the last I expressed my profound admiration for your work and leadership which I have followed since days of youth in Georgia. Study at Harvard, the Johns Hopkins, and Wisconsin as well as thirty years of experience have deepened my regard for you. I have heard you on many occasions and I am heartened to know that increasing thousands share my opinion.

Very hurriedly yours,
W.M.Brewer

24-4-30

Fill Broderick

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

April 21, 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Here is the article of which I spoke on my recent visit. I should like to send it to either the Journal of Southern History or to the Journal of Negro History.

If you are willing to allow me to use the unpublished material contained therein and drawn from your files, I should appreciate your dropping me a note to that effect. I cannot suppose that you would agree with my interpretations at all points -- especially since there are some comments which in a later work would be expanded from asides into fuller elaborations. But the size of an articles presents some limitations.

24-1-61

I was delighted to have the opportunity last week to pay my respects and to see you apparently so well.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

April 24, 1950

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
Department of History
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

My dear Mr. Broderick:

Thank you for your letter of April 21.

I have read your article with a great deal of interest. You have recalled facts which I had forgotten, and found some papers like the Schmoller and Wagner note book which I thought were lost.

I gladly give you permission to use the unpublished material and hope you can get the paper published.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-62

Broderick

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

April 26, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

24-1-50

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your permission to publish my article "Du Bois and the Democratic Party 1887--1912", and for your speed in returning my typescript.

Please give my best regards to Mrs Murphy.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

FLB:p

[BROOKS]

March 17, 1950

Mr. Cyrus Brooks
c/o A. M. Heath & Company, Ltd.
91 Regent Street
London W I
England

1/29/52

My dear Sir:

Brandt & Brandt of New York have written me concerning the interest of the firm of Melantrich in Czechoslovakia in my book, "The Souls of Black Folk." If you will put me in touch with them, I shall be very glad to take up the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

SEATTLE URBAN LEAGUE
421 EAST PINE STREET
SEATTLE 22, WASHINGTON

November 6, 1950

Citizens Non-Partisan Committee
To Elect Dr. Dubois
Hotel Theresa - Suite 108
125th Street and Seventh
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Harrington:

I received you letter this morning forwarded to me from my New York address. I am very much interested in your movement to help out Dr. Dubois. I am very sorry that I can not be of help in this particular campaign but would like to extend my feelings for his success, verbally, in this matter.

Yours truly,

Morris Brooks, Jr.
Vocational Guidance &
Industrial Secretary

MB:ml

24-14-3

[Brooks Brothers]

November 28, 1950

Brooks Brothers
Benson & Hedges Tobacco Dept.
Corner 44th Street & Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I have been smoking Benson & Hedges Gold Tip No. 1, cigarettes for 25 years or more. Since it has come under your supervision, I have difficulty about the price. The last time that I sent my secretary for 2 packages of 50, they wanter to charge her $3.86; but at last decided that the charge was $2.96 which I have paid lately. I buy about once a month, two boxes of fifty each.

Will you please let me know just what your price by mail is, and I will send you an order.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-59

[BROWN]

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boulé

NEW YORK

Dear Will:

Let me add a personal note in saying that you have the utmost sympathy of both Eleanora and myself, in fact all my family.

24-26-6

Some of us got to know Nina very well and liked her very much. We recall visiting her at the hospital in the Bronx and I especially remember the summer we spent together in Long Branch. I teased her about something then and she laughed and ran after me a few steps on Broadway, Long Branch.

I regret so much the mix-up that occurred down there and ascribe some of it to Nannette's peculiar disposition. I trust you have both forgotten and forgiven the incident.

With all the best wishes for you to carry on as you have in the past. You have meant much to this race of ours, though some are not as far-sighted as you are. But you have done an immense work, sufficient to make any man proud of his accomplishments. May you still carry on to the honor and glory of all the people of these United States.

With sympathetic regard,

John

John

Eleanora

Eleanora

and family.

SLOCUM 6-8051

Learn To Read And Write
Quickly Easily By Recordings

JOHN S. BROWN
1370 DEAN STREET
BROOKLYN 16, N. Y.

Oct. 12, 1950.

Mrs. Alicia B. Crawford,
Dr. Du Bois Non-Partisan Committee,
Hotel Theresa,
125th St. & 7th Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Alice:

The following is the list of the Zeta Boule, in and near NY.

Beekman, Emile, 20 Beach St., Seabright, N. J.
Beekman, Dr. Walter, 746 Fulton St., Bklyn.
Birnie, Dr. Richard, 416 Stuyvesant Ave., Bklyn
Boutte, Dr. Mathieu T., 2301 Seventh Ava. DON'T SEND TO HIM. NO FRIEND.
Brown, Dr. Lawrence G., 173 Madison Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
Chinn, Dr. ChesterW., 209 W. 125th St.
Cohron, George E., 2588 Seventh Ave..
Craft, Henry K., 270 Convent Ave.
Crawford, George W., 205 Church St., New Haven, Conn.
Curtis, Dr. A. M., 445 Van Houten St., Paterson, N. J.
Delaney, Judge Hubert T., 617 W. 145th St.
Granady, Dr. James T.W., 2588 Seventh Ave.
Johnson, Rev. John H., 18 W. 122nd St. (St. Martin's Episc. Ch.)
Johnson, Dr. Thomas O., 207 W. 138th St.
Jordan, Atty J. Leroy, 58 Broad St., Elizabeth, N. J.
Miller, Herbert T., 405 Carlton Ave., Bklyn. (Carlton YMCA)
Murray, Dr. Peter M., 2588 Seventh Ave.
Norris, Dr. Fleming H., 511 River Drive, East Paterson, N. J.
Randolph, Oliver, 123 South 13th St., Newark, N. J. (He is a Republican)
Rivers, Judge Francis E., City Court of New York. (Republican)
Terry, Dr. C. E., 7 Debevoise Place, Bklyn.
Thomas, Julius A., 1133 Broadway, c/o Urban League.
Wright, Dr. Louis T., 218 W. 139th St.
Allen, Dr. Farrow, 337 W. 138th St., N.Y.C.
Davis, Charles T. 2170 Madison Ave., (11 b)
Dean, Dr. William, 35 West 110th St.
Dyett, Atty. Thomas B., 277 Broadway, N.Y.C. 435 Convent
Holly, William G., 8737 118th St., Richmond Hill, N.Y.C.

Called Miller of the Bklyn "Y" and he wasn't in. Thought I might get some names from him on the Du Bois Dinner. Will try again. Will try to get Fisk ^Alumni^ President ^here^ and address, Mrs. Hunton's name and address, etc. as soon as I can.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
John S. Brown
John S. Brown

24-5

Cald

To be added. Not in Boule' Book. Check with other list

Distributed By

Rev. Father Brown's Organized:

National Negro Newspicstoriers

CONTRIBUTORS - DISTRIBUTORS

331 So. Olive Corner Dakota - G-2644

GREATER SAN ANTONIO, USA

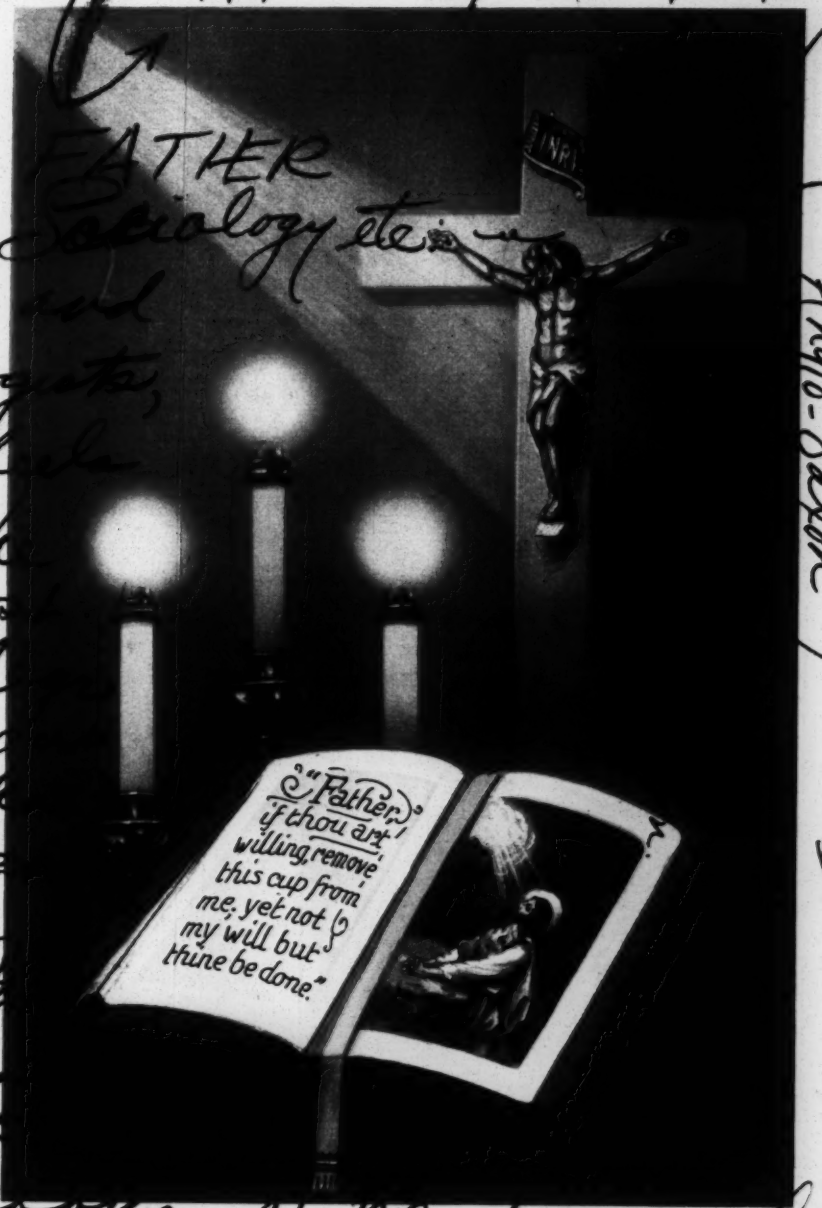
Case B/

24-5-27

AMERICA'S BEST CITY

Military Center of the Nation

1950



My Greatest

in Anthropology, Prophecy, Sociology etc.

the Dean of Negro Historians and

American Authors & Egyptologists,

Who started a billion wheels

to spinning in the NAACP. The

World's Best Friend and Most

Fearless and Outspoken N

of All-times. My heart goes

for Yours and even the work

of My good friend Paul Robe

who some day will become

an American Senator or Sometime

higher as he is very prominent

a brave WORLD LEADER, T

got a lots of this from you. Booker T. Washington, his

brother Col. Simmons, Marcus Garvey and all were sparked

by you, James Weldon Johnson & scores of Others, J. A. Rogers & the

post Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson

et cetera were polished by your originality. Rev. Father Brown & Co.

(But thank God no Anglo-Saxon)

Love Elaine

Now Dr. DuBois, at this writing I am in a hurry. But please believe me when I say Texas Negroes as far as the bounds of their minds are Free are 1000% with you and your steady Movements wish your life was just now starting or that you could live several times longer than you have already. You should be respected. I have had plenty's rich kin folk who were personally associated with the. The smartest Science Instructor in Texas is my 1st Cousin Prof. W.E.B. DuBois Brown named in your honor. He also owns the largest Food & Variety in the South for Negroes We are so very much in sympathy with you & your work USSR could mean our Sister if these fok weren't trying to rule the world and keep us in the Dark Ages throughout all Eternity. Our foolish Soldiers should Demand a State for some of these ways they've won and some of those countries they've taken. Got 25yrs. for putting A-Bomb together & cast overboard flying

Some thing is out of proportion!!

United States Sister Russia And PERMANENT PEACE COMING

By BASIL BREVEN BROWN

Just after Henry A. Wallace's Defeat in 1948 A.D.

1. Long ere Mr. Wallace offered a PLAN
Others in this Nation didn't understand.
Russia help'd us to win last heated war!!
And help'd us to set the Nations' law.

2. RUSSIA'S Concert artists and Nationals greats
Served this land with its potentates;—
Mr. Wallace is not only man to sound a gong
For the two country's Unity to be strong.

3. I've penned a book
That when into both tongues released,—
The bitter cold war will then be ceased;
We'll have a new look.

4. Henry Wallace seem to be only leader
Who SEE for peace;
Only one heralding cold war to cease
Yea, the one at Earth's gate like St. Peter.

5. Who wants to end total destruction & outlaw
Means that burn earth with fervent heat
The two bombs that make earth's end complete
To say naught of death's and cost of war.

24-5-48

Distributed By
Rev. Father Brown's Organized:
National Negro Newspicstoriens
CONTRIBUTORS - DISTRIBUTORS
331 So. Olive Corner Dakota - G-2644
GREATER SAN ANTONIO, USA

PITTSBURGH MERCANTILE COMPANY
2600 Carson Street
Pittsburgh 3, Pa.

Rev. Father Brown's Agency

Please send the following items C.O.D. plus Postage to:

Name _____

Street No. _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

_____ Jackie Robinson Jackets @ $6.98 - Boys' Sizes 8 to 18 _____

_____ Jackie Robinson Caps @ $1.00 - Boys' Sizes 6½ to 7 1/8 _____

_____ Jackie Robinson Jackets @ $8.98 - Mens' Sizes 34 to 44 _____

_____ Jackie Robinson Caps @ $1.00 - Mens' Sizes 6 7/8 to 7½ _____

PLEASE CHECK COLORS DESIRED.

☐ Green & Gold ☐ Blue & Gold ☐ Black & Gold ☐ Red & Gold ☐ Purple & Gold

PLEASE CHECK SIZES DESIRED.

Men's Jacket Sizes	34	36	38	40	42	44
Boy's Jacket Sizes	8	10	12	14	16	18
Men's Cap Sizes	6 7/8	7	7 1/8	7 1/4	7 3/8	7½
Boy's Cap Sizes	6½	6 3/8	6 3/4	6 7/8	7	7 1/8

6. We need more young lives
And less memorials and Monuments
Need with us LIVING husbands for wives
More men like YOU and future presidents,

7. Think of another mad world torn with sorrow,
Think in terms of betterment,
Act to cease the scars of accident
Act to stop it; act ere tomorrow!

8. Think of John Kinloch, my Precious
Young friend, newspaper brother;—
Think of those killed with him in slaughter
WAR ends LIVING, let us stop another.

9. Think! Respond on the millions killed in Germany
Our cold war kindles a hot war
Our agitating, red-baiting, race hating, Scars
And breathes a greater ENEMY.

10. Little Japan, little Germany and the tiny
boot-shaped in a United band
Didn't try to last as long ~~as mighty~~
As a mighty Russia can

11. Let's create a decent and friendly Klan
United States Sister Russia:
Then, will shake a Sisterly hand;
Let's use our PRESSURE!!
Then the world's Youth shall understand.

24-5-29

12. Let's teach the Youth of every land
To hate no Nation in God's Creation;-
War will be ceased and destruction ceased;
Should we educate all to understand.

13. If we continue with our mouths to take a chance
We soon have to use our hands and feet;
Should we persue a false advance
We could be whirled into true retreat.

14. Let's seek a National change in ways,
'T will be good for e'en the Colored race,
Let's elect a President who has no haze
One broad enough to aid the commonplace.

15. Promises of the Civil Rights, FEP, other laws,
Insults to Negroes from topmost Democrats,
Are all eaten up in last election's jaws:
Minorities are fed up; slugged by both parties' bats.

24-5-30

Special to the
EAGLE'S NEST
The Young Writers' Page
Att'n Mme. Charlotte A. Bass, Esq.

September 18, 1950

Rev. Father Brown
331 So. Olive Corner Dakota C-2644
Greater San Antonio, USA

My dear Sir:

I have received your letter and thank you for your appreciative words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-31

Req for Autographs Sent Sept-12, 1950

501-C St. Joseph Street
Durham, North Carolina
August 26, 1950

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y

Dear Mr. DuBois:

For the past 15 or more years I have collected autographs of outstanding people as a hobby. I am now preparing my collection for display on a hobby exhibit.

Some of those that I now have are:

Dr. Mordecai Johnson	Dr. James E. Shepard
Miss Marion Anderson	C. C. Spaulding
Miss Dorothy Maynor	George Schuyler
Dr. George W. Carver	Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
R. Nathaniel Dett	Mrs. Nannie Burroughs
James Weldon Johnson	Matthew A. Henson
Dr. Robert Russa Moton	And many others

Please be kind enough to autograph the enclosed card so that your name will appear in my display next month. A franked envelope is provided for your convenience.

Your response to this request will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

R. Kelly Bryant, Jr.

R. Kelly Bryant, Jr.

Enclosure

248-29-37

24-26-19

My dear Dr Du Bois -

I thank you for thinking of me, at this special time - The thought of Mrs. Du Bois recalls many sweet memories. Recently my sister Kate has died, and that experience gives me added sympathy and understanding: I also feel more + more that death is indeed a new life —

Sincerely.

Gertrude Mossell Bumce -

August first.

A Gibson Card
GIBSON CINTI., U. S. A.
25G1543-5

24-26-15

Sincere Sympathy

To
You In Your
Sorrow.

Jennie & Jerome Burge

816 Macon ave
Brklyn

3806 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois
July 3, 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois;

We would like to extend to you our heartfelt sympathy at the passing of Mrs. DuBois and to express the hope that you are in the best of health and spirit.

affectionately yours

Margaret & Charles Burroughs

Margaret and Charles Burroughs

24-15-9

INSUFFICIENT ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
Peace Information Centre,
New York,
U. S. A.

"THE F.B.I. SHOULD BE KILLED AT SIGHT", IS BRITAIN'S VIEW.

23.9.50 7 Thyra Grove, N. Finchley, N.12 [Carruthers]

Dear Dr. Dubois,

The "Letter from America" appearing in the issue for Sept 15 of the "World Review in Defence of Peace" contained very interesting material. The instructions by the servile Truman and Acheson to the police to arrest canvassers for the Stockholm Appeal, and their broadcast [illegible] irrelevance, underline the observation made a century ago by Charles Dickens, that fierce hatred of personal freedom and [illegible] is the real vice of the American character. That is America's own struggle: if she can stand the stink, let her keep it. But happened here, the British army would mutiny and massacre the [illegible]

But the threats made by Truman, through the mouths of Mr Bevin, Lawrence Grafton & MacArthur, to deluge the world with Hiroshimas, without the least provocation having ever been given, to do it for fun as a wanton act, because businessmen expect profits from it and generals love murder and cruelty: these do worsen Britain, where they are kindling a hurricane of contempt and anger, which is likely, if it grows (as it will), to endanger the physical safety of the American diplomatic mission in Britain. Of course, Communists never warrant assassination; but who would answer for the self-control of a great and ancient nation committed wilfully and wantonly to annihilation by moral degenerates and unnatural friends? We are 50 million. You must write Britain out of the Atlantic alliance at once. The safe course would be a permanent withdrawal of U.S. diplomatic representation from London. It insults and enrages us. And let them take their airmen before we kick them out.

L. W. Carruthers [former member Chelmsford Bar.]

24-1-43

Corres. C

December 7, 1950

Mr. L. W. Caruthers
7 Thyre Grove
N. Finchley N. 12
London, England

My dear Sir:

I appreciate your card of October 6, and hope that the relation of the United States and Britain can be changed fundamentally, so that we can stand for peace.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-1-44

[The Chaplain]

Reply to Arline Allbritten

THE GENERAL COMMISSION ON CHAPLAINS
122 MARYLAND AVENUE, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 6310

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

March 30, 1950

the Chaplain
The LINK

Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. T. A. Rymer, Editor of THE CHAPLAIN, has asked me to write you for permission to use excerpts written by you which appear in TREASURY OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. We would like to print them in THE CHAPLAIN magazine. THE CHAPLAIN is published by The General Commission on Chaplains, which is sponsored by about forty-five denominations and agencies. It goes to Protestant chaplains in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Veterans Administration Hospitals as well as to churchmen in various parts of the country.

Enclosed is a postal card for answer at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Arline Allbritten

Arline Allbritten
Editorial Assistant

Enclosure

24-b-32-6

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1950 MAR 27 PM 1 54

(45)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

MU 3-5205

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA357 DL PD=CHICAGO ILL 27 1022A=

1950 MAR 27 PM 1 48

DR W E B DUBOIS=

DLR 23 WEST 26=

2705 S. Michigan Chi. 15,

WILL YOU DO 300 WORD LEAD EDITORIAL FOR MY PAPER THE CHICAGO GLOBE STRESSING THE NEEDS FOR PAPER FREE FROM POLITICAL TIES AND FEARLESS IN ITS CRUSADE AGAINST THOSE WHO TRANSGRESS FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS STOP OK POLICY IS TO PRINT THE NEWS WITHOUT BIAS STOP WE BELIEVE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY CAN BE MADE TO WORK HERE STOP ALSO WILL YOU SEND ME A 600 WORD COLUMN DEADLINE FOR BOTH WEDNESDAY MORNING WILL DISCUSS COMPENSATION LATER PLEASE WIRE REPLY COLLECT PHONES OAKLAND 4-4243 AND DANUBE 6-6151=

METZ LOCHARD=

Yes

2705 S. Michigan 15,

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N CA237 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 2

1950 APR 2 PM 11 51

DR W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST NYK=

:FIRST ISSUE OF CHICAGO GLOBE OFF PRESS WITH YOUR COLUMN FEATURED ON EDITORIAL PAGE NEED NEXT COLUMN IMMEDIATELY TUESDAY APR 4TH ABSOLUTE DEADLINE AFTER PRESENT RUSH COLUMNS MUST BE IN EACH FRIDAY FOR THE ISSUE OF THE WEEK FOLLOWING PLEASE SUBMIT TWO OR THREE IN ADVANCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE COPY OF PAPER BEING MAILED TO YOU APPRECIATE YOUR COOPERATION:

=METZ P LOCHARD EDITOR CHICAGO GLOBE=

A4b-28-26

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 3, 1950

Mr. Metz Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 South Michigan
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Lochard:

You are rushing me, but I know you must be very busy. I had to telephone your office today to get the address of the paper.

I do not know what length of column you want. Here is one, if it is too long you may cut it.

My every wish for your success.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

45-7-202

April 7, 1950

Mr. Metz Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 South Michigan

My dear Lochard:

I shall get another column to you early next week.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-28-27

[Chicago Globe]

April 12, 1950

Mr. Metz Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 South Michigan
Chicago, 15, Illinois

35-4-65

Dear Lochard:

Here is material which probably will be enough for two columns, but divide it as you will.

I shall send more soon. Meantime, please remember that I have not yet seen a copy of THE GLOBE. Rush two or three copies.

Best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

45-4-179

Chicago Globe

May 19, 1950

Mr. Metz Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

24-21-1

Dear Mr. Lochard:

Dr. Du Bois has asked me to let you know that we have not received the following copies of your paper: April 29: May 6.

We received May 13, today.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Globe

June 8, 1950

Mr. Metz Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 S. Michigan
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Lochard:

I had hoped before this time to be in Chicago and have a long talk with you. But I could not get to the Mid-Century Peace Conference. I had an engagement on the 30th which was the day they wanted me to appear, which I could not break. I offered to come the 29th, but they could not or at least did not change my place on the program.

Well, you are publishing a good paper; but I am afraid you are working yourself to death. Now pause, sit down and consider these things: first of all, of the copies which you have published, we have not received those for: April 29, May 6, and May 27.

Please see that my name is properly put on the mailing list and that we receive the papers regularly. I should also like to have a second copy sent to my daughter in Baltimore:

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 N. Pulaski Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

So that I can be sure to see it when I am there.

Finally, we must have some little understanding about compensation. I am not greedy nor in a hurry, but would like to know what you have in mind so that I can plan a little for the future. My income just now is not too certain. Let me have a good long letter from you.

Give my best regards to yourself and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

24-21-2

Dear Lochard:

I had hoped before this time to be in Chicago and have a long talk with you. But I could not get to the Mid-Century Peace Conference. I had an engagement on the 30th which was the day they wanted me to appear, which I could not break. I offered to come the 29th, but they could not or at least did not change my place on the program.

Well, you are publishing a good paper, but I am afraid that you are working yourself to death. Now pause, sit down and consider these things: First of all, of the copies which you have published, we have received ~~those for~~ ~~and~~ we have not received those for ———————. Please see that my name is properly put on the mailing list and that we receive the papers regularly. I should also like to have a second copy sent to my daughter* in Baltimore so that when I am there I can be sure to see it. Her address is :

2417 N. Pulaski Street (Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams) *
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Finally, we must have some little ~~talk~~ understanding about compensation. I am not greedy or in a hurry, but would like to know what you have in mind so that I can plan a little for the future. My income just now is not too certain. Let me have a good long letter from you. Give my best regards to yourself and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

21-21-1

CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

METZ P. LOCHARD

September 11, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The many problems incidental to the publication of the Globe have made it extremely difficult for me to correspond with my friends. It was my intention to write you quite some time ago and explain the financial difficulties which were harassing me. Then, I say why burden you with my problems when you had enough of your own to deal with.

I must tell you, however, that the struggle has been a fierce one. But for the periodic help of one or two faithful friends, I should have suspended operation long ago. I am not in the position right now to compensate you for your magnificent column. Our circulation is just now beginning to show growth. With the coming of a hot political campaign this Fall, we should be able to build a firm foundation for the continuation of our publication. I cannot begin paying you for your column until the 15th of October, at the rate of $60 a month. That is the best I will be able to do for the time being. This amount, however, will be substantially increased after the first of the year.

I trust this will meet with your approval. If so, please forward your column immediately by air mail.

Julia sends best regards.

Cordially yours,

Metz T.P. Lochard

MTPL:sp

45-7-206

September 18, 1950

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
CHICAGO GLOBE
2705 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

My dear Lochard:

I appreciate the problems which you are having with the GLOBE. I am perfectly willing to cooperate with you on the terms which you laid down. I did, however, want an expression from you because I had no way of knowing how far my work was suitable or what business arrangments would eventually be made.

I hope you will be careful of your health and keep up the good work. My love to you and Julia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

45-7-207

November 28, 1950

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705-09 S. Michigan
Chicago 16, Illinois

My dear Mr. Lochard:

I think that you have now had ample time to decide as to whether the GLOBE can afford to retain my column as a business proposition.

This is the last column that I shall send unless the following conditions are complied with:

1. A check of $150 on or before December 15. This will pay for my columns todate and for five additional columns coming the month of December.

2. That for the year 1951, we enter into contract under which I shall send you 52 columns at $25 each to be paid for on the first of each month beginning February 1, 1951.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

45-7-295

396

November 28, 1950

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
THE CHICAGO GLOBE
2705-09 S. Michigan
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Dr. Lochard:

May I again remind you that we do not receive THE GLOBE properly. Todate we are missing the following copies:

1. August 26, 1950
2. October 14, 1950
3. November 18, 1950

Will you be kind enough to have the Back Copy Department forward these copies to us?

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

45-7-218

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

January 30, 1950

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S. Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D. Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S. Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.
over

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois, -

On Friday night, February 24th, the China Welfare Appeal is planning a Chinese dinner to be held at the New Hankow Restaurant for the purpose of presenting the program of Madame Sun Yat-Sen's China Welfare Fund to a group of 150 to 200 friends.

It is my happy privilege to invite you to be the Master of Ceremonies for the evening. This is the unanimous wish of the Planning Committee for the dinner. We are of one mind that we want you - a member of the Board of Directors of the CWA and an Honorary Board Member of the CWF - to be the Presiding Chairman for the after-dinner program.

We are planning to have three or four brief speeches about the program we are supporting in China and the significance of giving concrete expression to our friendship for the Chinese people through the Friendship Cargo which we are shipping each month to Madame Sun Yat-Sen, CWF Chairman. At the end there will be an appeal for the Cargo.

We are in the process of inviting our various program participants and appeal speaker. These details will be forwarded to you as soon as we have each person's acceptance.

Meantime we would appreciate having a note or telephone message from you assuring us that we may count on you to be the Master of Ceremonies or Toastmaster for the evening.

Hopefully yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

Friendship Cargo Sponsors: *Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson • Walter Allmendinger • Edith Atwater • Rev. Lee H. Ball • Rev. Merrill Otis Bates Dr. Bernard Baum • T. S. Behre • T. A. Bisson • Millen Brand • Edwin Berry Burgum • David Burliuk • Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi Nicolai Cikovsky • Lee J. Cobb • Edmonia Davidson • Dr. Percy M. Dawson • Prof. John DeBoer • Freda Diamond • Mary A. Dingman • Martha Dodd Prof. I. J. Domas • Prof. Harl R. Douglas • Muriel Draper • Mamie Dunn • Frederick V. Field • Evelyn Beresford Fox • Martin Gabel Herman B. Gerringer • Elinor S. Gimbel • Anne Guthrie • Prof. David Haber • Uta Hagen • Prof. Georgia Harkness • E. Y. Harburg Prof. Walter M. Horton • B. W. Huebsch • Langston Hughes • Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes • Robert Josephy • Dr. John A. Kingsbury Rev. John Howland Lathrop • Lau Shaw • Peggy Le Boutillier • Ray Lev • Dr. Robert Levinson • Paul T. K. Lin • Hon. Warren G. Magnuson Mrs. George Marshall • Prof. Kirtley F. Mather • Prof. F. O. Matthiessen • Rev. Jack R. McMichael • Arthur Miller • Dr. Philip Morrison • Stanley Nowak Clifford Odets • Mrs. John K. Ormond • Samuel Ornitz • Prof. Ernest G. Osborne • Dorothy Perera • Lionel C. Perera, Jr. • Martin Popper • Ida Pruitt Anton Refregier • Wallingford Riegger • Muriel Rukeyser • Prof. Vida D. Scudder • Elizabeth Selsbee • Dr. Maud Slye • Edgar Snow Dr. Samuel Standard • Johannes Steele • Harry C. Steinmetz • Alfred K. Stern • Dirk J. Struik • Ilona Ralf Sues • Frank Taylor • Margaret Stanley Tesdell Siu May Ting • Bishop P. L. Tsen • Olive Van Horn • Mary Van Kleeck • Nym Wales • Henry A. Wallace • Richard Watts, Jr. • Prof. C. Martin Wilbur Howard Willard • Ruth M. Williams • James Waterman Wise • Mary C. Wright.*

January 31, 1950

Miss Talitha Gerlach, Chairman
China Welfare Appeal Inc.
439 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Gerlach:

I regret that on the night of February 24, I shall be in Chicago attending the Convention of the Progressive Party.

I am sorry not to be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

February 26, 1950

Dear Board Member, -

At the last meeting of the China Welfare Appeal Board, we agreed to meet again on -

Thursday, March 2nd, 1950 - for an Informal Supper Meeting, 6:00 PM - at the CWA Office, 439 Fourth Avenue, corner 30th Street

The principal subject on the agenda for this meeting is -

What kind of staff set-up does the CWA need for the future?

A goodly number of volunteers have been working tirelessly week after week to cover the office routine, to carry out plans for money-raising events, to send out national appeal mailings, to dispatch Friendship Cargo shipments, etc. Their unselfish efforts have brought encouraging results as evidenced by the growing response to the CWA program, the demand for more activities, the need to redouble and triple our efforts, the rapidly growing volume of office detail, etc., etc.

Please come prepared to discuss plans for staff and office coverage which will enable the CWA to take the program of the China Welfare Fund in China ever more effectively to the American people.

Dr. Chou of Massachusetts General Hospital who is soon going to China will also be with us Thursday night.

Kindly indicate your presence at this meeting on the enclosed blank and drop it in the mailbox immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach
Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher
Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Riley, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ruggles, M.D.
Sol Schwinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Tang, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Worms, M.D.

over

February 28, 1950

Miss Talitha Gerlach
China Welfare Appeal
439 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Gerlach:

This is my lecture season and I am lecturing at State College, Pennsylvania, so that I cannot come to your meeting March 2.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[China Welfare Appeal]

24-19-3K

I will
will not attend the China Welfare Appeal Board Meeting

on March 2nd, 1950, 6:00 PM, 439 Fourth Avenue.

Signed _____

Date_____

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

March 11, 1950

International Friendship

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach
Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher
Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
S. Schatzinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.

over

Dear Board Member, -

At the China Welfare Appeal Board Meeting on March 2nd, a Committee consisting of Charlotte Willard, Dr. Shapiro, Elsie Cholmeley and the undersigned was appointed to study the qualifications of candidates for the paid staff position authorized at that meeting.

This committee met on March 9th and wishes to present the following report and recommendations. It was noted that several potential candidates were not available at this time, that several others were not thought to have quite the qualifications needed, and that the most promising candidate had been interviewed by each member of the committee. Upon reviewing the qualifications and experience of this candidate, the committee recommends -

THAT Mr. Bernie Hankin be invited to join the CWA staff with responsibility for fund raising looking toward the particular goal of completing the $25,000 Friendship Cargo, planning special events, mailings, publicity, etc. necessary to this end.

This position is also to include responsibility for developing work with volunteers, promoting an educational program, developing Branch Committees, responsibility for the office organization, looking toward the goal of strengthening the CWA and its program in the United States.

It is understood that Mr. Hankin will work in cooperation with the appropriate committees of CWA and that he is responsible to the Board of Directors. It is furthermore recommended -

THAT Mr. Hankin be employed on a probationary basis to begin work at the earliest possible date and no later than March 15th at a salary of $80 per week.

The committee concurs with the Board recommendation that the probationary period extend until approximately July 1950 when the Board will consider the question of continuing employed staff during the summer months.

In view of the fact that the Committee has only one candidate to present and is unanimous in recommending Mr. Hankin for employment at this time, it was agreed that the Board be informed of this recommendation by mail rather than call the special Board meeting proposed for March 14th.

We hope you will consider the above recommendation carefully and register your approval and/or questions by return mail. Mr. Hankin is available to begin work immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

V

友國誼際 CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

March 22, 1950

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach, Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher, Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D., Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack J. Paradise, M.B.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Ed Rose, M.D.
S. Schuminger, M.D.
Sigvald Dr. Seine, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shaochias Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wigg, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.

Dear Board Member: -

The next meeting of the Board of Directors of the China Welfare Appeal, Inc. will be held -

Thursday, March 30, 1950
8:00 P.M.
China Welfare Appeal office

On this occasion we will all have the pleasure of meeting our new staff member, Mr. Bernard Hankin.

There are also several very important questions to be discussed -

Next Steps on sending help for the Famine

Spring Activities for Purpose of Fund Raising and Strenthening our Organization

Policy of Allocations Committee

Latest News from China

Will you kindly indicate on the enclosed card your intention to be present?

The presence of every Board Member is earnestly needed in our discussions of Policy and Program.

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

over

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach, Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher, Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D., Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.
over

May 18, 1950.

TO: CHINA WELFARE APPEAL BOARD MEMBERS

FROM: Talitha Gerlach, Chairman

The May meeting of the Board of Directors of China Welfare Appeal will be held -

THURSDAY EVENING
May 25th, 1950
8:00 P.M.

China Welfare Appeal Office
439 Fourth Avenue
3rd floor

A full attendance is desired to consider -

CWA Program during the summer months

Plan for continuing staff through the summer

Report to date of Returns from the National Appeal Mailing and Other Activities

Allocations to China made possible by the returns from the Spring Campaign.

First News Reports by radio from the National Relief and Welfare Conference recently convened in Peking

and Other Important Questions.

Please indicate your intention to be present on the card enclosed for your convenience.

24-3-52

China Welfare

May 31, 1950

Miss Talitha Gerlach
China Welfare Appeal Inc.
439 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Miss Gerlach:

I hope you have not written me off as a liability. I have wanted to come to the Board meetings recently but have been hard at work on my book: "Russia and America." I have just finished it and am going to take it to the publisher for his verdict next week. I put aside everything in order to get this done.

I hope I can cooperate in some way and I congratulate you on what you are doing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-52

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL
439 Fourth Ave.
N.Y.C.

June 24, 1950.

FROM: Olive Van Horn

TO: Members of the Fall Conference Committee

At the June 15th Board Meeting, it was agreed that a conference should be planned for the early autumn. The following committee was appointed to work out plans: Mr. John L. Crane, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Dr. D.G. Tewksbury, Miss Charlotte Ware, Olive Van Horn - chairman.

On June 23, Mr. Crane, Miss Ware, Miss Gerlach and Mr. Hankin met briefly. The following proposals were made and are being sent to people for their criticism. and suggestions.

That a conference should be held in New York, October 20-21.

The aim of the conference to be to interest a larger number of people in metropolitan area and nationally, on behalf of CWA.

The final statement of purpose needs to be worked on but it was the opinion that it should be on the theme of people's friendship.

The content to emphasize future program and start active work on it.

The proposal was to open the affair Friday evening, Oct. 20, with a big dinner, at which we would have a prominent speaker, fresh from China, if possible, hopefully someone coming to the U.N., as we see little chance of getting in a special guest at the moment. However, Miss Gerlach is to write Mme. Sun, inviting her to come or to suggest someone else in case she cannot come. Also requesting some special information for use at conference. This dinner would also be a money raising affair. Suggested Mrs. Philip Weisberg be asked to take this on, as a volunteer.

Sat., Oct. 21, A.M.

Registration and keynote speech.

Sat., Oct. 21, P.M.

3 panel discussions:

Health and Medical Care. The Medical Committee, Dr. Roger A. Lewis, chairman, to be asked to serve as leader of the group to plan this panel.

The New Status of Women. Elsie Cholmeley to be asked to serve as leader of the group to plan this panel.

Child Care and Maternity Program. To be organized by new Child Care & Maternity Committee suggested at last Board Meeting.

Saturday evening.

A short summary report meeting followed by a good China film.

Time to be closed by B. Hankin.
Place: Hotels to be canvassed by B. Hankin for date and price.

Attendance: The above is a maximum program worked out with a goal of 350 persons attending. If necessary, this program can be worked out on a minimum basis, compressing the schedule to one day and omitting some items.

Finances: 300 @ $10.00 - Conference registration, including dinner & Film
(Suggested) 200 @ 7.50 - Dinner
100 @ 1.00 - Film

Budget to be prepared including: Hotel costs
Printing - Mailing, tickets, program, etc.
Postage
Speakers' expenses, etc. etc.
Publicity - Film or play.

Promotion: Letter to go out Sept. 8. General appeal to include:

a. Preliminary announcement of conference
b. Fall issue of CWA REPORT.

Panel Committees meet to discuss detailed plans. Panal Committees to include people with access to groups and civic, religious, trade union and Negro people's organizations which could help build up attendance.

Proposed that other interested leaders from outside the area be invited and that a Sunday morning breakfast be planned for them to see how they could use future program and ideas in their communities.

The next meeting is set for Monday, July 10, 12.30 P.M. at Hotel Elysee Restaurant, 60 E. 54 St.

* * * * *

24-19-2d

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach
Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher
Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Riley, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
Sam Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Seifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Worms, M.D.

July 1st, 1950

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 W 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

In view of the new and challenging information which is coming from China telling of the national program for relief and social welfare outlined by the newly formed People's Relief Association of China (PRAC), the CWA Board of Directors is projecting a Conference in the early fall to discuss the new emphases which now form the basis for the program of the China Welfare Fund and the China Welfare Appeal.

In the name of the CWA Board it is my pleasure to invite you to serve as a member of the Conference Preparatory Committee of which Miss Clive van Horn is chairman.

We know that Miss van Horn has already been in touch with you. Kindly accept this letter as your formal appointment by the Board to serve on the Fall Conference Committee.

Your experience, creative ideas and understanding of China will insure a worthwhile Conference to broaden and strengthen the basis of our friendship and high regard for the Chinese people.

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

over

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach, Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher, Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D., Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S., Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigot, M.D.
Hector J. Riley, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Seifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Worms, M.D.

over

July 1st, 1950

TO: MEMBERS CWA BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: TALITHA GERLACH, CHAIRMAN

The July meeting of the Board of Directors is being scheduled somewhat earlier in the month than usual. PLEASE NOTE:

DATE: July 11th, 1950, Tuesday

HOUR: Luncheon, 12.30 noon

PLACE: CWA Office, 439 Fourth Avenue

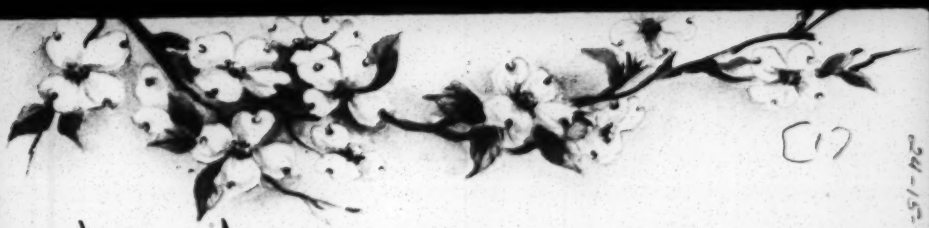
The agenda will include:

More information from China re program of PRAC

Plans for CWA Conference in October 1950

First returns on Summer Caravans

Please return enclosed card indicating your presence at the Board meeting. Arrangements will be made for luncheon to be sent up from the Ranch House.



(17)

24-15-12

Dear Mr. DuBois, —

We of the China Welfare Appeal Board who have the privilege of calling you Friend, wish to add

our condolences to the many expressions of sympathy you are receiving in these days of your sorrow.

We want you to know that you are much in our thoughts during this period of sad bereavement.

We all take inspiration, Mr. Du Bois, from your steadfast spirit of courage

and unwavering devotion to struggling mankind everywhere. You have our highest admiration at all times.

Very sincerely yours,
Lalitha Gadgil

July 2nd, 1950

A HALLMARK NOTE

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

9th September, 1950.

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. Leo Eloesser

Board of Directors:
Talitha Gerlach
Chairman
Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher
Vice-Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary-Treasurer
Clark Andrews
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Chairman
Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary
Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Rose, M.D.
S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Seifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Togg, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.

TO: CHINA WELFARE APPEAL BOARD MEMBERS

FROM: Talitha Gerlach, Chairman

The September meeting of the Board of Directors of China Welfare Appeal will be held -

THURSDAY EVENING
September 28, 1950
8:00 P.M.

China Welfare Appeal Office
439 Fourth Avenue
3rd floor

A full attendance is desired to consider -

Prospectives for the Fall program including

the Conference and fund raising projects

Recommendations from the Nominating Committee

for strengthening of the organization

Recommendations from the Personnel Committee

Please indicate your intention to be present on the card enclosed for your convenience.

over

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL, INC. — BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

NOVEMBER 9, 1950 — 8 P.M.

Place: Home of Mrs. Welthy Fisher, 50 West 67 Street, New York City

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Andrews, Clark
Berenberg, Dr. S.R.
Crane, John O.
*Douglas, Fred
*Douglas, Helen
DuBois, Dr. W.E.B.
*Fisher, Mrs. Frederick B.
Fritchman, Rev. S. H.
*Gerlach, Talitha
*Lewis, Dr. Roger A.
Shapiro, Dr. Gerald I.
Sun, Dr. Shao-chien (in China
Chung, Dr. Arthur (in China)
Tewksbury, Donald G.
*Van Horn, Olive
*Willard, Charlotte
*Barrett, Mary

FROM CHARTER MEMBERSHIP:
*Epstein, Israel

FROM PLANNING COMMITTEE:
*Fairfax-Choomeley, Elsie

FROM STAFF:
*Hankin, Bernard

*Those Present

---

1. WELCOME TO NEW BOARD MEMBERS: The chairman spoke on behalf of the Board to welcome the three newly elected Board members who were present: Mary Barrett, Helen Douglas, Fred Douglas.

MOTION 50/11/1

2. MINUTES: The minutes of the October 19, 1950 Board Meeting were circulated in the meeting and approved for the record.

MOTION 50/11/2

3. FINANCE REPORT: The Finance Report for the period of September 30th to October 31, 1950 was presented and approved as part of the record. It was suggested that future reports include a breakdown of income and expenditures for dinners and fund-raising activities, also showing net income from these events.

4. ALLOCATIONS COMMITTEE - Dr. Lewis

Dr. Lewis, chairman, reported that the problem had arisen of securing licenses for certain items in Friendship Cargoes. Inasmuch as two requests from the CWI consisting largely of medical supplies and laboratory equipment have been received, including drugs and equipment on the restricted list, Dr. Lewis proposes that the CWI draw up a full list of the articles to be purchased which appear on the restricted list of the Dept. of Commerce, that formal application be made for a license - if necessary in person at the Dept. of Commerce - and if the license is refused that CWI bring this matter to the attention of the public.

MOTION 50/11/3

It was moved, seconded and passed that Dr. Lewis and Fred Douglas serve as a special committee to prepare the formal letter requesting licenses for such supplies and equipment as are needed to fulfill the requests from the CWI, and that they proceed after consultation with others who have had experience in this procedure to present the CWA request to the Department of Commerce in the best way to secure approval for licenses.

5. PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING: The progress of plans for the Annual Meeting of the Corporation on November 18th were reviewed and the agenda approved. Those invited to attend the Annual Meeting include: Charter members, Board members, Honorary Board members, officers of the Corporation, active committee members, selected contributors, selected out-of-town friends including officers of Branch Committees.

The Nominating Committee (Charlotte Ware, chairman) reported a plan for the election of Board of Directors to include (a) up to 21 members resident in New York City and vicinity and (b) non-resident members including representation from Branch Committees. The CWA lawyer has been consulted and is of the opinion that CWA is within the framework and intent of the By-Laws by setting up a Board of this kind. The resident members will meet regularly once a month, non-resident members will be invited to all Board meetings, all will be eligible to attend the Annual Meeting of the Corporation.

Draft Budget for 1950-51: In the absence of Dr. Shapiro, Mr. Hankin presented a verbal report regarding the draft budget to be presented to the Annual Meeting. The draft as described included three sections: (1) Administration in USA; (2) Activities in the United States; (3) Purchases for China.

After much discussion, the Board requested that a second draft be drawn up based on the principles (a) that expenditures in the USA for the last six months of the fiscal year not exceed the sum spent for this purpose in the first six months, and (b) that no less than 50% of the net income be spent for purchases for China (Friendship Cargo). Dr. Lewis volunteered to work with the Budget Committee in preparing this second draft. The Board requested that the two draft budgets be prepared in time to be mailed out to the Board members for study prior to November 18th. The Board also agreed to meet at 9:30 A.M. on the 18th in order to arrive at a unanimous recommendation to the Annual Meeting regarding the Budget for the period of October 1, 1950 - March 31, 1951.

6. CONFERENCE COMMITTEE - Olive Van Horn

Miss Van Horn, chairman, reported briefly that the Conference program with panel leaders and discussants holds promise for a good program on November 18th. 3000 Conference announcements have been mailed and to date about 45 registrations have been received. Much work still needs to be done to bring the total up to the goal of 200.

MOTION 50/11/4 The Board approved the proposal that advertisements regarding the Conference be placed in the National Guardian and Daily Compass, the sum of $40 for this purpose was voted in addition to the Conference budget of $350 approved at an earlier meeting.

7. FRIENDSHIP CARGO: Mr. Hankin reported that Friendship Cargo #106 was dispatched on the SS Flying Cloud of the Isbrandtsen Line approximately November 4th, destination Tientsin.

8. COMMITTEE TO STUDY MAIL APPEALS: The chairman requested Dr. Lewis and Fred Douglas to serve on the Committee to Study Mail Appeals with Mr. Hankin.

9. OTHER BUSINESS: Other items on the agenda were postponed until the first Board meeting after the Annual Meeting.

10. FAREWELL TO ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY: On behalf of the Board, Mrs. Welthy Fisher spoke with much appreciation of the devoted and untiring volunteer work given by Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley who is soon leaving for a visit with her family in England. The development of the China Welfare Appeal from its beginnings to the present date owes much to Elsie and her excellent work.

The evening closed with an informal party for Miss Cholmeley.

11. ADJOURNMENT.

A G E N D A

Board of Directors Meeting - China Welfare Appeal, Inc.

November 30th, 1950

1. Opening Remarks - Chairman

2. Minutes of November 9th, 1950

3. Financial Statement for November - Dr. Shapiro

4. Correspondence from China: China Welfare Institute; Dr. Arthur Chung

5. News from Branch Committees and other communities

6. Unfinished Business:

   a) October 25th Dinner - Mary Barrett
   b) November 18th Conference - Olive Van Horn
      and follow-up
   c) Christmas Bazaar -- Reba Lewis
   d) Friendship Cargo Shipments - sulfa drugs and antibiotics
      Procedures
   e) Film from China -- Bernard Hankin
   f) Committee to Study Mail Appeals - Fred Douglas
      Dr. Roger Lewis

7. New Business:

   a) Activities for next six months - Bernard Hankin
   b) Emphases in CWA Program for the future
   c) What committees are needed:
      Medical Advisory
      Child Care and Maternal Welfare
      Finance
      Allocations or Projects
      Publicity
      Nominating Committee
      Executive Committee - Functions
   d) Election (1) Officers of Board of Directors
      (2) Representation of Charter Member
      (3) Legal Counsel - ex-officio
      (4) Additions to Executive Committee
   e) Drafting of Proposed Amendments to By-Laws

8. Recommendations re Personnel

9. Date of Next Meeting - December 21, 1950

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL, INC. — BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

NOVEMBER 30, 1950 --- 8 P.M.

Place: Home of Mrs. Welthy Fisher, 50 West 67 Street, New York City

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Andrews, Clark
*Barrett, Mary
Berenberg, Dr. S.R.
Chung, Dr. Arthur (in China)
Crane, John O.
*Douglas, Fred
*Douglas, Helen
DuBois, Dr. W. E. B.
*Fisher, Mrs. Frederick B.
Fritchman, Rev. Stephen H.
*Gage-Colby, Ruth (non-resident)
*Gerlach, Talitha
Haass, Lily K.
*Lewis, Dr. Roger A.
Porter, Dr. Lucius
*Shapiro, Dr. Gerald I.
Su, Dr. Frank Kai-ming
Sun, Dr. Shao-Chien (in China)
Tewksbury, Dr. Donald
*Van Horn, Olive
Ware, Charlotte

FROM CHARTER MEMBERSHIP

Epstein, Israel

FROM BAZAAR COMMITTEE

*Lewis, Reba - chairman

FROM STAFF

*Hankin, Bernard
*Roltner, Marcia

*Those present

54-3-46

---

1. MINUTES: The minutes of the November 9th Board Meeting were circulated in the meeting and approved for the record with a correction on Page 2, third paragraph, third line to read: "last six months of the fiscal year", instead of "past six months".

MOTION 50/11/1

2. FINANCE REPORT — Dr. Shapiro

MOTION 50/11/2

The tentative Finance Report for the period of October 31 to November 30, 1950 was presented and accepted. It was voted to send out the final report with the minutes.

3. CORRESPONDENCE — Talitha Gerlach

The chairman informed the Board of the latest CWI Report containing very interesting information about CWI activities. It was suggested that Board members try to read the entire report which is available at the office.

A letter from Dr. Arthur Chung, IPH, Tsinan, written to Dr. Lewis, reported the latest developments in the Pediatrics Department under his direction, the arrival of medical journals, and the progress in Dr. Sun's travels.

4. NEWS FROM BRANCH COMMITTEES: Miss Gerlach reported that John Crane has accepted the chairmanship of the Boston Committee, and that Mrs. Harold J. Stein will now be the secretary. The Boston Committee is planning an event on December 14th.

Dr. Frank Su is prepared to devote time to developing a committee in Philadelphia.

In Palo Alto, the Hoover Institute is sending more books and journals to China and has asked for books from China.

5. REPORT OF OCTOBER 25th RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH DINNER — Mary Barrett

A final report was submitted as follows: The total receipts were $1287.03, of which $446.50 came from reservations and $840.53 from contributions. Total expenses were $396.85: $288.54 to Ding Ho Restaurant; $13.31 for Invitation printing costs; $95 for postage. The net profit from the Dinner is $890.18.

6. REPORT OF NOVEMBER 18th CONFERENCE ON HEALTH AND WELFARE IN CHINA

Olive Van Horn reported that the total income from the Conference was $362 and expenses were $435. It was noted that the Board had approved a budget of $390. Most of the 130 persons who attended the Conference were from New York City. Others came from New Jersey, upstate New York, Philadelphia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Minnesota. There were representatives from the Social Service Employees and the Fur Workers Union. Fifty persons attended the Medical Panel and 70 persons the Child Care Panel.

Miss Van Horn further reported that a Child Welfare Committee was initiated, 19 persons volunteered to serve on it and the first meeting will be held on December 5th.

Dr. Lewis reported that the Medical Panel had requested a bibliography of all source material, and he suggested that Israel Epstein be asked to work on it.

It was reported by Bernard Hankin that the Daily Compass and National Guardian had printed edited versions of Madame Sun Yat-sen's Report.

24-347

MOTION 50/11/3 The Board discussed how to proceed with the widest distribution of Madame Sun's Report. It was voted to reprint 10,000 copies of the Daily Compass' version and to make 6 additional copies of the recorded speech for groups who have or who may request it.

7. REPORT ON CHRISTMAS BAZAAR — Reba Lewis

Mrs. Lewis, chairman of the Bazaar Committee, reported that to date there was collected approximately $2000 worth of goods; that 1000 Bazaar circulars had been mailed out from the office; and that Indusco had been invited to join us in the Bazaar. An appeal was made to Board members to send Bazaar circulars to their friends and to attend the opening night on December 8th.

8. REPORT ON CHINA FILM

Mr. Hankin reported on some of the legal problems connected with the showing of the film. After discussion of these problems the Board proposed that we acquaint China with our situation and suggest the film be sold to a commercial firm. It was also proposed that we inquire about the possibility of getting another film from China which deals with welfare services, and that we check further with our own lawyer on the legal problems.

MOTION 50/11/4 9. TAX EXEMPTION: The Board agreed that this matter be discussed further with lawyers who are experts in this field. Pending such discussion it was proposed to hold up either filing a tax return (the requested form obviously does not apply to a relief and welfare organization), or writing to Washington to ask for reconsideration, or having an interview with the local tax bureau.

10. PERSONNEL: As Dr. Shapiro reported on the discussions of the Personnel Committee regarding renewal of staff invitations, Bernard Hankin offered his resignation as Director of Activities to become effective January 1, 1951. After lengthy discussion, Mr. Hankin's resignation was accepted with commendation for the excellent work done in his field of specialization.

MOTION 50/11/5

MOTION 50/11/6 11. ADJOURNMENT: Because of the lateness of the hour, the Board voted to adjourn the meeting and resume discussion of Administrative problems and program at a meeting on December 14th.

中華過年在幾時

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL, INC.

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 31, 1950 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1950

Cash in Bank, on hand, gifts in kind and Cargo October 31, 1950.... $6,474.73 *

Receipts in November

September Letter Appeal.....	$495.00
October 25th Dinner.....	407.00
November 18th Conference.....	362.00
Administrative Fund.....	126.50
X-mas Cards.....	65.00
Bazaar Sales.....	.75
Total November Receipts.....	1,456.25
Grand Total.....	$7,930.98

Disbursements

November 18th Conference.....	$278.57
October 25th Dinner.....	13.31
X-mas Cards.....	301.00
Friendship Cargo.....	51.79
X-mas Bazaar.....	12.70
Salaries.....	660.00
Expenses.....	40.00
Rent & Light.....	78.50
Telephone & Telegraph.....	5.37
Travel & Carfares.....	32.76
Postage.....	26.83
Publicity.....	75.00
Printing, Stationery & Supplies.....	128.51
Friendship Cargo #106.....	2,551.00
Total Disbursements.....	4,255.34

Cashin Bank, on hand, and in gifts in kind, November 30, 1950..... $3,675.64 **

*Figures listed before Auditor's check
**$867.00 of this amount represents gifts-in-kind.

[China Welfare Appeal

MINUTES OF ADJOURNED BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

DECEMBER 14, 1950 - 8 P.M.

Place: 439 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Present: Board Members - Mary Barrett, Fred Douglas, Helen Douglas, Talitha Gerlach, Dr. Roger Lewis, Dr. Gerald I. Shapiro, Olive Van Horn, Charlotte Ware; Honorary Chairman, Dr. Leo Eloesser; Chairman of Bazaar Committee, Reba Lewis; Staff Members - Bernard Hankin, Marcia Roltner.

---

1. Christmas Bazaar Report -- Reba Lewis

Mrs. Lewis reported that over 500 persons attended the Bazaar held from December 8th to 10th. Sales amounted to $1421.05; expenses, including goods on consignment, amounted to $248.50; net profit to date is $1172.55.

MOTION 50/12/1 — The Board extended a vote of thanks to Mrs. Lewis and other members of the Bazaar Committee for the splendid work they had done.

2. Child Welfare Committee — Olive Van Horn

The first meeting of the Child Welfare Committee on December 5th was attended by 15 out of the 19 persons on the Committee. Every member was assigned a specific task. It is expected that the Committee will develop into a good working group of about 25 members.

MOTION 50/12/2 — The Board voted to establish the Child Welfare Committee as a permanent committee with Dr. S. R. Berenberg as chairman and Mary Barrett as co-chairman.

3. The statement to go with the reprint of Madame Sun Yat-sen's Report was read by the Board and approved with commendation on its excellence. The Board unanimously voted to adopt a policy which is implicit in the statement. It was proposed that the statement be sent in letter form to important newspapers, church organs, etc. throughout the country, and that it also be circularized as widely as possible.

MOTION 50/12/3

4. Dr. Leo Eloesser reported to the Board that due to circumstances beyond his control his resignation as Honorary Chairman has become necessary. The Board moved to accept the resignation with profound regret and expressed the hope that this will be only a temporary resignation.

MOTION 50/12/4

5. FUTURE ACTIVITIES: Extensive discussion on future program and activities of CWA centered around the necessity of enlarging and broadening our base on a national scale and formulating projects and methods of work to achieve this objective. Among the proposals to be considered were: immediate mailing of the 10,000 reprints; a national mail appeal in January; the convening of a meeting in January of all committees and other interested persons to discuss CWA's total program and specific jobs to be done; the organization of committees in key cities; the holding of Board meetings once in two weeks during this crucial period.

MOTION 50/12/5 — The Board agreed that the Executive Committee plus the chairmen of standing committees should meet on December 21st to draft a concrete program for submission to the next Board meeting on December 28th.

MOTION 50/12/6 — A committee composed of Mary Barrett, Helen Douglas, Reba Lewis, Olive Van Horn and Charlotte Ware was set up to consider the date and type of general meeting to be held, and report back to the Board.

MOTION 50/12/7

6. Tax Exemption: A letter to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington was read and approved by the Board.

7. Meeting adjourned. Next meeting to be held on December 28th.

PRESS RELEASE FROM: CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 4-6640

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 5, 1950

MUNDT BILL AIMED AT PEACE, TRADE UNIONS,
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS, CRC DECLARES

Part of master plan for American-style fascism, Patterson charges.

Charging that the Truman Administration has a master plan for an American-style fascism which, if completed, must inevitably lead to war, the Civil Rights Congress today called the Mundt Bill "the step which follows the Smith Act and the Taft-Hartley Act in the blueprint for fascism - U.S. style."

In a statement by its Executive Secretary, William L. Patterson, the CRC called on all Americans, regardless of political beliefs, "to bury the Mundt Bill with your protests, as we did twice before."

CRC's charge of a "fascist blueprint" is supported by hitherto unpublicized testimony of Raymond P. Whearty, Criminal Division, Justice Department, before the House Sub-Committee on Appropriations last January 12th.

"Whearty gave away, wittingly or unwittingly, Truman's real domestic program that day", Mr. Patterson declared. "Under questioning by Congressman Rooney, he said that the Justice Department has a program which includes 21,105 pending cases as a 'very probable work-load' under the Smith Act for the fiscal year 1951."

"Undoubtedly," Mr. Patterson continued, "this figure of 21,105 includes the leadership of every progressive and anti-fascist organization - some of which have been smeared by being listed as 'subversive' by former Attorney General Tom Clark."

Mr. Patterson went on to point out that the Mundt Bill provides for establishment of a control board which would brand or clear an organization by the extent to which its policies and activities allegedly do not deviate from those of a foreign government. "In short", declared the Civil Rights Congress leader, "under the provisions of the Mundt Bill the fight for peace would become an un-American activity punishable as a crime. Under the Mundt Bill section of Truman's master plan, jail terms of from two to five years can be meted out to a minister who calls for outlawing the hydrogen bomb; the trade unionist who fights for higher wages, the millions of Negro citizens who are demanding their full civil and human rights.

"Similar bills were defeated last year and the year before by the united opposition of The American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, hundreds of labor internationals and locals; the NAACP, the American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Civil Rights Congress, the National Lawyers Guild, Anti-Defamation Leagu Jewish War Veterans, American Labor Party, Liberal Party, Communist Party, Progressive Party, American Jewish Congress, the Christian Science Monitor, New York Post, Washington Post, St. Louis Post-Dispatch and many other leading newspapers."

Warning that stories out of Washington that chances for action this year by the Senate on the Mundt Bill 'are slim', are an attempt to lull the American people into inactivity, Mr. Patterson called on all who are concerned with preserving the Bill of Rights to protest anew attempts to revive this twice-rejected legislation." Wires and letters of protest, he said, should go to President Truman and to all members of Congress demanding that they uphold the Constitution and defeat the Mundt Police State Bill.

more 16

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL

友國
誼際

International Friendship

34A-28-21

INVITATION

to

A Conference

on

Health and Welfare in China

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1950
1—5 P.M.

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL
30th Floor
101 WEST 58th STREET
New York City

Statement of Purposes

. . . To REPORT current developments and fundamental changes in health and welfare in China

. . . To HEAR from persons just returned from China

. . . To EXCHANGE opinions and obtain detailed knowledge of China's needs and solutions to welfare problems

. . . To EXPLORE ways that the American people can assist the Chinese people in their efforts to rebuild their country in peace

Can Americans continue their tradition of friendly aid to the Chinese people? There are those who see Americans and Chinese drifting inevitably and tragically toward hostility and even war. We are not resigned to this prospect. We believe that friendship and peace are desirable — and possible.

Aiding China — one fifth of mankind — to achieve good health and freedom from disease is a task of great importance to the rest of mankind. It is important to Americans. It is important to any human being.

Such aid, given in the spirit of friendship, equality and mutual respect, is welcomed in China. Such aid is independent of politics; it is a matter of the common interests of humanity. Since 1938 Americans have provided assistance to the International Peace Hospitals and model child care and maternity welfare projects supported by the China Welfare Institute. Today, more than ever, this people's tradition must continue.

". . . . We in England do not and cannot accept the pessimistic conclusion that a third world war is inevitable . . . How is it possible to abandon this peaceful and friendly relationship with the Chinese people for the past hundred years in a single moment of political panic . . . I feel this strongly myself on account of the innumerable friends in the fields of science and technology which I myself made during my years in China. I have no intention, if I can help it, of allowing myself to be separated from them. I am profoundly interested in and have a concern for the important task which lies before them in the raising of the standard of life of the mass populations of Asia . . ." *DR. JOSEPH NEEDHAM, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.*

"The International Peace Hospitals have established sound medical practices . . . and are formulating a pattern for the practice of public health medicine all over the Far East." *DR. BERISLAV BORCIC, UNRRA'S HEALTH DIVISION DIRECTOR IN CHINA IN 1945-46 AND LATER CHINA DIRECTOR OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION.*

Preliminary Program

1:00 P.M. REGISTRATION

2:00 P.M. OPENING SESSION

Talitha Gerlach, *Chairman, Board of Directors, CWA*

Madame Sun Yat-Sen (*by transcription*)

Olive Van Horn, *Conference Chairman*

2:45 P.M. PANEL DISCUSSIONS

I. Health and Medical Care

Moderator: Roger A. Lewis, M.D., *Chairman, CWA Medical Advisory Committee*

Discussants: Leo Eloesser, M.D., *Honorary Chairman, CWA*

Paul Teng, M.D.

Frank Kai-ming Su

Others to be announced

II. Child Care and Maternity Welfare

Moderator: Dr. Donald G. Tewksbury, *Professor of International Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

Discussants: S. R. Berenberg, M.D.

Dr. Derk Bodde, *Professor of Chinese, University of Pennsylvania*

Dr. Ernest G. Osborne, *Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

Dr. Randolph Sailer, *Professor of Psychology, Yenching Univ., Peking*

Mary Barrett, *Formerly of China Weekly Review, Shanghai*

Others to be announced

There will be no solicitation of funds.

". . . . You (the American people) were a constant source of encouragement to us when the Chinese people faced their darkest days. Now we would like to reciprocate. Please accept the inspiration of the Chinese people, a people in control of their own destiny. To us it is a rule of life that the struggles of the common men and women all over the world are the same and inseparable. Our difficulties are equally shared, but so are our victories." *MME. SUN YAT-SEN.*

". . . The extraordinary energy and spirit shown by the staffs of the International Peace Hospitals deserves all possible support. They have produced an intense zeal for work, for cooperation, and for improvement. They have a readiness to carry out and put into practice any feasible suggestions. They have energy, youth, and a spirit of efficiency that we have rarely seen elsewhere." (Excerpt from a report made to UNRRA in 1946 after a visit to eight International Peace Hospitals.) *DR. LEO ELOESSER.*

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL, Inc.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.

Honorary Chairman:
Leo Eloesser, M.D.

Board of Directors:

Talitha Gerlach
Chairman

Mrs. Frederick B. Fisher
Vice-Chairman

Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary-Treasurer

Clark Andrews
Mary Barrett
S. R. Berenberg, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
John O. Crane
Fred T. Douglas
Helen M. Douglas
Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Sun Shao-chien, M.D.
Donald G. Tewksbury
Olive Van Horn
Charlotte Ware

Medical Advisory Committee:

Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
Chairman

Gerald I. Shapiro, D.D.S.
Secretary

Donald Altman
Lee Appleby
J. S. Aronoff, M.D.
Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
Bernard Bender, D.D.S.
Allan M. Butler, M.D.
M. R. Camiel, M.D.
George D. Cannon, M.D.
Arthur Chung, M.D.
Leo M. Davidoff, M.D.
A. Gerald Edwards, D.D.S.
Lewis M. Fraad, M.D.
Leon Gerber, M.D.
Murray J. Goldberg, D.D.S.
Ernest M. Gruenberg, M.D.
Harry Grundfest, M.D.
Jacob Heiman, M.D.
Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
Luigi Luzzatti, M.D.
Benjamin Miller, M.D.
Jack L. Paradise, M.D.
Victor Parsonnet, M.D.
S. J. Prigal, M.D.
Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
Eli Ross, M.D.
S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.

ADVANCE REGISTRATION

[Enc.]

☐ I will attend the "Conference on Health and Welfare in China", Saturday, November 18, 1950, 1:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel, New York City.

☐ I cannot attend. Please accept my contribution of $_____ to Friendship Cargo.

Name _____

Address _____ Zone_____

Registration: $1.00 (payable in advance or at door)
(There will be no solicitation of funds)

China Welfare Appeal, Inc. 439 Fourth Ave. New York 16, N.Y.
Murray Hill 6-8525

24-28-22

November 27, 1950

Miss Talitha Gerlach, Chairman
China Welfare Appeal Inc.
439 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Gerlach:

I have just returned to my desk from a three weeks rest. I have seen in the papers something of the China Welfare Organization being refused the right to ship medicines to China. It is almost unbelieavable, but I suppose it is so.

I write simply to express my disgust at this action.

I wonder if any of us are going to get a chance to meet the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

1-61-12

[China Welfare Appeal]

To: Members of Board of Directors, China Welfare Appeal, Inc.

December 1, 1950

From: Talitha Gerlach, Chairman

IMPORTANT NOTICE

ADJOURNED MEETING

Upon recommendation of the Board of Directors on November 30th, an adjourned Board meeting is being called for

Thursday, December 14th - 8 P.M.

CWA Office - 439 Fourth Avenue, N.Y.C.

The first item on the agenda will be a continuation of the analysis and discussion of program, work load, administrative procedures and responsibilities.

If time permits, unfinished business on the agenda for November 30th (copy enclosed) will also be taken up. These come chiefly under Item 7, including 7(d) - election of officers of the Board of Directors.

Please make every effort to attend the December 14th meeting.

[CITIZENS. II]

NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE
TO ELECT DR. W.E.B.DUBOIS

Hotel Theresa - Room 108
125th Street and Seventh Avenue

NEW YORK, N.Y.

October 2, 1950

Secretary of State
Albany, N.Y.

Sir:

Please take notice that the Non-Partisan Citizens Committee to Elect Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has been formed with a principal place of business at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, Room 108, New York, N.Y.

The name and address of the Treasurer of the committee are Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawford, Hotel Theresa, Room 108. Three members of the committee are the undersigned.

24-1-6

Sincerely yours,

_____
Chairman

_____
Secretary

_____
Treasurer

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH - NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

October 10, 1950

HON. CO-CHAIRMEN

Bishop W. J. Walls
Langston Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Oliver Harrington

VICE CHAIRMEN

Dr. R. A. Simmons
Nina Evans
Rev. Edward McGowan
Eslanda G. Robeson
Shirley Graham
Rev. W. O. Carrington
Jacques Isler
Marvel Cooke
Viola Scott
John Harmon

SECRETARY

George B. Murphy Jr.

TREASURER

Alicia Burghardt Crawford

Dear Dr. Dubois:

You and I both know that the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has for more than 50 years been intimately associated with the struggle of American Negroes for full citizenship. He might well set aside his arduous labors and rest on his laurels; but now he comes forth with all the vigor of youth to stand as a candidate for the United States Senate from New York.

In admiration, you and I ask: "Why?"

Here is his answer:

> "The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color . . . The American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition there can be no progress without peace . . . I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age suffices to hold me back from a great duty."

Many of us who have followed Dr. DuBois' illustrious career through many years have banded together to form a national citizens non-partisan committee to support his campaign. In our first formal action, we are appealing to you, through this letter, to help.

I know you will agree that Dr. DuBois' important message must reach hundreds of thousands of Americans through radio, literature and other means. This will require substantial sums, and I hope that I can count on you for a contribution of at least ten dollars for this purpose.

There are only four weeks left in the campaign. The enclosed card and envelope are for your convenience. I look forward to your early reply and your generous contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Oliver Harrington

Oliver Harrington
Chairman

P. S. Make all checks payable to Citizens Non-Partisan Committee for Dr. DuBois.

"NO CONSIDERATION OF EASE OR AGE SUFFICES TO HOLD ME BACK FROM A GREAT DUTY"-*W. E. B. DUBOIS*

Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect Dr. Dubois
Hotel Theresa - Suite 108
125th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Because I have long admired Dr. W.E.B. Dubois for his courageous leadership in the cause of freedom for our people I am happy to:

1. Lend my name to the National Non-Partisan Citizens Committee for Doctor Dubois.
2. Enclose my check for $10.00 for Dr. Dubois' radio time, etc.
3. Urge my friends in New York State to vote for Doctor Dubois.

Cordially yours,

Signed.....

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE

TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH

NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH - NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

HON. CO-CHAIRMEN

Bishop W. J. Walls
Langston Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Oliver Harrington

VICE CHAIRMEN

Dr. R. A. Simmons
Nina Evans
Rev. Edward McGowan
Eslanda G. Robeson
Shirley Graham
Rev. W. O. Carrington
Jacques Isler
Marvel Cooke
Viola Scott
John Harmon

SECRETARY

George B. Murphy Jr.

TREASURER

Alicia Burghardt Crawford

October 14, 1950

You and I both know that the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has for more than 50 years been intimately associated with the struggle of American Negroes for full citizenship. He might well set aside his arduous labors and rest on his laurels; but now he comes forth with all the vigor of youth to stand as a candidate for the United States Senate from New York.

In admiration, you and I ask: "Why?"

Here is his answer:

> "The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color . . . The American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition there can be no progress without peace . . . I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age suffices to hold me back from a great duty."

Many of us who have followed Dr. DuBois' illustrious career through many years have banded together to form a national citizens non-partisan committee to support his campaign. In our first formal action, we are appealing to you, through this letter, to help.

I know you will agree that Dr. DuBois' important message must reach hundreds of thousands of Americans through radio, literature and other means. This will require substantial sums, and I hope that I can count on you for a contribution of at least ten dollars for this purpose.

There are only four weeks left in the campaign. The enclosed card and envelope are for your convenience. I look forward to your early reply and your generous contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Oliver Harrington
Chairman

P. S. Make all checks payable to Citizens Non-Partisan Committee for Dr. DuBois.

"NO CONSIDERATION OF EASE OR AGE SUFFICES TO HOLD ME BACK FROM A GREAT DUTY"-*W.E.B. DUBOIS*

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH - NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

HON. CO-CHAIRMEN

Bishop W. J. Walls
Langston Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Oliver Harrington

VICE CHAIRMEN

Dr. R. A. Simmons
Nina Evans
Rev. Edward McGowan
Eslanda G. Robeson
Shirley Graham
Rev. W. O. Carrington
Jacques Isler
Marvel Cooke
Viola Scott
John Harmon

SECRETARY

George B. Murphy Jr.

TREASURER

Alicia Burghardt Crawford

October 31, 1950

Bishop Jones,

Dear Bishop Jones,

We wish to thank you very much for your check and for your cooperation in our effort to sponsor Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

Our spirit is high and we expect to send Dr. DuBois to the senate.

Sincerely yours,

[Citizens Non-Partisan Committee...]

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH - NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

HON. CO-CHAIRMEN

Bishop W. J. Walls
Langston Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Oliver Harrington

VICE CHAIRMEN

Dr. R. A. Simmons
Nina Evans
Rev. Edward McGowan
Eslanda G. Robeson
Shirley Graham
Rev. W. O. Carrington
Jacques Isler
Marvel Cooke
Viola Scott
John Harmon

SECRETARY

George B. Murphy Jr.

TREASURER

Alicia Burghardt Crawford

OUR HERO (FROM STRAUSS' CHOCOLATE SOLDIER)

DR W. E. B. DUBOIS

We have a true and noble leader
Doctor DuBois, you all know his name.
His like on earth, who shall discover,
Because of his powers
We're glad that he's ours
Down in the Senate we're represented
It's up to us, to send Doctor there.
For most of his life he's prepared for this service
Needed so much in Congress today to bring us peace and joy to stay

Chorus

We're here we love you dearly
Our hearts are true
We're here we need you sincerely, we'll all pull for you.
We know, naught can unearth you, you'll speak your mind and none can reverse you.
You'll be divine
We're glad that you are our champion
You have no fear

By Alicia Burghardt Crawford

November 6, 1950

61-1-42

CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. DUBOIS

HOTEL THERESA - SUITE 108

125th STREET and SEVENTH - NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

November 6, 1950

HON. CO-CHAIRMEN

Bishop W. J. Walls
Langston Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Oliver Harrington

VICE CHAIRMEN

Dr. R. A. Simmons
Nina Evans
Rev. Edward McGowan
Eslanda G. Robeson
Shirley Graham
Rev. W. O. Carrington
Jacques Isler
Marvel Cooke
Viola Scott
John Harmon

SECRETARY

George B. Murphy Jr.

TREASURER

Alicia Burghardt Crawford

Dear Cousin William,

I created this song to sing at your reception, but due to the length of the program I was unable to do so.

6

OUR HERO (From Strauss' Chocolate Soldier)

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

We have a true and noble leader

Doctor DuBois, you all know his name.

His like on earth, who shall discover,

Because of his powers

We're glad that he's ours

Down in the Senate we're represented

It's up to us, to send Doctor there.

For most of his life He's prepared for this service

He ded so much in Congress today to bring us peace and joy to stay

Chorus

We're here we love you dearly

Our hearts are true

We're here we need you sincerely, we'll all pull for you.

We know, naught can unearth you, you'll speak your mind and none can reverse you.

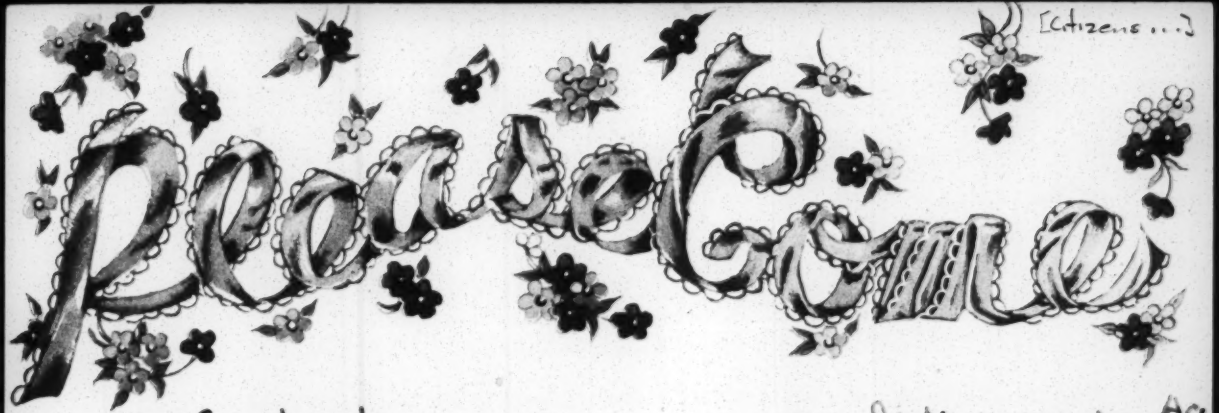
You'll be divine

We're glad that you are our champion

You have no fear.

P.S. John Brown also was prepared to give a number and dedicate it to you. We are both dissapointed and sorry that we could not make our contribution. Love, alice.

[Citizens ...]



DATE Sunday Dec. 10, 1950

PLACE 762 St. Nicholas Ave ~~P~~ 8

TIME Supper @ 6

Citizen Non-Partisan Comm.
FOR to Elect Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

Hostess— Alicia B. Crawford

Sculpted by
STERLING
Chicago

8002
2

MADE IN U.S.A.

24-121-2

You're Invited
To a
Party

35-6-52

Statement on Dr. Dubois by Langston Hughes, released last Sunday at a reception held for the noted shholar and NAACP leader at the International Hotel in Harlem, by the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee.

~~The committee, which~~

Hughes, together with Bishop William J. Walls, is an honorary co-chairman of the Committee, whose chairman is Oliver Harrington the noted illustrator and cartoonist. The famous poet's statement follows:

" Dr. DuBois and Paul Lawrence Dunbar were the first Negro writers - in fact the first writers - whose works I knew in my childhood in Kansas.

" Certainly Dr. DuBois has had a great influence on my life, my way of thinking and my writing. No honor which I could pay him would be too great.

" He has all my good wishes for a smashing victory at the polls."

****

Dr. J.Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Improved, Benovelent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, had this to say about Dr. DuBois at the 51st annual convention of the fraternal organization in Chicago last August: "Dr. DuBois is one of our great leaders, and no power on earth could make me attack him or say evil of him."

****

Bishop William J.Walls, of the A.M.E.Zion Church says this about Dr. DuBois

Mail to Folder — Non-Partisan Comm

[1950]

NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO ELECT DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
Hotel Theresa - Room 108 - 125th Street and Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Video viewers will have the opportunity to see and hear Dr. W. E. B. DuBois engage in a three-cornered political debate Sunday evening, October 8, at 7:15 on the WPIX feature, "Battle Page of the Air."

The noted author and scholar, who is making his initial bid for political office, as the American Labor Party candidate for U.S. Senator, will share the TV camera with his opponents, Senator Herbert Lehman, Democrat, and Joseph Hanley, Republican.

As part of the unique 45-minute forum. three ALP members and three from each of the other parties will be given time to question each candidate on his platform.

"Battle Page of the Air" is produced at the Little Theatre, ninth floor of the Daily News Building, 220 East 42 Street, and the public is invited to visit the studio for this production.

Dr. DuBois' television appearance comes on the heels of the gigantic campaign kick-off held ~~xxxx~~ October 5 Thursday/at Golden Gate Ballroom, where the distinguished ALP candidate launched his two-month campaign.

In addition to his telecast, Dr. DuBois will make six radio broadcasts during the Senate race. A schedule of the programs follows:

MONDAY	OCTOBER 9	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM
THURSDAY	OCTOBER 19	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM
SUNDAY	OCTOBER 22	WOR	9:15 - 9:30 PM

(State-wide broadcast with John T. McManus, ALP gubernatorial candidate.)

THURSDAY	OCTOBER 26	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM
FRIDAY	NOVEMBER 3	WMCA	9:30 - 9:45 PM
MONDAY	NOVEMBER 6	WMCA	9:15 - 10:00 PM

(Dr. DuBois, John T. McManus, Paul L. Ross, candidate for Mayor, and Dr. Clementine Paolone, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.)

* * * * *

uopwa gnyl
202

Non-Partisan Citizens Committee for the Election of Dr. Robeson

Bishop of the Second Episcopal District, A.M.E. Zion Church (which includes N.Y. State)
Bishop William J. Walls--Honorary Chairman

(Nationally known cartoonist, creator of the famous character "Bootsie," and illustrator.
Oliver Harrington----Chairman - Evart Graves - Vice Chairman
Dr. R.A. Simmons-- Vice Chairman
George B. Murphy Jr.----Secretary

Mrs. Alicia Burghardt Crawford---treasurer

Eslanda Robeson

Shirley Graham

Atty. Jacques Isler

Mrs. D.A. Graham

Fredi Washington

Betty Young

William Rose

Mrs. Nina Evans

Ramona Garrett

Viola Scott

John Harmon

Janet Kreig

Marvel Cooke

Benjamin Atkins

Haleis Moorhead

William A. Oliver

Rev. W.O. Carrington - Brooklyn

Dr. and Mrs. R.A. Simmons (Boston)

Headquarters will be opened shortly in the Hotel Theresa officials of the committee stated.

Bishop Walls made the statement at his official ~~New York Residence~~ Episcopal residence in New York, 155 West 136th Street.

Dr. Simmons, Vice Chairman

24-1-18

Rev. Eddie Hawkins
Rev Ed. McSwain
call Evart Graves Haiten
Friday & Sat re
his key & chair + Speaker

List of those who helped us whom we consider our Non-Partisan Committee - Alicia B. Crawford 162 St Nicholas Ave

Miss Edna Logan. 117-70 Marsden St Jamaica L. I.

Mrs. Betty Young - 1066 Jackson Ave. Bronx, N. Y.

Mrs. Precilla Milner - Room 423 Hotel Theresa. Ny.

Mrs. Florence Pharoah - 354 W. 120th St

Miss Mary E. Ford - 500 W. 150th St

Miss. Marion Snyder. 661 Caldwell Ave Bronx, Ny

Mr. Bernard Jackson 228 W. 138th St. N y. C.

Mr. Bernard Alves Madison. N y. C.

Miss. Beatrice Williams 1809 Amsterdam Ave c/o Bell My C.

Mr. John Brown Jr. 1370 Dean St Bkl.

Mr. Evan Costello - 528 W. 145th St and 54

Mr. Herman Robinson - apt 3A 403 W. 154th St N.Y. C.

24-6-2

Miss. Jennie Reaves.
746 St. Nicholas Ave Apt 45A.

Mrs. Sheldon B. Hoskins

Mrs. Thelma Doll Hill

Miss Ernestine Welch

Mrs. Edward Christopher

→ Penthouse Drama + Dance Theatre
421 W. 145th St.

24-6-7

Mrs. Calvin Warren
411 Convent Ave Apt 1D.

Mrs. Johnny Miller
135 W. 119th St.

Mrs. Ewart Garnier - 2 Lafayette St

Mrs Maude W. Katz.

Address?
Mrs. Shirley Graham - 173 - 19-113th St Albans

Mrs Viola Collins
270 Convent Ave

Mrs Viola Scott.
271 W. 125th St % Business Channels

Miss Yvonne Gregory.
address?

Mrs Louis Burnham
104-55 - 142nd St Jamaica L. I.

Mrs. Ollie Harrington
143 W. 14th St

Mrs. George Murphy - 12 W. 24th St

From
Ewart Guinier
WO4-7117

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W 26 St

OCTOBER 5, 1950, JUBILEE RALLY FOR DR. DUBOIS
(First Draft of Program)

6:00 Briefing of Ushers
- a) Peck - Veola Collins - Jett, etc.
- b) Marshalls - Ted Archer
- c) Literature layout

7:00 Outside - Sound Set-up
- a) Sound truck - Ted Archer
- b) Box office - Clara Turner
- c) Band begins - or as soon as people begin coming
- d) Ticket collectors and ushers assume positions

7:30 Meeting Schedule to Begin
(7:30 to 8:00 - Entertainment by band)

8:00 Victoria Garvin Opens Meeting by calling for:
- a) Singing Star Spangled Banner by Alice Crawford (~~Dr. DuBois' cousin~~), accompanied by Larry Brown (with band coming in?)
- b) Chorus: One verse of Negro National Anthem
- c) Invocation by Rev. _____ (2 minutes)
- d) Mrs. Garvin - brief introductory remarks to introduce Chrmn. Guinier (2 minutes)

8:07 Chairman Guinier -(5 minutes)

8:12 Introduction of John Quillian - "Why the ALP Must Elect Its Own Congressional Candidate!" (5 minutes)

8:17 Introduction of Frances Smith (5 minutes)

8:22 Paul Ross (10 minutes)

8:32 Selections by Band - any Latin Music

8:35 Introduction of Manuel Medina (5 minutes)

8:40 Chairman - Messages, Greetings - Introduction of Other Local Candidates

8:50 Reading by Frank Silvera

8:55 Introduction of John McManus (10-15 minutes)

9:10 Music (5 minutes)

9:15-9:40 Collection - Sales

9:40-9:45 Announcements and Music

→ 9:45 Entrance of Dr. DuBois with Marc and Robeson

9:50 Marc (15 to 20 minutes)

10:10 Robeson Sings --

10:25 Introduces Dr. DuBois

11:00 Meeting Ends

01-14-10

COPY

Ewart Guinier
2 Lafayette Street - Room 1015
New York City 7, N.Y.
WOrth 4-7117

November 2, 1950

Non-Partisan Committee to Elect Dr. DuBois
to the United States Senate
Room 108, Hotel Theresa
7th Ave. at 125th St.
Nre York, N. Y. Attn: Mrs. Crawford

Dear Mrs. Crawford:

Of the 75 tickets which you sent me (Nos. 201 - 275, inclusive), only 12 were used, -as follows:

Nos.	
206, 209	by Arthur Katz
228	Reggy York
251, 252	Jacques Isler
253, 254,) 255, 258)	Ann Sullivan
271, 272	Viola Collins
273	Eunice

which your records should substantiate. Many of the people to whom we mailed invitations or in other manner urged to participate in the reception, just appear to have paid at the door. It may even be that three of the 12 tickets for which I am responsible were paid for at the door, namely Nos. 206, 209, 228. However, I don't know this to be a fact. I haven't collected for these. I have collected for 7 of the other 9, and two others I know to have been used but not paid for at the door.

Rather than burden you with trying to straighten out all this, I will assume responsibility for all 12 of the tickets which were used. That means I owe you $24. However, you have received $100 (my personal check) to facilitate your preparations for the reception. I suggest, therefore that

you deduct the $24 which I owe you, and send me the balance of $76.

I think the reception was wonderful and that the attendance was good. I am not certain how much we in the ALP contributed to it, but we tried our best. I want to congratulate you personally and these that worked directly with you for the splendid results.

Sincerely yours,

Ewart Guinier

24-14-29

EG:jh

upw 30

cc: George Murphy

CITIZENS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

A UNION OF CITIZENS, WITHOUT REGARD TO PARTY, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SECURING THE HONEST AND EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

OFFICERS

MILTON M. BERGERMAN . . . . . CHAIRMAN
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN . . . CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
DANA CONVERSE BACKUS . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
ALBERT S. BARD . . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
RICHARD S. CHILDS . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
LINCOLN CROMWELL . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
WALTER FRANK . . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
HARRIET T. RIGHTER . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM A. MEYERHOFF . . . . TREASURER
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR. . . . . SECRETARY
SAMUEL D. SMOLEFF . . . . . COUNSEL
ELEANOR C. TANZER . . ASSISTANT SECRETARY
M. E. PERKELL . . . . FINANCIAL SECRETARY
JOSEPH ECKERT . . . . . OFFICE MANAGER
MRS. NATHANIEL SINGER,
DIRECTOR OF CIVIC COOPERATION

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

GEORGE A. BOEHM
HARRY J. CARMAN
WILLIAM H. DAVIS
NEVA R. DEARDORFF
DEAN G. EDWARDS
JOHN ELLIS
FRANCIS X. GIACCONE
GEORGE E. GOLDTHWAITE
BERNARD HERSHKOPF
WALTER M. HINKLE
ROBERT E. JOHNSON
DOROTHY KENYON
S. STANLEY KREUTZER
LAWRENCE S. MAYERS
NEWBOLD MORRIS
MRS. RALPH B. MORRIS
SAMUEL H. ORDWAY, JR.
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
IRA S. ROBBINS
OREN ROOT
WALLACE S. SAYRE
THEODORE H. SKINNER
LAURENCE ARNOLD TANZER
EDWARD R. WHITTINGHAM
JULIAN H. WHITTLESEY

41 PARK ROW. NEW YORK 7. N. Y.
TELEPHONE BARCLAY 7-0342

154

October 2, 1950

24-8-17

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Citizens Union publishes every year a Voters Directory containing information in regard to candidates for elective offices in New York City. The demand for unbiased information on candidates, campaign issues and electoral machinery has led us also to maintain a Bureau of Political information which will be at the service of voters from now until election.

The Citizens Union has never made recommendations as to candidates for national or statewide offices. We wish, however, to obtain full information regarding all candidates, to enable us to answer the many inquiries which come to us. If you will kindly fill in the information requested on the enclosed blank, it will help to make our service more valuable and assure the correctness of your notice in the Voters Directory.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation, and on our part we shall be glad to place any information we have at your disposal.

Sincerely yours,

George Hallett

Secretary

CITIZENS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

A UNION OF CITIZENS, WITHOUT REGARD TO PARTY, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SECURING THE HONEST AND EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

OFFICERS

MILTON M. BERGERMAN . . . . . CHAIRMAN
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN . . . CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
DANA CONVERSE BACKUS . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
ALBERT S. BARD . . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
RICHARD S. CHILDS . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
LINCOLN CROMWELL . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
WALTER FRANK . . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
HARRIET T. RIGHTER . . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS . . . VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM A. MEYERHOFF . . . . TREASURER
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR. . . . . SECRETARY
SAMUEL D. SMOLEFF . . . . . COUNSEL
ELEANOR C. TANZER . . ASSISTANT SECRETARY
M. E. PERKELL . . . . FINANCIAL SECRETARY
JOSEPH ECKERT . . . . . OFFICE MANAGER
MRS. NATHANIEL SINGER,
DIRECTOR OF CIVIC COOPERATION

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

GEORGE A. BOEHM
HARRY J. CARMAN
WILLIAM H. DAVIS
NEVA R. DEARDORFF
DEAN G. EDWARDS
JOHN ELLIS
FRANCIS X. GIACCONE
GEORGE E. GOLDTHWAITE
BERNARD HERSHKOPF
WALTER M. HINKLE
ROBERT E. JOHNSON
DOROTHY KENYON
S. STANLEY KREUTZER
LAWRENCE S. MAYERS
NEWBOLD MORRIS
MRS. RALPH B. MORRIS
SAMUEL H. ORDWAY, JR.
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
IRA S. ROBBINS
OREN ROOT
WALLACE S. SAYRE
THEODORE H. SKINNER
LAURENCE ARNOLD TANZER
EDWARD R. WHITTINGHAM
JULIAN H. WHITTLESEY

41 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
TELEPHONE BARCLAY 7-0342

154

24-17-13

October 6, 1950

Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for sending us the information we asked for in connection with your candidacy.

We shall be glad to send you our Voters Directory when it appears in October.

Sincerely,

George Hallett

Secretary

News from:
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

MUrray Hill 4-6640

MARCH 6, 1950
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LEADER IN FIRST LYNCHING OF 1950

CONVICTED, GETS 20 YEARS, CRC REPORTS

"Partial Victory Proves Guilty Can be Punished When Negro, Progressive Whites Unite", CRC says.

24-3-41

Richmond, Va. -- The leader of the white lynch mob which axed Samuel Taylor, 38-year old Negro farmer, to death near Ballsville last NewYear's Eve in the first lynching of 1950 has been convicted of second degree murder and given 20 years, the Civil Rights Congress reports.

CRC observers at the trial called the verdict "a partial victory which proves that the guilty in lynchings, frame-ups and cases of police brutality definitely can be punished when Negro and progressive white Americans unite to demand it."

Hundreds of members of the Negro community in and around Ballsville, jam-packed the Powhattan Court House for the two-day trial, the observers reported. Many stood in the court-room from early morning until late evening. A large number did not leave their standing spots for lunch on either day, so that "they could demonstrate their demand that Taylor's lynchers be punished to the full extent of the law", the observers reported.

Although there was a preponderance of evidence that the lynch mob leader, Frank Clayton, pre-mediatedly and in cold blood murdered Samuel Taylor, the jury did not return a verdict of murder in the first degree as requested by Commonwealth Attorney W. R. Blenford.

One of the reasons for this failure, CRC's observers stated, was the constant Negro-baiting by Defense Attorney Flannagan who tried to discredit the character of the prosecution's chief witnesses, Bernard Hague and Mrs. Annie Morris, both white. They were visiting Allen Liggon, Taylor's Negro neighbor, on the day of the lynching. On occasion after occasion, he said that "no self-respecting" white people would visit Negro homes.

Flannagan also attempted to intimidate the two Negro jurors by declaring that he had a right to strike them off the jury, but that he knew they were going to "do the right thing".

When the jury brought in its decision on the evening of March 1, most of the Negro spectators agreed that the partial victory was due to their tremendous turnout, both at the trial and at Taylor's funeral.

More than 350 friends and neighbors and over 60 cars were counted in Taylor's funeral procession.

Other members of the lynch gang, though known, are still free.

Taylor was found in a pool of blood on New Year's morning by his own father, Spencer Taylor, who is 78 years old. His right ear was cut, his throat was slashed with deep cuts, and a deep, long gash, made with an axe, was found in his back.

* * * * *

uopwa 16-47

[Civil Rights Congress ?]

FACT SHEET - Willie McGee
ACTION BULLETIN

May 22, 1950

> "Please don't let him die. I need him so much to help me. I am not giving up. I am praying every day that some good may turn up."
> —Rosalee McGee

WILLIE McGEE WILL DIE WITHIN THIRTY DAYS .....UNLESS THE PEOPLE ACT

The Supreme Court of the United States has refused to review the conviction of Willie McGee, Negro veteran and father of four children, framed on a rape charge in 1945 in Mississippi.

ACT NOW!

Secure:

1. Letters and wires, particularly from ministers, to the three leading churchmen of Jackson, Mississippi, asking them to convey your message for executive clemency to Gov. Wright. Their names are: Rev. H.B. Shaefer, Bishop R.O. Gerow and Bishop Duncan Gray. Address: Jackson, Mississippi.

2. Write and wire Gov. Fielding Wright, State Capitol, Jackson, Mississippi, asking executive clemency for Willie McGee.

3. Rush contributions to CRC. Funds are urgently needed for legal fees connected with habeas corpus proceedings being undertaken in Mississippi to save Willie McGee.

24-11-19

THE FACTS

Willie McGee has been three times convicted and three times sentenced to die for the alleged rape of a white woman. After each of his three convictions the Civil Rights Congress fought for and won appeals for the condemned man.

On June 2, 1949, three hours before he was scheduled to be electrocuted, attorneys for the Civil Rights Congress won a last minute stay for Willie McGee.

The stay was granted by the Mississippi Supreme Court to permit a motion for a review of the conviction to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. On October 10, 1949, the United States Supreme Court refused to consider the motion. Application for reconsideration of this refusal was made to the court by Civil Rights Congress attorneys. On May 15, 1950, the Supreme Court rejected this application.

The Attorney-General of the State of Mississippi may now legally ask the court in Mississippi to set a date for execution.

Attorneys for the Civil Rights Congress will apply to the Supreme Court of Mississippi for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that McGee was denied due process in the trials.

On November 3, 1945, Mrs. Troy Hawkins, a middle-aged white woman of Laurel, Mississippi, claimed that she had been raped by "a man with kinky hair who wore a T-shirt." She gave no other identification.

The so-called rape allegedly took place at four o'clock in the morning, while a sick child slept in her bed, and her husband and two children were asleep in an adjoining room.

A reign of terror against the Negro community began. Willie McGee, a truck driver and the father of four children, was picked up. Ignoring his proof that he could not have been at the scene of the crime at the time it was committed, three police officers beat him and threatened to turn him over to a lynch mob unless he signed a "confession". An indication of the physical condition and state of mind of McGee after the police beatings and grilling is the fact that when the first trial opened, he had to be carried speechless and helpless into court.

This first trial took place beginning December 6, 1945 in a lynch atmosphere. The state militia were posted in and around the courthouse which was surrounded by a mob threatening to lynch McGee.

McGee was defended by court-appointed attorneys, before a court that was dominated by lynch hysteria and a prosecutor committed to a conviction at any cost. McGee's attorneys were unable to confer with him because of his state of shock, and gave him no real defense. The jury was out two minutes and came back with a guilty verdict. He was sentenced to be electrocuted. A clipping noting the sentencing of McGee came to the attention of George Marshall, who was then Chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, since merged into the Civil Rights Congress. Mr. Marshall initiated an investigation, and the Federation entered the case, appealing the vicious frame-up verdict to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

On June 10, 1946, that court ordered a new trial on the ground that there should have been a change of venue from the aroused community in which the trial was held.

On November 4, 1946, a new trial was held in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and McGee was again found guilty and sentenced to death.

The Civil Rights Congress again appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Mississippi. On February 9, 1947, the second conviction was reversed by that court on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from the grand and petit juries.

In March, 1948, McGee's third trial began. The District Attorney had been elected following a campaign in which his main slogan was that he would see that McGee got the chair.

At the third trial a lynch atmosphere again permeated the courtroom. The local defense counsel, threatened with mob violence, asked the judge for protection, but he refused to grant it. They were forced to leave the courtroom escorted by deputy sheriffs without completing their defense of McGee. Again the verdict was "guilty" and again McGee was sentenced to die.

This third death verdict was upheld by the Supreme Court of Mississippi and affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States on May 15, 1950, when it refused to consider the appeal.

SIGNIFICANCE

The McGee case shows the logical course of jimcrow and segregation as a policy of government. Here is the terror legally organized as contrasted with the violence, lynchings, or the police murders. Here is what a consistent, systematic and militant struggle for constitutional liberties, civil and human rights for Negro Americans can bring to an end. Here is the crime of government that has taken tens of thousands of victims.

WILLIE McGEE WILL DIE WITHIN 30 DAYS UNLESS THE PEOPLE ACT NOW!

September 15, 1950

Mr. George Marshall
Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Marshall:

The Harlem chapter of the Civil Rights Congress has asked me to be honorary president. It is apparently simply a nominal position.

I am wondering just what I should do in the case. Would you be good enough to telephone me your advice before Tuesday?

It was nice to see you the other day and I hope we can meet again soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lym

24-3-48

January 9, 1950

Mrs. Esther Cooper Jackson
Civil Rights Congress
424 Reid Building, 138 Cadillac Square
Detroit 26, Michigan

My dear Mrs. Jackson:

I promised Mr. Burnham that if I was going to be near Detroit, I would lecture there if it could be arranged.

As I am going to be in Cleveland, it will be possible for me to lecture in Detroit, Monday February 6, or possible Tuesday, February 7.

Please do not make any great effort to arrange this, but if it is feasible let me know.

The charge is $100 which includes all expenses.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-12-17

24-12-16

1950 JAN 12 PM 4 06

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(54)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1950 JAN 12 PM 5 58

NA528 PD=DETROIT MICH 12 309P=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:23 WEST 26 ST=

Ted cmf

HAPPY TO ORGANIZE LECTURE HERE ON PROPOSED DATE LETTER FOLLOWS=

ESTHER COOPER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

OF MICHIGAN

FORMERLY CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

424 REID BUILDING, 138 Cadillac Square CAdillac 6278 DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

Sec. Corr?

January 30, 1950

24-L-28-82

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Vice Chairman
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are looking forward to your visit to Detroit next week.

I am enclosing an announcement which is being distributed widely here.

Kindly let us know when you will arrive so that we can arrange to meet you. Also let us know if you want a hotel reservation.

Sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper,
Organizational Secretary

EVC/nd
uopwa26cio
encl.

February 16, 1950

Mrs. Esther V. Cooper
Civil Rights Congress
424 Reid Building, 138 Cadillac Square
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Esther Cooper:

Thank you so much for your kindness while I was in Detroit. I enjoyed the meeting. We also had some very excellent meetings in Chicago at the University of Illinois, Chicago University and other places.

I left there and spoke in Boston and then in Quincy and just reached home last night.

My best regards to your husband.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-14-7

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

B124CC 5K INTL PD VIA MACKAY

CD BARNETHERTS 25 4 1548

LT DOCTOR DUBOIS HOTEL THERESA

SUITE 108 125THSTREET NEWYORK27NY

BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS IN YOUR WORK FOR THE NEGRO

DOCTOR BELFIELD CLARKE AND PAT WALKER

356P NOV 4 1950

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Sent - 2/28/50

Jay Clifford

545 West 158th Street New York 32, N. Y.

Saturday Pay

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
New York. N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am making a collection of the photographs of members of my race whom I have known personally and for whom I have had the greatest admiration - because of their outstanding and most distinguished achievements in the fields of letters - or education - or politics or the arts or the sciences. Your life's work through the long years has been of immeasurable inspiration to all of us in our great and historic

24-1-39

struggle for full and complete
American citizenship.

I will consider it a very great honor
to receive from you an autographed
picture which I will frame and hang
in my home.

With my very best wishes for a long
life of health and continued all powerful
influence in our behalf. I am

Most sincerely yours.

Gifford Pinchot

P.S. My mother sends
her warmest feelings of friendship
for you.

Jay Clifford

545 West 158th Street New York 32, N. Y.

Thursday P.M.

My dear Dr. Du Bois

Your picture received - it is splendid. Thank you deeply. Hope you can find time soon to accept an invitation to visit us and see it.

With best wishes always

Sincerely,

Jay Clifford

04-1-40

Fed. pending [Club Twenty-One]
May 30,

W. JUSTIN CARTER, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
30 SOUTH THIRD STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.

PHONE 2-3531

February 17, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Club Twenty-One, consisting of business and professional men of Harrisburg, is sponsoring dedicatory services on May 30, 1950, at the grave of William Howard Day. A suitable monument will be placed on his grave at that time. As you know, Mr. Day was one of the most distinguished educators of the Country during the late 19th Century, having graduated from Oberlin College in 1847. After a very distinguished career he located in Harrisburg and became President of the Harrisburg School Board. I am enclosing a copy of a resume of his career.

Our Club unanimously voted to invite you as the principal speaker on that occasion. It is with distinct pleasure that I now, on behalf of our Club, tender this invitation to you to be our speaker. It is our sincere wish that you will be able to fulfil this engagement. We have voted to appropiate the sum of fifty ($50.00) dollars to cover your expenses. You will be free to talk as you desire.

Trusting that I may receive a favorable reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

WJC/spd

Enclosure

I regret that I am unable to accept your kind offer
2/27/50

24A-33-22

[Enc.]

HARRISBURG TELEGRAPH MONDAY EVENING 12/3/1900

W. H. Day, A.M., D.D.

The Death of a Noted Colored Man this Morning

The Rev. William Howard Day, A.M., D.D. general secretary of the A.M.E. Zion Church, passed away at 6:40 A.M. Monday morning, after an illness of several months. He was 70 years old. Dr. Day was born in New York City and baptized by Bishop James Varick, founder of the A. M. E. Zion connection, and was at the time of his death the only person living of those who had received baptism from the hands of Bishop Varick. He was prepared for college in New York City and Northampton, Mass., but on account of color predjudice was obliged to go to Oberlin College, Ohio, where he graduated in 1847, taling the degree A.B., the only colored man of a class of fifty. He received the dgree A.M. in 1859 from Oberlin, and later D.D. from Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C. He was elected professor of languages and mathematics in 1862. He visited Great Britain in 1859, was received by Earl Spencer at Spencer House, England, and by the Duchess of Sutherland at Staffordshire House, London. Subsequently (he was received by) the Provost of Edinburgh, Scotland; was main speaker at a meeting of 3000 persons in Music Hall, Dublin, Ireland, presided over by the Lord Mayor, clad in his official robes and bearing the jewel of office; and addressed other thousands in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

In 1866 he was ordained deacon and elder at Petersburgh, Virginia by the Right Reverend J. J. Clinton, and was elected General Secretary of General Conference 1876-1888, 1892, 1896 and 1900 (each time) for a four year term.

One of the notable acts of Dr. Day's life was when in 1852 he called together at Cleveland, Ohio, the living representatives of color, of the War of 1812, and brought together for the first time the men who fought at New Orleans, in Georgia, at Plattsburg N. Y., and on the Lakes. He was the orator of the occasion. He was the chairman of the committee of citizens of Cleveland who addressed Louis Kossuth of Hungary in 1852. That year he established "Aliened American," a weekly published in the interests of his race. Also in 1852 he was secretary of the national convention in Cleveland, and later worked as a compositor and local editor on the Cleveland True Democrat. He was also a teacher of Latin, Greek, mathematic, rhetoric, vocal music, shorthand and other branches of study. In 1857 his health failed and he went to Canda. where while recuperating, he worked for the educational development of fifty thousand fugitive slaves.

In 1867 he assumed charge as inspector general of schools of refugees and freedemen for Maryland and Delaware, having 140 schools, 150 teachers, and 7000 pupils to superintend. In 1869 he risked his life in Wilmington in organizing the colored voters, with the result that the representation in the lower house of Congress was changed--the first change in twenty years. In 1870 he became editor of "Our National Progress" -- a position he retained for five years. In 1870 he was make a clerk in the corporation department of the Auditor General's Office in Pennsylvania. In 1875, upon the death of the Rev. James A. Jones, secretary of the General Conference of the A.M.E. Zion connection, Mr. Day was chosen to that position. In 1876, he served in the General Conference at Louisville, and was

24L-33-23

reelected secretary. In 1878 he was elected school director in the eighth ward, Harrisburg, and was the first colored man ever chosen to that body. He was re-elected in 1881 and 1887. In 1885 he was chosen by the Philadelphia and Baltimore annual Conference presiding elder of the Baltimore District, which position he resigned in 1886 to become general missionary and intellectual instructor of the conference. In May 1887, Livingstone College, the Rev. J. C. Price, President, converred on Professor Day the title of D. D.

On the lecture platform, either for the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, for the Masonic Fraternity, representing both the York and the Scottish ritesm or on general political, economic or literary questions, Prof. Day was always in request. He was widely known in Dauphin County and to many residents of Harrisburg. By all he was recognized as one of the leading men of his race.

24k-33-24

March 1, 1950

W. Justin Carter, Jr.
30 South Third Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Carter:

Dr. Du Bois is accepting few engagements for lectures or addresses on account of his committments for literary work.

If in exceptional cases he consents to speak, he must make the following charges, since, being retired he receives no salary.

For talks in New York City $50.00

Outside New York City $100 or more according to distance.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

May 30/

Lectures pending

W. JUSTIN CARTER, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
30 SOUTH THIRD STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.

PHONE 2-3531

March 7, 1950

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

My dear Mrs. Murphy:

Thank you for your letter of March 1, 1950, in which you stated the terms under which Dr. Du Bois will come to Harrisburg on May 30, 1950.

I am pleased to inform you that our Club Twenty-One has agreed to pay to Dr. Du Bois the sum of one hundred ($100.00) dollars for his expenses for a speech to be delivered at the dedication of a monument to Mr. William Howard Day.

Will you kindly sendme by return mail the acceptance of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to speak on the occasion above indicated? I am morethan pleased that our Club has decided to have Dr. Du Bois to speak for the reason that he and my father were life-long personal friends.

Will you also inform me as to when we should forward the check for the expenses of Dr. Du Bois?

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,
W. Justin Carter, Jr.
W. Justin Carter, Jr.

WJC/spd

Yes
may 30 - check

241-28-127

March 10, 1950

W. Justin Carter, Jr.
30 South Third Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Carter:

Dr. Du Bois has asked me to say that he will be glad to speak for your club in Harrisburg on May 30, 1950. It will not be necessary to forward the check of $100 to Dr. Du Bois. You may hand it to him after his lecture.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

W. JUSTIN CARTER, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
30 SOUTH THIRD STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.

PHONE 2-3531

March 29, 1950

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

I acknowledge with pleasure the decision of Dr. Du Bois to be the principal speaker at the dedicatory services for William Howard Day. All of us are looking forward with pleasure and anticipation to his visit.

The Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare is having a National Conference at the Civic Club in Harrisburg on June 1, 1950. The Theme of the Conference is "Community Responsibilities in Human Relations." Representatives of various civic organizations will be here to participate in this most important conference. It is the unanimous desire of the Committee in charge that Dr. DuBois deliver an address at the opening of this Conference on the morning of June 1, 1950.

Knowing that Dr. Du Bois will be in the City on May 30th, the Committee has directed me to request Dr. Du Bois to stay over in Harrisburg until June 1, 1950, so that he may speak at our Conference.

Will you kindly advise me at your earliest convenience whether or not he will be able to do so? The literature and program of the Conference is now being formulated and we certainly would be happy if Dr. Du Bois could see fit to stay with us at that time.

Sincerely yours,

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

WJC/spd

Dr D charges $1 Dayton Bankers Stocks
Carry P.S.D of W, assume he will do
with the charge this charge with Dr #75

24A-28-129

March 30, 1950

Mr. W. Justin Carter, Jr.
30 South Third Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Carter:

Dr. Du Bois charges $100 for a lecture. In the case of The Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare, since he will be in the city the charge would be $75.00.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

W. JUSTIN CARTER, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
30 SOUTH THIRD STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.

PHONE 2-3531

April 14, 1950

Lecture

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

In response to your letter of recent date concerning a speaking engagement for Dr. Du Bois on June 1, 1950, you are advised that I have been informed that there are no funds available with which to pay for a talk by Dr. Du Bois on that date.

With reference to the engagement of Dr. Du Bois on the 30th of May, I have been instructed to request from you a "cut" of Dr. Du Bois together with some biographical data for publicity purposes.

We would appreciate your sending them at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you, I am very

Sincerely yours,

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

WJC/spd

Sent 4/19/50

24A-28-126

W. JUSTIN CARTER, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
30 SOUTH THIRD STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.

PHONE 2-3531

May 17, 1950

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

I am sending this note to advise you that the meeting to which Dr. DuBois has agreed to speak will be held at 1:30 P. M. Eastern Daylight Saving Time on May 30th.

I do not know whether or not Dr. DuBois will come that morning or the day before. In the event that he wishes to come on the 29th, I will be happy to entertain him in my home.

Will you please advise me of the exact time of his arrival in Harrisburg, so that I may meet him?

Sincerely yours,

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

W. Justin Carter, Jr.

WJC/spd

24-33-21

This monument to Dr. William Howard Day
was generously donated by
R. J. ROMBERGER & SONS, MONUMENTS,
2395 State Street
Penbrook, Pennsylvania

.....

Monument base - contributed by Lincoln Cemetery

.....

This celebration is sponsored by CLUB TWENTY ONE,
composed of the following members:

Dr. George A. Jones,	President
Dr. Paul S. Binford,	Rec. Sec'y
W. Justin Carter, Jr.	Cor. Sec'y
C. Sylvester Jackson,	Treasurer

Dr. Charles H. Crampton	Charles B. Erwin
George F. Hooper	Dr. Harold J. Hurst
Dr. Leonard Z. Johnson	Horatio F. Leftwich
Dr. William E. Marshall	Charles P. McClane
Dr. G. Leonard Oxley	S. Walter Parson
Dr. J. Douglas Phillips	William T. Reeves
Dr. Harvey J. Reynolds	Anderson S. Robinson
Dr. Biggs F. Smith	Charles G. Thomas
Dr. H. T. Vernon	

.....

Flowers contributed by Wesley Union A.M.E. Zion Church
Rev. R. T. Hunter, D.D. Pastor

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Unity Lodge 71, I.B.P.O.E. of W.
Churches of Greater Harrisburg
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

24-19-B

ERECTION AND DEDICATION OF

MEMORIAL TO

DR. WILLIAM HOWARD DAY

LINCOLN CEMETERY, PENBROOK,

HARRISBURG, PENNA.

MAY 30, 1950

1:30 P. M.

PROGRAMME

Master of Ceremonies - Dr. George A. Jones, President, Club Twenty One

Music "America" - Led by Hallelujah Chorus, John White, Director.

Invocation - Rev. R. T. Hunter, D.D., Pastor Wesley Union A.M.E. Zion Church

Music - The Hallelujah Chorus

Remarks - Mrs. L. H. Davenport

Remarks - Mr. Paul Walker, Editor " THE HOME STAR "

Remarks - Mr. Harry Burrs

Music - The Hallelujah Chorus

Recognition of persons contributing to celebration:

Remarks - Dr. Charles H. Crampton, Deputy Secretary of Health of Pennsylvania

Music - The Hallelujah Chorus

Introduction of Guest Speaker - W. Justin Carter, Jr.,

ADDRESS - Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

Acknowledgement to the Harrisburg School Board - Dr. Leonard Z. Johnson

Unveiling of Monument - C. Sylvester Jackson

PROGRAMME

Benediction - Rev. T.N. Hodges, Pastor Mitchell Memorial Church

EPIGRAPH

William Howard Day, A.B., A.M., D.D.
Born October 19, 1825
Died December 3, 1900.

Scholar, Humaniterian, Churchman, Civic Leader, Educator, Editor, Publisher, Lecturer.

A life devoted to the intellectual, civic and spiritual uplift of man. Endowed by God with unique talents to serve a common humanity, which he did with humility, patience, fortitude and dignity.

Erected and Dedicated

May 30, 1950.

August 11, 1950

Rev. Clarence H. Cobb
The First Church of Deliverance
4315 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Sir:

I shall be in Chicago the week of September 17, and would be willing to deliver a short lecture on "Peace" or "Africa."

My fee is $150 out of which I would pay my own expense.

If your church would be interested I would be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

N.G.D.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY

September 7, 1950

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
2417 North Pulaski Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Doctor DuBois:

On returning to my desk today I found the announcement of the passing of Mrs. DuBois. Mrs. Cobb joins in deepest sympathy in the loss of one who was privileged to be so long a companion in life's vicissitudes. We note with great interest her burial at your own home in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, the place to which your own many achievements have brought such great distinction.

Sincerely yours,

W. Montague Cobb

W. Montague Cobb, M.D.

dlk

24-15-26

GEORGE E. COHRON
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

2588 Seventh Avenue
New York 30, New York
July 7, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On our return to the city this week, Mrs. Cohron and I learned with regret of the passing of Mrs. DuBois.

Please accept our deepest sympathy in your great loss.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Cohron

24-6-7

Best for Information

February 6, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Research Director
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Having read your many books, I know that you have a very active interest in the colonial problem; indeed, you have been one of the outstanding spokesmen in our country on this question. Hence, I am taking the liberty of writing to you for certain information.

At the present time I am a Teaching Fellow in Government at Harvard University where I am working on my doctoral dissertation. The title of the latter is "The United Nations and Non-Self-Governing Territories". My specific interest is in the rise and decline of the ideal that there is a legitimate international interest in colonial territories, and that the latter are more of the nature of the international public domain than the private possession of certain Colonial Powers. I am less interested in the mandates (now trust territories) than I am the bulk of the colonial domain.

As you undoubtedly know, one of the chief arguments the Colonial Powers use against any form of international action regarding colonies (and more especially International administration or international trusteeship) is that such action would be contrary to the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. This argument has been used against a generalization of the Mandates/Trusteeship Systems as well as against an expansion of the activities of the United Nations under Chapter XI of the Charter. If the contention of the colonial powers is valid, then the ideal of international trusteeship would seem to be a vain endeavor. If their argument is not based on fact, then it should be so determined.

From such research I have done thus far, I have not been able to obtain sufficient data to document a case in either direction. It has been made clear by white settlers of Kenya and Tanganyika that international trusteeship is not desired by them as inhabitants of those territories. The question, of course, immediately arises "what are the views of the native inhabitants?" The Nigerian author of the book Without Bitterness does not seem too interested in international action. Indeed, he seemed to feel that the study made by the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims (of which you were a member) was not a true reflection of the native sentiments of West Africa. A graduate student here at Harvard who is a native of Sierre Leone has, during frequent conversations with me, manifest a distrust of any form of international trusteeship. Furthermore, a British West Indian delegate at the United Nations on one occasion challenged Soviet criticism on the grounds that the West Indians would work out their own destiny with Great Britain. In short, on the basis of such attitudes as these it seems that certain members of the native intelligentsia reject any form of international supervision on one of several grounds: (1) that it is ineffective; (2) that international commissions merely become forums for

24-4-25

verbalizing the power struggle between nations in which the welfare of native inhabitants is forgotten; (3) that they are willing to remain within the framework of larger confederations and commonwealths if they are given internal autonomy and the rights of self-government, but that they prefer to win that status by their own efforts; or (4) that independence only would meet their true aspirations.

The foregoing arguments are not too unreasonable; but the following questions immediately arise: (1) Do these few sources I have cited represent the views of the majority of educated native Africans regarding international trusteeship? (2) Even if they are a correct representation, does the attitude of the native intelligentsia necessarily reflect the sentiments of the bulk of the native inhabitants who have not expressed themselves on the subject? (3) Even if the latter is found to be the case, is international trusteeship an institution which can be justified on the basis of a legitimate interest of the non-colonial world, irrespective of whether or not either the colonial power or the native inhabitants desire it.

I realize that it would be highly presumptious of me to even suggest that you answer any or all of these intriguing questions. I would be most grateful, however, for such comments as you might feel disposed to make regarding them. Furthermore, I would greatly appreciate any information you can give me about where I could obtain a record of the proceedings and resolutions of the Pan-African Congresses you have been so instrumental in arranging which have been held since 1944.

Very truly yours,

James S. Coleman

James S. Coleman
116 D Holden Green
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

24-4-26

February 18, 1950

Mr. James S. Coleman
116 D Holden Green
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Coleman:

I found your letter of February 6, here on my return from a lecture tour in the West. May I sat that with the set-up today in the colonies, it is difficult if not impossible to get any real reflection of native opinion. Every effort is taken to see that the natives have little chance to communicate with persons outside the colony. In addition to that if one gets at native opinion, that oninion would necessarily be limited by the horizon about them. You can imagine what an educated native in a British colony must think about the world . He has been indoctrinated with the idea that the British Empire is the only country and that even when its rule is bad, it is better than rule outside the Empire. The natives have very little opportunity to know about the United States or the other countries of Europe and learn almost nothing of Asia.

In consulting the native African students you must remember that they know nothing about Africa, except their own colony as inter-colonial travel is practically prohibited. The opinion therefore of a native of Sierre Leone, as to the Sudan or the Belgian Congo or even of Liberia, would be of little value.

My effort in pushing the Pan-African Congresses, beginning in 1919, was to try to get the intelligentsia among the blacks of Africa and America in touch with each other, not for any prearranged program, but in thehope of that conference would bring understanding and some concerted action. The program however was very successfully sabotaged by the colonial powers, acting directly and indirectly through the peoples under their control.

The last congress was held in England in 1945, You might get information concering that and some documents by writing to:

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N. W. 1
England

Another difficulty in the proposed United Nations Trusteeships, is the question as to what the the United Nations as an organisation could and would do. If they are successful in Somaliland and Eritrea, this will be a very

strong argument for widening of such trustship; but the outlook just now is to my mind not very favorable.

The British West Indian Delegate to the United Nations, to whom you refer, did not speak for the best opinion in the West Indies and was evidently a stool-pigeon. He incurred a great deal of criticism at home.

Perhaps these statements may be of some help to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDrim

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF ROSE NELSON LIGHTCAP

23 West 26th Street · New York 10, N. Y. · Murray Hill 4-3457

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

OLIVER W. HARRINGTON,
Chairman

GRACE HUTCHINS,
Secretary

October 6, 1950

Dear Sir or Madam:

We know you will be interested in the fight we are conducting to rectify what we believe to be a shocking act of injustice by the Department of Justice against a non-citizen who has devoted many years of her life to progressive and humane causes.

We refer to the fight launched by our committee, a non-partisan group of American citizens, to halt deportation proceedings against Rose Nelson Lightcap. Her "crime", as you will note in the enclosed folder, is her membership in a fraternal insurance organization, chartered under the New York State Insurance law - the International Workers Order.

Our investigation of the facts of the case has convinced us that the attempt by the Department of Justice to secure a deportation order against her is motivated by a conception of justice foreign to our Constitution and the principles of freedom on which our country was founded. It is a case of political persecution.

We would like to have you join us in developing a wide popular protest to put an end to this persecution. You can greatly strengthen the work of our committee by joining with us in signing the Open Letter to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization which appears in the folder. Your signature on the enclosed postcard will indicate your willingness to sign.

We know we can count on you.

We await your early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Oliver W. Harrington
Chairman

Grace Hutchins
Secretary

264

uopwa
16-96

OPEN LETTER

to the

Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization

It is with grave concern that we, the undersigned, view action of the Department of Justice to deport from the United States Rose Nelson Lightcap, for many years a leader in the field of consumer protection, progressive women's groups and a vice-president of the Emma Lazarus Division of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.

We condemn as a rank injustice her arrest. Rose Nelson Lightcap's record of more than 37 years life in America reveals her as one dedicated to the best principles of American democratic aspirations. Is she "subversive" because she led the fight against price gougers? Is she "subversive" because she campaigned against anti-Semitism, Jimcrow and all forms of racial discrimination? Is she "subversive" because she fought for women's rights?

We call for an end to the deportation proceedings against Rose Nelson Lightcap. We are convinced these proceedings are definitely contrary to the American principle of freedom of thought, freedom of association, and freedom of speech. We believe these proceedings strike at the freedom of all Americans, native born and foreign born.

Oliver W. Harrington, Chairman
Grace Hutchins, Secretary

Helen L. Alfred	Clara Licht
Richard O. Boyer	Anna M. W. Pennypacker
Mollie Berger	Anton Refregier
Sarah Cleghorn	Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
Murial Draper	Anna Rochester
Manya Hamburger	Clara Shavelson
E. Haldeman-Julius	Susan Woodruff
Alfred Kreymborg	Rev. Eliot White

Committee For The Defense of
Rose Nelson Lightcap

WHAT TO DO

1 Send a letter or telegram at once to J. Howard McGrath, Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D.C., and ask him to end the unjust deportation proceedings against Rose Nelson Lightcap. Have your organization send a similar communication. (If you wish, we will send you a copy of a draft resolution on the case for organizations.)

2 Order a quantity of this folder for distribution in your community, among your friends and in your organization. (100 for $5.00.)

3 Send a contribution — and have your friends and your organization contribute — so we may make the most effective fight possible to halt the persecution and deportation proceedings against Rose Nelson Lightcap and other victims of the deportation hysteria, as well as protect the rights of naturalized citizens.

264

Committee for the Defense of Rose Nelson Lightcap
23 W. 26th St., New York 10, New York

☐ Enclosed find $_____ as a contribution for the defense of Rose Nelson Lightcap.

☐ Enclosed find $_____ for extra copies of this folder.

☐ Send copy of a draft resolution for my organization.

Name_____

Address_____

City, Zone, State_____

264

The Department of Justice is persecuting this woman

WHY?

because she

- WAS NOT BORN IN U. S.
- FOUGHT ANTI-SEMITISM
- OPPOSED JIM CROW
- ORGANIZED CONSUMERS
- DEMANDED WOMEN'S RIGHTS

32-35-54

They Want to Deport Rose Nelson Lightcap

Eight o'clock in the morning of August 10, 1950 . . . A wild, staccato ringing of the doorbell of a little West Side New York City apartment! Folks inside—Rose Nelson Lightcap, well-known leader in the Jewish fraternal field, and her husband Harry Raymond, widely respected veteran newspaper writer—expected no visitors at that hour. But they flung the door open, as they had always done at all hours, to welcome friend or stranger alike.

The morning visitors did not come as friends. They were strangers, grim, cold and foreboding. They strode stiffly across the threshold. One flashed a typed document. The other, the more articulate of the two, announced in arrogant, official monotone they were agents of the U. S. Department of Justice.

That's how they entered a respectable American home, arrested Rose Nelson Lightcap and made her prisoner on Ellis Island. Her "crime": she was not born in the United States. She was seized and held for deportation because, as a non-citizen, she exercised the constitutional right of all residents by joining an organization of her own choice—the International Workers Order, a legal American fraternal organization chartered under the insurance laws of the State of New York.

Through efforts of the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, she was freed that very day on $5,000 bail. But her home was again invaded on October 24 during the nation-wide McCarran Law raids. She was held 25 days on Ellis Island with 16 other victims of the deportation hysteria, and released the second time on bail when the U. S. District Court held the arrests illegal.

With the other victims, she is awaiting outcome of an Immigration Service hearing and court action challenging the McCarran Law and the Justice Department's deportation drive.

Rose Nelson Lightcap represents the best traditions in American life. Born in Kremenchuk, the Ukraine, in 1903, she fled with her parents the bloody persecutions of the Jewish people and arrived in New York City at the age of nine. Educated in New York public schools, she went to work at the age of 16 in New York garment factories.

She became active in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and later in Local 43 of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union. In 1931 she was elected leader of the Progressive Women's Councils, led consumers' strikes against the high cost of bread, milk and meat. She became known throughout the metropolitan New York area as an effective leader and speaker for women's rights. She spoke on the public platform with such leading personages as the late Heywood Broun and Dr. Caroline Whitney.

ROSE NELSON LIGHTCAP SPEAKING ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN 1937 WITH THE LATE HEYWOOD BROUN

In 1944 Rose Nelson Lightcap became a founder of the Emma Lazarus Division of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. As vice-president of this organization of Jewish women, she advocated as a guide for America the inspiring words of Emma Lazarus, inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
"Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
"The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
"Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
"I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Rose Nelson Lightcap led yearly memorial pilgrimages of women to the great statue in New York harbor. She was and is today a leader of the fight to guarantee equal opportunities for the Jewish people in America, to uproot anti-Semitism, to enrich Jewish culture, to make the woman's voice strong in the struggle for peace and security.

She has been associated with her husband, Harry Raymond, 20 years a correspondent for the newspaper the Daily Worker, in the fight for Negro rights, against lynch terror and against all forms of racial discrimination. The Department of Justice cannot deport Rose Nelson Lightcap's husband in its move for political vengeance against the progressive couple. He is an American citizen, a descendant of William Floyd, signer of the Declaration of Independence, a grandson of a Pennsylvania Civil War veteran and Abolitionist, and a veteran of World War I.

But the Department of Justice, apeing Hitler fascism, would separate Rose Nelson Lightcap from her home, her family and her husband as punishment for speaking and acting against the growing police state menace to American freedom.

The deportation menace against the foreign-born is growing hourly. Rose Lightcap is one of 160 non-citizens who are fighting deportation based on their political views. The Department of Justice boasts it has 3,500 more on the list.

Shall the Bill of Rights, guaranteeing freedom of thought, speech, press and assembly, be destroyed for all Americans under the guise of casting from our midst those non-citizens who speak and organize more forcefully than others for democratic freedom and peace? Freedom is indivisible. To deny it for the foreign-born is to deny it also for the native-born.

It would be well for all Americans today to heed the words of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, spoken March 2, 1940:

"If reason is to prevail against intolerance, we must always be on guard. We welcome, therefore, the work to maintain the rights of the foreign-born."

Oliver W. Harrington
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, NY

24-11-15

I am willing to sign the Open Letter to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in behalf of Rose Nelson Lightcap.

Name.....

Address.....

City, Zone, State.....

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Suite 33
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, NY

Chine

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

80 EAST 11th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • OREGON 3-7560 • CABLE CODEMFEP

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

PHILIP O. KEENEY
Treasurer

LEONARD LEADER
Assistant Director

WILLIAM KERNER
West Coast Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NORMAN APPLEZWEIG
JOHN T. BERNARD
T. A. BISSON
CHARLOTTA BASS
HUGH BRYSON
ABRAHAM CHAPMAN
EUGENE CONNOLLY
ELIZABETH B. COTTON
REV. JOHN DARR, JR.
MORRIS DAVIS
HUGH DELACY
MURIEL DRAPER
JAMES DURKIN
FREDERICK V. FIELD
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
CHARLES S. GARDNER
TALITHA GERLACH
BEN GOLD
IRA GOLLOBIN
EWART GUINIER
GERHARD HAGELBERG
DONALD HENDERSON
EUGENIA BAKER HYDE
MARK HYDE
C. E. JOHANSON
RITA JUDD
REV. J. S. KENNARD, JR.
JULIA KRENWINKEL
MOLLIE LIEBER
RICHARD LINDHEIM
RAYMOND MC CARTY
JEANETTE OREL
BEN OREL
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
MARTIN POPPER
LEE PRESSMAN
PAUL ROBESON
NATHAN ROCK
MILL ROSEMAN
ROSE RUSSELL
ARTHUR SCHUTZER
KENNETH SHERBELL
RALPH SHIKES
MRS. EDGAR SNOW
REV. W. B. SPOFFORD, JR.
DR. HARRY STEINMETZ
FRANK TAYLOR
CHU TONG
JEANETTE TURNER
JEFFRY VAN CLIEF
MARY VAN KLEECK
J. RAYMOND WALSH
SUSAN WARREN
RICHARD WATTS, JR.
MAURICE WECHSLER
DONALD WILLMOTT
TOM WRIGHT
RICHARD YAFFE
FRED ZESERSON
(*Partial List*)

May 10, 1950

Dr. William Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Our Administrative Committee is very anxious to have you speak at our next Board of Directors meeting on May 22nd. The meeting will take place in the library at 23 West 26th St at 8 P. M.

The subject proposed is Asia and the Negro People, with emphasis on the relationship to the American Negroes.

We are intending to invite Negro and white trade union leaders from our city and know that you would enjoy leading such a discussion.

As it will take place in the same building as the Council on African Affairs is located, we feel it will not take too much of your time.

We await your answer,

Fraternally,
Leonard Leader
Leonard Leader
for the committee

uopwa

27-3-54

May 11, 1950

Mr. Leonard Leader
Committee for a Democratic
Far Eastern Policy
80 East 11th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Leader:

I have promised, if summoned, to attend an important international meeting in London, the week of May 21.

I cannot, therefore, now make any commitments for that week.

I am sorry not to be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-65

"HAIL NEW CHINA — ALLY FOR PEACE"

Mass Rally

CITY CENTER CASINO, 135 West 55th Street

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1949—8:00 P.M.

Hear: AGNES SMEDLEY *(Other Prominent Speakers)*

:-: *Entertainment* :-:

ADMISSION — $1.20 (tax included)

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. — 135 — BR 9-6342

HAIL NEW CHINA
ALLY FOR PEACE

Tientsin! Nanking! Hankow! Shanghai !

OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE WARLORDS
INTO THE HANDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE!

$1 Billion! $3 Billion! $6 Billion!

OUT OF OUR POCKETS — OUT OF OUR HOMES
INTO THE HANDS OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK!

★

450,000,000 CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE STOPPED
BY AMERICAN GUNS
IN THEIR MARCH TO PEACE AND FREEDOM!

★

THEY HAVE UPSET THE TIME-TABLES
OF ALL THE WAR-MAKERS!

THEIR VICTORY IS OUR VICTORY!

THEIR VICTORY MEANS PEACE!

RALLY FOR NEW CHINA • OUR ALLY FOR PEACE!

135

WEDNESDAY

JUNE 15

8:00 P. M.

Hear:

AGNES SMEDLEY

(Other Prominent Speakers)

Entertainment

City Center Casino

135 W. 55 Street, N.Y.C.

Admission — 75c — $1.20

(Tax Included)

Tickets may be obtained at

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 W. 42 Street, NYC

BOOK FAIR

133 W. 44 Street, N.Y.C.

JEFFERSON SCHOOL BOOK SHOP

575 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y.C.

Sponsored by

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

[Committee for Peaceful Alternatives]

CALL

TO MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE

for PEACE

MAY 29, 30, 1950 · CHICAGO

"Behold, O Man, I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life that both thou and thy seed may live." **Deuteronomy 30: 19**

"The hydrogen bomb is the latest and most terrible step in the crescendo of warfare, which has changed war from a fight between men and nations to a mass murder of human life." **World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland, February 21–23, 1950**

Conference Sessions:

St. James Methodist Church
4611 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Auspices:

Committee For Peaceful Alternatives
158 West 56th Street, New York 19, N.Y.
30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Ill.
Dr. Willard Uphaus, Exec. Director

LIFE or death—that is the issue today.
The fateful decision to build the Hydrogen Bomb, despite the anxiety of America's millions, dwarfs all previous dangers. It opens the door to a war of total annihilation of all mankind.

This door must be shut. War must be ruled out as the arbiter of the fate of humanity. The conscience of America will not permit us to evade this ultimate responsibility to humanity, to our nation, our loved ones and ourselves. The Hydrogen Bomb brings home to all of us the menace that up to now may have seemed remote. Not only can other nations be laid waste, but America itself and we, its people can be destroyed. The Hydrogen Bomb means an end to military defense.

Our Only Defense Is Peace

We reject the philosophy of those who say that war is inevitable.

We affirm that peace is possible. We declare that a peaceful alternative must be found to the cold war. No difference between nations can be so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer. We insist that the peaceful co-existence of the American and Soviet social systems is possible.

Therefore, we call upon the **President** and the **Congress of these United States** to undertake negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union to secure the banning of the bomb as a first step toward disarmament and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding differences and the eventual resumption of trade.

We call upon the **United States delegation** to the **United Nations** to present positive proposals for peace through strengthening the United Nations as the greatest instrument for drawing all nations of the world into free cooperation.

Let us transcend differences of faith, creed, race, political belief and occupation and unite in a great Crusade for Peace.

Let us assemble in a Mid-Century Conference for Peace where, in the American tradition of open discussion and the free examination of ideas, we who desire peace can plan a common course of action.

INITIATING SPONSORS

Dr. David Baker, Pres., Associated Church Press, St. Louis, Mo.

Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Prize Winner, Hon. Chrmn. Women's Int'l League for Peace and Freedom, Wellesley, Mass.

Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay, Methodist Bd. of Missions, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Pres. Palmer Institute, Sedalia, N.C.

Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L.I.

Rev. Donald Cloward, Northern Baptist Convention, New York, N.Y.

Mrs. Howard G. Colwell, Pres., Northern Baptist Convention, Loveland, Colo.

Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Mark Dawber, Long Beach, L.I.

Prof. Kermit Eby, U. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Rabbi Alvin I. Fine, Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco, Cal.

Mrs. Welthy H. Fisher, United Council of Church Women, N.Y.C.

Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Rabbi Robert Gordis, Jewish Theological Seminary, Belle Harbor, N.Y.C.

Bishop S. L. Greene, A.M.E. Church, Birmingham, Ala.

Prof. Georgia Harkness, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, U. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Charles W. Iglehart, Chmn., Bd. Directors, F.O.R., N.Y.C.

Rev. D. V. Jemison, Pres. National Baptist Convention, Selma, Ala.

Dr. W. H. Jernagin, Fratn'l Council of Negro Churches, Washington, D.C.

Jameson Jones, Pres. Nat'l Conference of Methodist Youth, Nashville, Tenn.

Rabbi Leo Jung, Rabbinical Council of Am., New York, N.Y.

Rev. William E. Lampe, Evangelical & Reformed Church, Phila., Pa.

Dr. Halford E. Luccock, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Lester G. McAllister, Berkeley, Cal.

Dr. Thomas Mann, Nobel Literature Prize Winner, Pacific Palisades, Cal.

Donald L. Mathews, Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.C.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Pres., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

Dr. John S. Nolle, Pres. Emer., Grinnell College, Iowa.

Dr. Albert W. Palmer, Altadena, Cal.

Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Protestant Episcopal Bishop (Ret.), San Francisco, Cal.

Prof. Linus Pauling, Cal. Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Cal.

Prof. George V. Schick, Sec'y, Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conf., St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder, Evangelical & Reformed Church, Phila., Pa.

Hon. Odell Shepard, Pulitzer Literature Prize Winner, Conn.

Dr. P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Dean John B. Thompson, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, U. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Charles Turck, Pres., Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

Prof. Oswald Veblen, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.

Bishop W. J. Walls, A.M.E. Zion Church, Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., N.Y.C.

Bishop R. R. Wright Jr., A.M.E. Church, Atlanta, Ga.

Organisations, titles and other affiliations are listed for purposes of identification only.

SPONSORS

Prof. Edith Abbott, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. S. A. Abram, East Beckley, W. Va.
Rev. Gross W. Alexander, Redland, California.
Miss Helen Alfred, Peace Publication Fund, South Orange, N. J.
Bishop A. J. Allen, A. M. E. Zion Church, Cleveland, Ohio.
Bishop C. C. Alleyne, A. M. E. Zion Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rabbi Michael Alper, Jewish Institute of Religion, N. Y.
Rev. Howard M. Amoss, North Ave. Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md.
Dr. J. H. Ashby, Afro-American Baptist Convention, Asbury Park, N. J.
Rev. B. Franklin Auld, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. H. Stewart Austin, West Palm Beach, Fla.
Homer Ayres, Farm Relations Dir. Farm Equipment Union, Des Moines, Iowa
Rev. Karl Baehr, American Christian Palestine Committee, New Hyde Park, N Y.
Donald Gay Baker, Chrmn. Friends Temperance Assn., Collegeville, Pa.
Dr. De Witt C. Baldwin, University of Michigan.
Dr. Russell W. Ballard, Hull House Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Alfred H. Barker, Des Moines, Iowa.
Dr. Albert E. Barnett, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
Dr. Cyrus P. Barnum, Jr. University of Minnesota.
Miss Charlotta Bass, Editor, The California "Eagle", Los Angeles, Calif.
Rev. Owen J. Beadles, Methodist Dist. Sup't., Seattle, Wash.
Rev. J. E. Beard, A. M. E. Church, Nashville, Tenn.
Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, University of Miami, Miami, Fla.
Elmer Benson, Appleton, Minn.
Robert Berberich, Brotherhood of RR. Trainmen, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Dr. Frederick K. Beutel, Dean, Law School, University of Nebraska.
Rev. Lester H. Bill, Fort Madison, Ia.
Dr. Edwin Bjorkman, Asheville, N.C.
Dr. Algernon L. Black, New York Society for Ethical Culture, New York.
Dr. Ruth Bleier, Maryland Committee for Peace, Baltimore, Md.
Hans Blumenfeld, Phila., Pa.
Dr. Heil D. Bollinger, Methodist Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. Charles J. Booker, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. Charles F. Boss, Executive Sec'y. Commission on World Peace, Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.
Rev. J. Burt Bouwman, Exec. Sec'y. Mich. Council of Churches, Lansing, Mich.
Rev. Harold L. Bowman, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. J. W. Bradbury, Editor "Watchman Examiner", New York City.
Rev. Theodore Brameld, New York University.
Prof. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
Rabbi Stanley R. Brav, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Prof. Dorothy Brewster, Columbia University.
Prof. Edgar S. Brightman, Boston University.
Rev. E. F. Broberg, Sioux City, Iowa.
Rev. John W. Broek, Plainfield, N. J.
Rev. J. S. Brookens, Editor, A.M.E. Review, Mobile, Ala.
Rev. Edwin A. Brown, Marion, Ohio.
Bishop W. C. Brown, Los Angeles, Calif.
Prof. Robert W. Browning, Northwestern University.
Dr. T. T. Brumbaugh, Assoc. Sec'y. Methodist Bd. of Missions, New York N. Y.
Dr. David Bryn-Jones, Carlton College, Northfield, Minn.
Hugh Bryson, Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, San Francisco, Cal.
Prof. Wayne Burns, Seattle Washington.
Prof. Edwin A. Burt, Cornell University.
Dr. Allan M. Butler, Medical School' Harvard University.
Mrs. Rachel R. Cadbury, Society of Friends, Moorestown, N. J.
Prof. Kenneth Neill Cameron, U. of Indiana, Bloomington.
Rabbi Jessurun D. Cardozo, New York, N. Y.
Mr. & Mrs. Charles L. Carhart, Chevy Chase, Md.
Dr. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago.
Prof. Rudolph Carnap, University of Chicago.
Lucy P. Carner, Social Worker, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. G. H. Carter, The Christian Index, Jackson, Tenn.
Matthew G. Carter, Assoc. Sec'y. Southwest Area Council, YMCA, Dallas, Texas.
Rev. & Mrs. Mark A. Chamberlin, Gresham, Oregon.
Dr. Bernhard Christensen, Pres., Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn.
Alvin B. Christman, Farmers Union, Centerport, Pa.
Rev. Otto P. Churchill, North Scituate, R. I.
James Cichocki, Pres. Loc. 742, U.A.W., CIO, Detroit, Mich.
Miriam E. Cliff, Pres., Food Tobacco Agric. Workers, Local 638, Lancaster, Pa.
Robert M. Coates, Writer, Bayside, N. Y.
Rev. Albert Buckner Coe. D.D., Pres., Mass. Conf. of Congregational Churches, Boston, Mass.
Dr. George A. Coe, Prof. Emer., Union Theol. Seminary, Claremont, Cal.
Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, San Francisco, Cal.
Rabbi Jack J. Cohen, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Dorothy Bushnell Cole, Chicago Woman's Club, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Edwin Grant Conklin, Princeton University.
Rev. W. Ross Conner, Madison, Wisc.
Rev. Elbert M. Conover, Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.
Florence Converse, Author, Wellesley, Mass.
Rev. Lindley J. Cook, Portland, Maine.
Fred Coots, Jr., New York, N. Y.
Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Detroit, Mich.
Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, D.D., Prot. Epis. Bishop of Portland, Ore.
Dr. George Dahl, Prof. Emer., Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
Phyllis Ann Davies, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y.
Dr. Jerome Davis, West Haven, Conn.
Rev. Warren J. Day, Union Theol. Seminary, New York, N. Y.
A. C. Deboben, Brotherhood Firemen & Engineers, Gardenville, N. Y.
Prof. John J. DeBoer, University of Illinois.
Rev. Purd E. Deitz, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.
Prof. W. W. Denton, University of Arizona.
Dr. W. Marshon DePoister, Grinnell College, Iowa
Rev. Oviatt E. Desmond, Columbus, Ohio.
Prof. Charlotte D'Evelyn, Mount Holyoke College.
Dr. Harold DeWolfe, Boston University.
Hon. Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Frank Dobie, University of Texas, Austin.
Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, National Religion & Labor Foundation, New Haven, Conn.
Ivan Dornon, Pres. Ohio Methodist Student Movement.
Rev. M. E. Dorr, Dayton, Iowa.
Dr. Hedley S. Dimock, George Williams College, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Dorothy W. Douglas, Smith College.
Mary E. Dreier, Womens Trade Union League, New York, N.Y.
Rev. Oliver G. Droppers, Cleveland, Ohio.
Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Flushing, N. Y.
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York, N.Y.
Lydia A. M. Deuser, Methodist Hosp. Nurses Home, Omaha, Neb.
Rev. Hubert N. Dukes, Grand Forks, N. D.
Dean David Dunn, Ev. and Ref. Seminary, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. L. C. Dunn, Columbia University
Dr. H. Stanley Dunn, Ev. & Ref. Seminary. Lancaster, Pa.
Rev. G. Eugene Durham, Evanston, Ill.
James Durkin, Pres., UOPWA, New York, N. Y.
Hon. Clifford Durr, Washington, D. C.
Armand d'Usseau, Playwright, New York, N. Y.
Carl Leon Eddy, Indianapolis, Ind.
Robert M. Eddy, Albany, N. Y.
Rev. J. Edwin Elder, New Plymouth, Idaho.
Errol T. Elliot, Richmond, Ind.
Rev. Phillips P. Elliott, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale University Law School.
Joseph E. Engel, Cleveland, Ohio.
Rev. A. R. Eschliman, Sioux Falls, S. D.
Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. John Scott Everton, Pres. Kalamazoo College.
Thomas K. Farley, Director, Southern Cal.-Ariz. Conf. of Methodist Youth Los Angeles, California.
Rev. C. C. Farnham, Exec. Sec'y., Los Angeles Church Federation, Cal.
Lion Feuchtwanger, Writer, Pacific Palisades, California.
Harold E. Fey, Editor, "Christian Century," Chicago, Ill.
The Rev. Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher, Episcopal Theol. School, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Arthur W. Foote, Unitarian Church, St. Paul, Minn.
Rev. Eddy L. Ford, Baltimore, Md.
Price Forsythe, Pres. Local 725, Int'l. B.E.W., A.F. of L.
Rev. Roscoe Foust, New York, N. Y.
Dr. George A. Fowler, Pres., Church Fed. of Greater Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
John Franzen, Seymour, Conn.
Prof. Frank S. Freeman, Cornell University.
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles, California.
Edward D. Gallagher, Past Pres., Calif. State Fed. of Teachers, San Francisco, Cal.
Bishop Carey A. Gibbs, A.M.E. Church, Jacksonville, Fla.
Rev. George Miles Gibson, McCormick Theol. Seminary, Chicago, Illinois
Rev. Rudolph W. Gilbert, Unitarian Church, Denver, Colo.
Mrs. Louis S. Gimbel, Jr., New York, N. Y.
Hon. Josiah W. Gitt, Publisher, "Gazette Daily", York, Pa.
Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, Rockville Center, L. I., N. Y.
Robert C. Gnegy, Rec. Sec'y., Nat'l. Conf. of Methodist Youth, Washington, D. C.
Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg, New Haven, Conn.
Louis Goldblatt, I.L.W.U., San Fancisco, Cal.
Carlton B. Goodlett, M.D., Pres. NAACP, San Francisco, Cal.
Helen Gordon, Denver, Colo.
Dr. Ivan M. Gould, Gen Sec'y., Penn. Council of Churches, Harrisburg, Pa.
Chas. A. Graham, Former Chairman, War Labor Board, Denver, Colo.
Shirley Graham, Writer, St. Albans, L. I., N. Y.
Rabbi David Graubart, D.D., Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Leon E. Grubaugh, Denver, Colo.
David Haber, Yale University Law School.
Prof. Calvin S. Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.
Alice Hamilton, M.D., Hadlyme, Conn.
Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett, Colored M.E. Church, Kansas City, Kan.
Prof. C. H. Hamlin, Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N. C.
Dr. G. A. Hampton, Sec'y. Gen., Assn. Kentucky Baptists, Louisville, Ky.
Pauline Gillespie Hansen, YWCA, Los Angeles, Cal.
Prof. Harrison L. Harley, Simmons College, Brookline, Mass.
George Harper, Admin. Sec'y. Nat'l. Conf. Methodist Youth, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. E. E. Harris, "The Telescope Messenger," Harrisburg, Pa.
Prof. C. Sheldon Hart, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
Rev. William C. F. Hayes, Conf. Supt., Ev. United Brethren, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Anne E. Heath, Pres. Women's Missionary Soc., A.M.E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. Michael Heidelberger, New York, N. Y.
Donald Henderson, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. Everett C. Herack, Pres. Emer., Newton Theol. School, Mass.
Rev. Chas. A. Hill, Detroit, Mich.
Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.
Dr. Cecil E. Hinshaw, Former Pres. Wm. Penn College, F.O.R., Kirkwood, Mo.
Virginia Hipple, Rec. Sec'y. U.E. 754, Dayton, Ohio
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York, N. Y.
William Hood, Rec. Sec'y. U.A.W.—C.I.O., Local 600, Dearborn Mich.,

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Monday, May 29

10:00 a.m.— 12 m. —REGISTRATION . . . . . St. James Methodist Church
4611 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago

2:00 p.m. —4:00 p.m.—KEYNOTE SESSION . . . . . St. James Methodist Church

Chairman
Bishop W. J. Walls, A.M.E. Zion Church

HISTORY OF THE CONFERENCE
Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean, Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago

THE COLD WAR. WHERE ARE WE TODAY?
Dr. Malcolm P. Sharp, Professor of Law, University of Chicago

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PEACE
Prof. Kermit Eby, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago

PEACE IS DYNAMIC
Miss Emily Greene Balch, Honorary Chairman, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Wellesley, Mass. (recorded)

5:30 p.m.—YOUTH SUPPER
Donald Mathews, President, Student Cabinet, Union Theological Seminary, New York City

8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING—St. James Methodist Church, 4611 S. Ellis

"PEACE IS POSSIBLE"

INVOCATION—Dr. George A. Fowler, St. James Methodist Church, Chicago

CHAIRMAN—Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean, Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago

SPEAKERS—Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Pres., Palmer Institute, Sedalia, N.C.

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, formerly of the Home Missions Council of North America, Long Beach, N.Y.

Rev. Massie Kennard, pastor to youth, Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago

Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize Winner (recorded)

Prof. Philip Morrison, physicist, Cornell University

F. W. Stover, Editor, "The Iowa Union Farmer," Des Moines, Iowa

Harris Wofford, Trustee, Foundation for World Government, N.Y.C.

Tuesday, May 30—WORK SEMINARS TO EXAMINE PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE COLD WAR

10:00 a.m.—12:00 m —
All at St. James Methodist Church
1:00 p.m.— 3:00 p.m.—

I. FEAR—EFFECTS ON FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

MODERATOR—Dr. David D. Baker, Pres., Associated Church Press, St. Louis, Mo.

DISCUSSION LEADERS—Prof. Kermit Eby, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago
Dr. Albert Barnett, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

II. EFFECTS OF THE H-BOMB, THE A-BOMB

MODERATOR—Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L.I.

DISCUSSION LEADERS—Dr. Daniel Q. Posin, Professor of Physics, N. Dakota State Agricultural College, Fargo

Rev. Alfred W. Swan, First Congregational Church, Madison, Wis.

III. ECONOMY, TRADE AND FOREIGN POLICY

MODERATOR—Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Mt. Olivet Methodist Church, Dearborn, Michigan

DISCUSSION LEADERS—Prof. Colston E. Warne, Economist, Amherst College, Mass.

Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee, United Council of Church Women, N.Y.C.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Author and Anthropologist, Council on African Affairs

IV. CIVIL LIBERTIES

MODERATOR—Dr. Charles J. Turck, President, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

DISCUSSION LEADER—Hon. Clifford Durr, Former Federal Communications Commissioner, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, formerly of the Home Missions Council of North America, Long Beach, N.Y.

To plan effective community action, the Conference will have experts in religion, education, labor, youth and community life as consultants in each seminar.

4:00 p.m.—6:00 p.m.—CLOSING SESSION

Reports from Seminars
Adoption of Program
Election of Continuations Committee

7:00 p.m. —FELLOWSHIP SUPPER

CONFERENCE INFORMATION

Attendance and participation is open to all who are concerned with the problem of peace in today's world.

Registration fee: $2—for admission to all sessions.

Program Committee

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
Prof. Kermit Eby
Rabbi Alvin I. Fine
Mrs. Welthy Fisher
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst
Jameson Jones
Dr. Halford E. Luccock
Dr. Thomas Mann
Donald Mathews
Prof. Linus Pauling
Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder
Dean John B. Thompson
Bishop W. J. Walls
Prof. Goodwin Watson
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

REGISTRATION FORM—Tear off and mail!

to: MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE
30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Illinois

I plan to attend the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE to be held in Chicago on May 29, 30.

I will attend as an individual. ☐

I will be a delegate, representing.....

.....

Registration fee of $2.00 is enclosed. ☐

Name.....
Please print

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

Your prompt return of the attached registration form will help us to make the necessary arrangements for adequate and convenient meeting facilities.

Make all checks payable to:

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

SPONSORS

Rev. Reynold N. Hoover Chicago, Ill.
Karen Horney, M.D., New York, N. Y.
Rabbi Samuel Horowitz, Seattle, Wash.
Dr. Walter M. Horton, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio.
Hon. Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa.
Rev. Fred A. Hughes, Editor, Western Christian Recorder, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. M. C. Hunt, Lakewood, Ohio.
James Imbrie, Lawrenceville, N. J.
Rev. Harold B. Ingalls, Nat'l. Student YMCA, Tuckahoe, N. Y.
Rev. Dr. J. R. Jamison, Pres. Ark. Missionary Baptist Convention, Morrilton, Ark.
Udell Jarden, Pres. Painters Local Union 35, Staunton, Ill.
Jenny A. Johnson, Editor, "The Friend," Minneapolis, Minn.
Dr. E. Stanley Jones, New York, N. Y.
Esther Holmes Jones, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. John Paul Jones, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan, Jewish Theol. Seminary of America, New York, N. Y.
Rev. Massie Kennard Co-Chairman Ill. Christian Youth for Peace, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. J. Clyde Keegan, Methodist District Supt., Caspar, Wyo.
Dr. A. C. Keller, University of Washington.
Prof. Carl Kepner, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
Bishop Paul B. Kern, Methodist Church. Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. Herbert King, New York, N. Y.
Velma Ruth King, Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas.
Rabbi Edward E. Klein, New York, N. Y.
Dr. I. M. Kolthoff, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Rev. Edwin E. Krapf, Los Angeles, Cal.
Leo Krzycki, Pres. American Slav Congress, Milwaukee, Wis.
Rev. B. F. Lamb, Pres., Ohio Council of Churches, Columbus, Ohio.
Rev. Andrew H. Lambright, Madison, Wis.
Dr. Corliss Lamont, Writer, New York, N. Y.
Rev. Carl J. Landes, Shandon, Ohio.
Rev. Donald G. Lathrop, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Dr. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hugo Leaming, Co-Chairman, Ill. Christian Youth for Peace, Chicago, Ill.
James D. LeCron, Berkeley, Calif.
Howard Lee, Vice-President, Local 22, U.A.W.–C.I.O., Detroit, Mich.
Nora W. Link, Womens Missionary Soc., A.M.E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert L. Lindsey, Union Theol. Seminary, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Rayford W. Logan, Chrmn. Dept. of History, Howard University
Rev. Herman H. Long, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. John D. Long, Dayton, Ohio
Prof. Oliver S. Loud, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Tom Ludwig, Farmers Union, Greenville, Tenn.
S. Beryl Lush, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall, Northwestern University
Louis Machetta, Pres. Local 22, U.A.W.–C.I.O. Detroit, Mich.
Rev. James Macpherson, Bdwy. Baptist Church, Denver, Colo.
Rev. Paul G. Macy, Exec. Sec'y. Evanston Council of Churches, Ill.
Rev. Charles C. G. Manker, El Paso, Tex.
Rev. Stanley Manning, Chrmn. Comm. on Intl. Relations, Universalist Church of America, Avon, Ill.
Rev. Samuel W. Marble, Denver, Colo.
Dr. F. L. Marcuse, Cornell University
Mary Bacon Mason, Vice-Chrmn., War Resisters League, Newton Center, Mass.
Prof. Kirtley Mather, Harvard University.
Rev. Howard G. Matson, Santa Monica, Calif.
Grace McDonald, Santa Clara, Calif.
Bernard V. McGroarty, Cleveland, Ohio.
Mrs. Annabelle J. McLay, Birmingham, Mich.
Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rev. George Mecklenburg, Minneapolis, Minn.

Dr. Paul I. Miller, Hiram College, Ohio.
Rabbi Uri Miller, Baltimore, Md.
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Pro. Epis. Bishop (Ret.) of Arizona, Rancho Santa Fe, Cal.
Dr. F. M. Ashley Montagu, Rutgers University, N. J.
Rev. Robert W. Moon, San Francisco, Cal.
Mrs. Halois Moorehead, Hotel Front Service Employees Union, Local 444, A.F.L. N.Y.
Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell University,
Hollis M. Mosher, Milton, Mass.
Willard Motley, Author, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. John R. Mott, World Alliance, YMCA, New York, N. Y.
Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Prot. Epis. Bishop (Ret.) of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Mrs. Baxter Mow, Chicago, Ill.
Stuart Mudd, M.D., School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania.
Rev. Robert Muir, Roxbury Crossing, Mass.
Rev. Skillman E. Myers, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt.
Prof. Seth Neddermeyer, University of Washington.
Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. J. Pierce Newell, La Crosse, Wis.
Rev. Walter D. Niles, Bonne Terre, Mo.
M. W. O'Brien, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Richmond, Cal.
Clifford Odets, Playwright, New York, N. Y.
Rev. Tarrence F. Ogden, Pres. Schenectady Ministers Assn., Schenectady, N. Y.
Rt. Rev. C. Ashton Oldham, Prot. Epis. Bishop of Albany, N.Y.
Mrs. John Ormond, Birmingham, Mich.
Dr. A. G. Osler, School of Hygiene, Johns Hopkins Hosp., Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Clarence E. Parr, Albuquerque, N. M.
Rev. Elmer C. Pedrick, Richmond, Va.
Rev. Edward L. Peet, Mill Valley, Calif.
Rev. Leslie T. Pennington, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. E. C. Peters, Pres. Paine College, Augusta, Ga.
Albert Pezzati, Int'l. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelters Workers, Columbus, Ohio
Rev. Louis C. Phelps, Nampa, Idaho
Prof. Seymour M. Pitcher, State University of Iowa
Rabbi David De Sola Pool, New York, N. Y.
Harry H. Powell, Pres. Local 1010, United Steelworkers of America, CIO Indiana Harbor, Ind.
Mr. Willard B. Ransom, State Pres. NAACP, Indianapolis, Ind.
Shirley Reece, Nat'l Conf. of Methodist Youth, Stockton, Cal.
Rev. J. W. Reed, Portland, Ore.
Bishop Frank M. Reid, Allen University, Columbia, S. C.
Rev. L. Willard Reynolds, West Newton, Ind.
Rev. James Rhinesmeith, Oceanside, N. Y.
Judge James Hoge Ricks, Richmond Va.
Prof. John G. Rideout, Pocatello, Idaho
Rev. Lloyd H. Rising, Lincoln, Neb.
Holland Roberts, Director, Calif. Labor School, San Francisco, Calif.
Very Rev. Paul Roberts, Dean, St Johns Cathedral, Denver, Colo.
Dr. Theodor Rosebury, New York, N. Y.
Rabbi Jacob Phillip Rudin, Great Neck, L. I., N. Y.
Dr. E. E. Ryden, "The Augustana Lutheran", Rock Island, Ill.
Dr. Ernest W. Saunders, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa
Mr. J. Nevin Sayre, Division Int'l. F.O.R., New York, N. Y.
Alfred G. Scattergood, Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. Henry Scattergood, Religious Society of Friends, Villanova, Pa.
Leo Schaeffer, President, Local 163, UAW, Detroit, Michigan
Sylvain Schnaittacker, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, El Paso, Texas
Rev. Paul G. Schneider, Canton, Ohio
Dr. T. C. Schneirla, Amer. Museum Natural Hist., New York, N. Y.
Dr. Edwin W. Schramm, Columbus, Ohio
Rev. John H. Shanley, Coshocton, Ohio

Dr. Harlow Shapley, Harvard College Observatory
Prof. John F. Shepard, University of Michigan
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, Editor, "The Churchman," New N.Y. Yrk,
Tom L. Slater, Carpenters Union, Local 1, AFL, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Alson J. Smith, Writer, Stamford, Conn.
Marlin E. Smith, Pres. Food, Tobacco Workers, Local 638, Oshkosh, Wis.
Rev. Roy C. Snodgrass, Amarillo, Texas
Rabbi Elias Solomon, New York, N. Y.
Dr. John Somerville, Author, New York, N. Y.
Rev. Walter B. Spaulding, Exec Sec'y, Montana Bd. of Ed., Methodist Church, Great Falls, Montana
Jonathan Steere, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Philip Humason Steinmetz, Ashfield, Mass.
Rev. Alexander Stewart, Union Theol. Seminary, New York, N. Y.
Walter Stich, Marine Engineers, San Francisco, Calif.
Rev. Wray W. Stickford, Mansfield, Mass.
Donald E. Stier, Cleveland, Ohio.
I. F. Stone, Columnist, Washington, D. C.
Fred W. Stover, Pres. Iowa Farmers Union, Hampton, Iowa
Oscar Strum, Vice-Pres., Central Body, AFL, Staunton, Illinois
Dr. Stanley I. Stuber, Church World Service, Inc., New York, N. Y.
Leon Svirsky, Ossining, N. Y.
Rev. Alfred W. Swan, Madison, Wis.
Glen Talbot, Pres., North Dakota Farmers Union, Jamestown, N. D.
Rev. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. Price A. Taylor, Jr. "Central Christian Advocate," New Orleans, La.
Rev. John H. Telfer, Dousman, Wis.
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Hon. Pres., Nat'l. Ass'n. for Advancement of Colored Women, Washington, D.C.
Rev. Dillon Throckmorton, Sr., Methodist District Supt., Sacramento, Calif.
Rev. Willis C. Thurow, Montana Conf. Methodist Church, Glendive, Mont.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. Frank Morey Toothaker, Methodist District Supt., Phoenix, Ariz.
Rev. V. M. Townsend, Pres., Elder A.M.E. Church, Little Rock, Ark.
Rev. Carroll D. Tripp, Vermont Church Council, Burlington, Vt.
Louis Untermeyer, Writer, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dr. Willard Uphaus, Exec. Sec'y. Nat'l. Religion & Labor Foundation, New Haven, Conn.
Mark Van Doren, Writer, New York, N.Y.
Pierre Van Paassen, Writer, New York, N. Y.
Rev. P. G. Van Zandt, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Maurice Visscher, University of Minnesota.
Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Dearborn, Mich.
Bishop Paris A. Wallace, A. M. E. Zion Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Prof. George H. Watson, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Ewart G. Watts, El Paso, Tex.
Prof. F. W. Went, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Cal.
Prof. Henry Nelson Wieman, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
Rev. Howard G. Wiley, Exec. Sec'y., Minneapolis Church Federation
Rev. Howell O. Wilkins, Vice-Chmn., World Christian Youth Commission, Camden, Del.
Rev. Harper S. Will, Alternate Moderator, Church of the Brethren, Chicago, Ill.
Aubrey Williams, Editor, "Southern Farmer," Montgomery, Ala.
Rev. Claude Williams, Helena, Ala.
Rev. Walter T. Wilson, East Chicago, Ind.
Rev. Edwin H. Witman, New Cumberland, Pa.
Hon. James A. Wolfe, Utah Supreme Court Justice, Salt Lake City, Utah
Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Dr. Thomas Woody, University of Pennsylvania
Rev. Warren Wyrick, Chairman, Commission on International Relations of San Francisco Council of Churches.
Prof. W. A. Young, Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas.
Rev. Herbert E. Zebarth, Milwaukee, Wis.

REV. WM. C. F. HAYES, Conf. Supt., Ev. United Brethren, Madison, Wisc.
MRS. ANNE E. HEATH, Pres., Women's Missionary Soc'y, A.M.E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
DR. EVERETT C. HERACK, Pres. Emer., Newton Theol. School, Mass.
REV. CHARLES A. HILL, Detroit, Mich.
DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL, State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.
DR. CECIL E. HINSHAW, Former Pres., Wm. Penn College, F. O. R., Kirkwood, Mo.
DR. E. G. HOFF, Ed., Sunday School Public., Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill.
RABBI SAMUEL HOROWITZ, Seattle, Wash.
DR. WALTER M. HORTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio
REV. M. C. HUNT, Lakewood, Ohio
JAMES IMBRIE, Lawrenceville, N. J.
REV. DR. J. R. JAMISON, Pres., Ark. Missionary Baptist Convention, Morrilton, Ark.
DR. E. STANLEY JONES, New York, N. Y.
REV. JOHN PAUL JONES, Brooklyn, N. Y.
PROF. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN, Jewish Theol. Seminary of America, N. Y. C.
REV. J. CLYDE KEEGAN, Methodist District Supt., Wyo.
BISHOP PAUL B. KERN, Methodist Church, Nashville, Tenn.
RABBI EDWARD E. KLEIN, New York, N. Y.
DR. I. M. KOLTHOFF, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
REV. EDWIN E. KRAPF, Los Angeles, Cal.
REV. ANDREW H. LAMBRIGHT, Madison, Wisc.
DR. CORLISS LAMONT, writer, New York, N. Y.
HUGO LEAMING, Chrmn., Illinois Christian Youth for Peace, Chicago, Ill.
JAMES D. LeCRON, Berkeley, Cal.
ROBERT L. LINDSEY, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. C.
REV. HERMAN H. LONG, Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP, Boston, Mass.
S. BERYL LUSH, Philadelphia, Pa.
PROF. CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL, Northwestern University
REV. JAMES MACPHERSON, Denver, Colo.
REV. PAUL G. MACY, Exec. Sec'y., Evanston Council of Churches, Ill.
REV. CHARLES C. G. MANKER, El Paso, Texas
REV. STANLEY MANNING, Chrmn., Comm. on Int'l Relations, Universalist Church of America, Avon, Ill.
DR. F. L. MARCUSE, Cornell University
PROF. KIRTLEY MATHER, Harvard University
REV. HOWARD G. MATSON, Santa Monica, Cal.
DR. WALTER A. McCLENEGHAN, American Friends Service Committee, Des Moines, Iowa
MRS. ANNABELLE J. McLAY, Birmingham, Mich.
CAREY McWILLIAMS, Los Angeles, Cal.
REV. GEORGE MECKLENBURG, Minneapolis, Minn.
RABBI URI MILLER, Baltimore, Md.
RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL, Prot. Epis. Bishop (Ret.) of Arizona, Rancho Santa Fe, Cal.
DR. M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Rutgers University, N. J.
REV. ROBERT W. MOON, San Francisco, Cal.
DR. JOHN R. MOTT, World Alliance, Y.M.C.A., N. Y. C.
RT. REV. ARTHUR W. MOULTON, Prot. Epis. Bishop (Ret.) of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
STUART MUDD, M.D., School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania
PROF. ARTHUR W. MUNK, Wesley College, N. D.
PROF. SETH NEDDERMEYER, Univ. of Washington, Seattle
DR. HENRY NEUMANN, Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.
REV. ALFRED S. NICKLESS, Davenport, Iowa
REV. WALTER D. NILES, Bonne Terre, Mo.
REV. TARRANCE F. OGDEN, Schenectady, N. Y.
CLIFFORD ODETS, playwright, New York, N. Y.
REV. CLAY E. PALMER, Yankton, S. D.
REV. CLARENCE E. PARR, Albuquerque, N. M.
REV. ELMER C. PEDRICK, Richmond, Va.
REV. LOUIS C. PHELPS, Nampa, Idaho
PROF. SEYMOUR M. PITCHER, State Univ. of Iowa
RABBI DAVID DE SOLA POOL, New York, N. Y.
PROF. CARL E. PURINTON, Boston University
WILLARD B. RANSOM, State Pres., NAACP, Indianapolis, Ind.
REV. LLOYD H. RISING, Lincoln, Neb.
VERY REV. PAUL ROBERTS, Dean, St. John's Cathed., Denver, Colo.
DR. ERNEST W. SAUNDERS, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa
ALFRED G. SCATTERGOOD, Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. HENRY SCATTERGOOD, Religious Society of Friends, Villanova, Pa.
REV. JOHN R. SCOTFORD, Editor "Advance" (Congr. Christian), N. Y. C.
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, Harvard College Observatory
PROF. JOHN F. SHEPARD, University of Michigan
DR. JOHN SOMERVILLE, writer, New York, N. Y.
REV. WALTER B. SPAULDING, Exec. Sec'y., Montana Board of Ed., Methodist Church, Great Falls, Mont.
REV. PHILIP HUMASON STEINMETZ, Ashfield, Mass.
I. F. STONE, columnist, Washington, D. C.
FRED W. STOVER, Pres., Iowa Farmers' Union, Hampton, Iowa
DR. STANLEY I. STUBER, Church World Service, Inc., New York, N. Y.
REV. ALFRED W. SWAN, Madison, Wisc.
DR. PRICE A. TAYLOR, JR., "Central Christian Advocate," New Orleans, La.
MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL, Hon. Pres., Nat'l Ass'n. for Advancement of Colored Women, Washington, D. C.
REV. DILLON W. THROCKMORTON, SR., Methodist District Supt., Sacramento, Cal.
REV. WILLIS C. THUROW, Montana Conf., Methodist Church
MRS. M. E. TILLY, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
REV. FRANK MOREY TOOTHAKER, Methodist District Supt., Phoenix, Ariz.
REV. V. M. TOWNSEND, Pres. Elder, A. M. E. Church, Little Rock, Ark.
REV. CARROLL D. TRIPP, Vermont Church Council, Burlington
LOUIS UNTERMEYER, writer, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MARK VAN DOREN, writer, New York, N. Y.
PIERRE VAN PAASSEN, writer, New York, N. Y.
DR. MAURICE VISSCHER, University of Minnesota
REV. EDGAR M. WAHLBERG, Dearborn, Mich.
REV. EWART G. WATTS, El Paso, Texas
PROF. F. W. WENT, Cal. Instit. of Technology, Pasadena, Cal.
REV. HOWARD G. WILEY, Exec. Sec'y., Minneapolis Church Federation
REV. HARPER S. WILL, Alternate Moderator, Church of the Brethren, Chicago, Ill.
HON. JAMES A. WOLFE, Justice of Supreme Court of Utah
DR. THOMAS WOODY, University of Pennsylvania
REV. WARREN WYRICK, Chairman, Commission on International Relations of San Francisco Council of Churches, San Francisco, Cal.
PROF. W. A. YOUNG, Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas
REV. HERBERT E. ZEBARTH, Milwaukee, Wisc.

(Organizations, titles and other affiliations are listed for purposes of identification only.)

32-35-21

" . . . IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE PEACE AS LONG AS EVERY SINGLE ACTION IS TAKEN WITH A POSSIBLE FUTURE CONFLICT IN VIEW. THE LEADING POINT OF VIEW OF ALL POLITICAL ACTION SHOULD THEREFORE BE: WHAT CAN WE DO TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND EVEN LOYAL COOPERATION OF THE NATIONS? . . . "

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN

"THE HYDROGEN BOMB IS THE LATEST AND MOST TERRIBLE STEP IN THE CRESCENDO OF WARFARE, WHICH HAS CHANGED WAR FROM A FIGHT BETWEEN MEN AND NATIONS TO A MASS MURDER OF HUMAN LIFE."

World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland
February 21-23, 1950

towards a mid-century

conference for peace

MAY 29, 30

1950

CHICAGO

auspices of

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

SPONSORS

PARTIAL LIST

BISHOP CAMERON C. ALLEYNE, A. M. E. Zion Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
REV. HOWARD M. AMOSS, Baltimore, Md.
DR. J. H. ASHBY, Pres. Afro-American Bapt. Conv., N. J.
REV. H. STEWART AUSTIN, West Palm Beach, Fla.
REV. KARL BAEHR, Amer. Christian Palestine Comm., New Hyde Park, N. Y.
DONALD GAY BAKER, Chairman, Friends Temperance Assn., Collegeville, Pa.
MISS CHARLOTTA BASS, Editor "The California Eagle"
REV. OWEN J. BEADLES, Methodist District Supt., Seattle, Wash.
REV. J. E. BEARD, A. M. E. Church, Nashville, Tenn.
PROF. IRWIN R. BEILER, University of Miami.
DR. FREDERICK K. BEUTEL, Dean, Law School, University of Nebraska.
DR. EDWIN N. BJORKMAN, Asheville, N. C.
DR. ALGERON L. BLACK, Ethical Culture Society, N. Y. C.
DR. HIEL D. BOLLINGER, Methodist Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.
DR. CHARLES F. BOSS, Exec. Sec'y., Commission on World Peace, Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.
REV. J. BURT BOUWMAN, Exec. Sec'y., Michigan Council of Churches, Lansing
REV. HAROLD L. BOWMAN, Chicago, Ill.
DR. J. W. BRADBURY, Editor, "The Watchman-Examiner," New York, N. Y.
PROF. THEODORE BRAMELD, New York University.
PROF. G. MURRAY BRANCH, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
RABBI STANLEY R. BRAV, Cincinnati, Ohio
PROF. EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN, Boston University
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER, Columbia University
REV. E. F. BROBERG, Sioux City, Iowa
PROF. ROBERT W. BROWNING, Northwestern University
DR. T. T. BRUMBAUGH, Assoc. Sec'y., Methodist Bd. of Missions, N. Y. C.
MRS. RACHEL CADBURY, Society of Friends, Moorestown, N. J.
RABBI JESSURUN D. CARDOZO, New York, N. Y.
MR. & MRS. CHARLES L. CARHART, Chevy Chase, Md.
DR. ANTON J. CARLSON, University of Chicago
PROF. RUDOLPH CARNAP, University of Chicago
REV. J. HENRY CARPENTER, Exec. Sec'y., Brooklyn Div., Protestant Council of New York
MATTHEW G. CARTER, Assoc. Sec'y., Southwest Area Council, YMCA, Dallas, Texas
DR. BERNHARD CHRISTENSEN, Pres., Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn.
REV. OTTO P. CHURCHILL, North Scituate, R. I.
REV. ALBERT BUCKNER COE, D.D., Pres., Mass. Conference of Congregational Churches, Boston, Mass.
DR. GEORGE A. COE, Prof. Emer. Union Theol. Seminary, Claremont, Cal.
RABBI RUDOLPH I. COFFEE, San Francisco, Cal.
DR. EDWIN GRANT CONKLIN, Princeton University
REV. ELBERT M. CONOVER, Methodist Church, N. Y. C.
REV. LINDLEY J. COOK, Portland, Maine
DR. HENRY HITT CRANE, Detroit, Mich.
RT. REV. BENJ. D. DAGWELL, D.D., Prot. Epis. Bishop of Portland, Ore.
DR. GEORGE DAHL, Prof. Emer., Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
PHYLLIS ANN DAVIES, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y.
DR. ALBERT DAY, Baltimore, Md.
VERY REV. JOHN WARREN DAY, Dean, Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kans.
REV. WARREN J. DAY, Union Theol. Seminary, N. Y. C.
PROF. JOHN J. DeBOER, University of Illinois
REV. PURD E. DEITZ, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.
PROF. W. W. DENTON, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
DR. W. MARSHON DePOISTER, Grinnell College, Iowa
DOROTHY DETZER, Women's Int'l. League for Peace & Freedom, N. Y. C.
PROF. CHARLOTTE D'EVELYN, Mount Holyoke College
PROF. HAROLD DeWOLF, Boston University
HON. EARL B. DICKERSON, Chicago, Ill.
DR. HEDLEY S. DIMOCK, George Williams College, Chicago, Ill.
PROF. FRANK DOBIE, University of Texas
IVAN DORNON, Pres., Ohio Methodist Stud. Movement
REV. M. E. DORR, Dayton, Iowa
PROF. DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS, Smith College
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, New York, N. Y.
LYDIA A. M. DUEKER, Omaha, Neb.
REV. HUBERT N. DUKES, Grand Forks, N. D.
DEAN DAVID DUNN, Ev. and Ref. Seminary, Lancaster, Pa.
DR. H. STANLEY DUNN, Ev. & Ref. Seminary, Lancaster, Pa.
DR. L. C. DUNN, Columbia University
HON. CLIFFORD DURR, Washington, D. C.
ARMAND d'USSEAU, playwright, New York, N. Y.
ROBERT M. EDDY, Albany, N. Y.
REV. J. EDWIN ELDER, New Plymouth, Idaho
REV. PHILLIPS P. ELLIOTT, Brooklyn, N. Y.
PROF. THOMAS I. EMERSON, Yale University Law School
REV. A. R. ESCHLIMAN, Sioux Falls, S. D.
REV. JOSEPH M. EVANS, Chicago, Ill.
PROF. JOHN SCOTT EVERTON, Kalamazoo College, Mich.
THOMAS K. FARLEY, Director, Southern Cal.-Ariz. Conf. of Methodist Youth, Los Angeles, Cal.
REV. E. C. FARNHAM, Exec. Sec'y., Church Fed. of Los Angeles, Cal.
LION FEUCHTWANGER, writer, Pacific Palisades, Cal.
REV. ARTHUR W. FOOTE, St. Paul, Minn.
REV. EDDY L. FORD, Baltimore, Md.
REV. ROSCOE FOUST, New York, N. Y.
DR. GEORGE A. FOWLER, Pres., Church Fed. of Greater Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
REV. STEPHEN FRITCHMAN, Los Angeles, Cal.
REV. GEORGE MILES GIBSON, McCormick Theol. Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
REV. RUDOLPH W. GILBERT, Denver, Colo.
ROBERT C. GNEGY, Rec. Sec'y., Nat'l Conference of Methodist Youth, Washington, D. C.
RABBI ROBERT E. GOLDBERG, New Haven, Conn.
CARLTON B. GOODLETT, M.D., Pres., NAACP, San Francisco
MRS. HELEN GORDON, Denver, Colo.
CHARLES A. GRAHAM, Former Chairman, War Labor Board, Denver, Colo.
RABBI DAVID GRAUBART, D.D., Chicago, Ill.
REV. LEON E. GRUBAUGH, Denver, Colo.
ALICE HAMILTON, M.D., Hadlyme, Conn.
PROF. C. H. HAMLIN, Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N. C.
DR. G. A. HAMPTON, Sec'y., Gen. Ass'n. Kentucky Baptists, Louisville, Ky.
REV. DONALD HARRINGTON, New York, N. Y.
PROF. C. SHELDON HART, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

mid-century conference for **peace**

INITIATING SPONSORS

MISS EMILY GREENE BALCH
DR. DAVID D. BAKER
DR. WADE C. BARCLAY
DR. CHARLOTTE H. BROWN
RABBI JONAH E. CAPLAN
REV. DONALD B. CLOWARD
MRS. HOWARD G. COLWELL
DR. ABRAHAM CRONBACH
REV. MARK A. DAWBER
PROF. KERMIT EBY
RABBI ALVIN I. FINE
MRS. WELTHY FISHER
PROF. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
RABBI ROBERT GORDIS
BISHOP S. L. GREENE
PROF. GEORGIA HARKNESS
PROF. R. J. HAVIGHURST
DR. CHARLES W. IGLEHART
REV. DR. D. V. JEMISON
JAMESON JONES
REV. DR. LEO JUNG
REV. DR. WILLIAM E. LAMPE
DR. H. E. LUCCOCK
LESTER G. McALLISTER
DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
DR. THOMAS MANN
DONALD L. MATHEWS
PROF. F. O. MATTHIESSEN
DEAN W. G. MUELDER
DR. JOHN S. NOLLEN
DR. ALBERT W. PALMER
BISHOP E. L. PARSONS
PROF. LINUS PAULING
PROF. GEORGE V. SCHICK
REV. FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER
HON. ODELL SHEPARD
PROF. P. A. SOROKIN
DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON
DR. CHARLES J. TURCK
PROF. OSWALD VEBLEN
BISHOP W. J. WALLS
PROF. GOODWIN WATSON
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

LIFE or death—that is the issue today. The fateful decision to build the Hydrogen Bomb, despite the anxiety of America's millions, dwarfs all previous dangers. It opens the door to a war of total annihilation of all mankind.

This door must be shut. War must be ruled out as the arbiter of the fate of humanity. The conscience of America will not permit us to evade this ultimate responsibility to humanity, to our nation, our loved ones and ourselves. We cannot stand passive before the threat of the world's destruction. The Hydrogen Bomb brings home to all of us the menace that up to now may have seemed remote. Not only can other nations be laid waste, but America itself and we, its people can be destroyed. The Hydrogen Bomb means an end to military defense.

OUR ONLY DEFENSE IS PEACE

We reject the philosophy of those who say that war is inevitable.

WE AFFIRM THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE

We declare that a **peaceful alternative** must be found to the cold war.

Finding peaceful alternatives to the present "cold war" and the future real war may be difficult. But our failure to search for them is infinitely more catastrophic.

No difference between nations can be so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer. We insist that the peaceful co-existence of the American and Soviet social systems is possible.

Therefore, we call upon the **President** and the **Congress of these United States** to undertake negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union to secure the banning of the Bomb as a first step toward disarmament and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding differences and the eventual resumption of trade.

We call upon the **United States delegation** to the **United Nations** to be prepared to present positive proposals for peace through strengthening the United Nations as the greatest instrument for drawing all nations of the world into free cooperation.

Let us work together to attain these ends through meetings, conferences, sermons, resolutions, petitions—through all the traditional and historic means of expression whereby the people of America exercise their constitutional right "to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Let us honor the Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the United Nations by rekindling the hope of peace for the world.

Let us transcend differences of faith, creed, race, political belief and occupation and unite in a great Crusade for Peace.

Let us assemble in a Mid-Century Conference for Peace on May 29, 30, in Chicago, Ill., where in the American tradition of open discussion and the free examination of ideas, we who desire peace can plan a common course of action.

There is still time.

Let us make the most of it!

conference information

The

MID - CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE will be held in Chicago May 29, 30. A special Memorial Day ceremony on Monday, May 29th will open the session of plenary and work seminars. (Detailed program to be announced.)

Attendance and participation is open to all who are concerned with the problem of peace in today's world.

Registration fee: $2—for admission to all sessions. Housing arrangements will be made upon request.

program committee

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
Prof. Kermit Eby
Mrs. Welthy Fisher
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst
Jameson Jones
Dr. Halford E. Luccock
Dr. Thomas Mann
Donald Mathews
Prof. Linus Pauling
Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder
Dean John B. Thompson
Bishop W. J. Walls
Prof. Goodwin Watson
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

Your prompt return of the attached credential will help us to make the necessary arrangements for adequate and convenient meeting, housing and other facilities.

Make all checks payable to:

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES
158 WEST 56TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

credential form

to: **MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE**
158 West 56th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

I plan to attend the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE to be held in Chicago on May 29, 30.

I will attend as an individual. ☐

I will be a delegate, representing _____

_____

Registration fee of $2.00 is enclosed. ☐

Name _____
Please print

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

PROGRAM

Monday, May 29

10 A.M. - 12 N -- REGISTRATION . . St. James Methodist Church
4611 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago

2 P.M. - 4 P.M. KEYNOTE SESSION--St. James Methodist Church

Chairman - Bishop W. J. Walls, A.M.E. Zion Church, Chicago

HISTORY OF THE CONFERENCE
Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean, Rockefeller Chapel,
University of Chicago

THE COLD WAR. WHERE ARE WE TODAY?
Dr. Malcolm P. Sharp, Professor of Law,
University of Chicago

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PEACE
Prof. Kermit Eby, Division of Social Sciences,
University of Chicago

PEACE IS DYNAMIC
Miss Emily Greene Balch, Honorary Chairman,
Women's International League for Peace and
Freedom, Wellesley, Mass. (recorded)

5:30 P.M. YOUTH SUPPER

Speakers - Hugo Leaming, Secretary, Meadville Theological School
Students Association, Chicago

Donald Mathews, President, Student Cabinet,
Union Theological Seminary, New York City

8:00 P.M.--PUBLIC MEETING -- St. James Methodist Church

"PEACE IS POSSIBLE"

INVOCATION -- Dr. George A. Fowler, St. James Methodist Church

CHAIRMAN -- Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean, Rockefeller Chapel,
University of Chicago

SPEAKERS -- Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President,
Palmer Institute, Sedalia, N.C.
Dr. Mark A. Dawber, formerly of the Home
Missions Council of North America, N.Y.C.
Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize Winner (recorded)

F. W. Stover, Editor, "The Iowa Farmer"
Harris Wofford, Trustee, Foundation for World
Government, N.Y.C.
Rev. Massie Kennard, past to youth, Metropolitan
Community Church, Chicago
Jameson Jones, National Conference of Methodist
Youth

Tuesday, May 30 -- WORK SEMINARS TO EXAMINE PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE COLD WAR

10:00 A.M. - 12:00 N) Seminars at St. James Methodist Church
1:00 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.)

I FEAR -- EFFECTS ON FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Moderator: Dr. David D. Baker, President, Associated Church Press, St. Louis, Mo.

Discussion Leaders: Prof. Kermit Eby, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago

Dr. Albert Barnett, Garrett Bibilical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

II THE H-BOMB, THE A-BOMB

Moderator: Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L.I.

Discussion Leaders: Dr. Daniel Q. Posin, Professor of Physics, N. Dakota State Agricultural College, Fargo

Rev. Alfred W. Swan, First Congregational Church, Madison, Wisconsin

III CIVIL LIBERTIES

Moderator: Dr. Charles J. Turck, President, Macalester College St. Paul, Minn.

Discussion Leaders: Hon. Clifford Durr, Former Federal Communications Commissioner, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, formerly of the Home Missions Council of N. America, Long Beach, N.Y.

IV ECONOMY, TRADE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Moderator: Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Pt. Olivet Methodist Church Dearborn, Michigan

Discussion Leaders: Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee, United Council of Church Women, NYC

Prof. Colston E. Warne, Economist, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Author and anthropologist, Council on African Affairs, N.Y.C.

Note: To plan effective community action, the Conference will have experts in religion, education, labor, youth and community life as consultants in each panel.

4:00 P.M. - 6:00 P.M. -- CLOSING SESSION -- Reports from Seminars, Adoption of Program, Election of Continuations Committee

7:00 P.M. -- FELLOWSHIP SUPPER

MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

Reports of Work Seminars

Chicago, May 30, 1950

The following reports came from the Tuesday morning and afternoon sessions of the Conference. These were the discussion and work sessions of the Conference, in which the delegates spoke their minds and formulated their common ideas on problems related to peace and the cold war. At these seminars, background information was presented by the moderators and the discussants with five to ten specialists participating in each group as Consultants.

At the final plenary session of the Conference, late Tuesday afternoon, spokesmen for the four seminars presented these reports orally. The Conference then voted to receive these reports and to circulate them to all delegates. The reports were not adopted by the Conference, since there was not time to circulate them to all members of the Conference for reading and discussion before a vote might be taken.

No doubt individual members of the Conference will disagree with some elements of these reports. However, they are the result of a hard day's work of discussion and cooperative thinking and they are presented to the delegates and to local peace groups for their thoughtful consideration.

The reports are reproduced in the unpolished form which resulted from different group procedures and reporting techniques. There was no time for careful editing or literary phrasing.

SEMINAR I. FEAR--ITS EFFECT ON FAMILY AND COMMUNITY.

Moderator: Dr. David D. Baker, President, Associated Church Press, St. Louis.

Discussants: Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit.
Prof. Kermit Eby, University of Chicago.

Recorder: Harry Pollak, Graduate Student in International Relations, University of Chicago

Discussion following the presentations by Mr. Crane and Mr. Eby dealt with the following matters:

The corroding effects of fear on the youth of the country. Some young people hesitate to marry and rear children in the face of a probable holocaust. Peace campaigns in which youth can take part may help to relieve them of some of their fearfulness and to give them something positive to take the place of despair at what may seem the inevitability of war.

Fear of working for peace. Some people are afraid to work for peace because a part of the public regards as subversive any attempt to work for peace. The consensus of the group was that the public should know us "by our affirmations" for peace, but at the same time we should be wary of anyone who might be "operating from an external power base" and only incidentally concerned with peace.

Fear growing out of feelings of futility. Consensus: let us rally around a positive program, including, for example: outlawing the A and H bombs, utilizing atomic energy for peace-time uses; negotiations between USA and USSR through the UN; some proposal similar to the peace plan of Senator McMahon. Join with others, work, speak out for peace in the local community. Dr. Crane summed up this feeling when he said, "Let us develop courage, passion, and enthusiasm. Be persuasive as well as persistent. Avoid docility and take action by championing a cause--the cause of peace."

SEMINAR II. THE H BOMB AND THE A BOMB

Moderator: Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L. I.

Discussants: Prof. Katherine Chamberlain, Physicist, Wayne University.
Dr. Philip Morrison, Physicist, Cornell University.
Rev. Alfred W. Swan, First Congregational Church, Madison, Wisc.
Prof. George H. Watson, Political Scientist, Roosevelt College.

Recorder: Grace Bierman, Graduate Student in Social Sciences, University of Chicago.

Policy Recommendations:

1. Endorsement of a peace program like that urged by Senator Brien McMahon.

2. Negotiation between the United States and the Soviet Union on atomic energy through the United Nations with the ends to:

   a. outlaw the manufacture and use of atomic weapons;

   b. declare that the first nation to use atomic weapons be branded an international criminal.

3. Endorsement of Senator Tydings' proposal for universal disarmament.

Recommendations for Implementation of Policy:

1. Initiate a national petition incorporating the ideas embodied in Recommendation 2, above.

2. Initiate a campaign urging people to write to Senators and Congressmen expressing their desire for the establishment of peaceful alternatives to the cold war.

3. Organize a delegation from this Conference to the President and the Congress to express the sentiments of the Conference.

4. Organize state-wide caravans for peace, consisting of representatives from labor, farm, church, and other organizations to bring the message of the Conference to every village and local community.

5. Broaden the base of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives so that local representation be included as a part of the Committee.

24-20-13

SEMINAR III. ECONOMY, TRADE, AND FOREIGN POLICY.

Moderator: Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Mt. Olivet Methodist Church, Dearborn, Michigan

Discussants: Prof. Colston E. Warne, Economist, Amherst College.
Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee, United Council of Church Women, New York City

Recorder: Rabbi Samuel Teitelbaum, Hillel Foundation, Northwestern University.

The following recommendations received the approval of the overwhelming majority attending this seminar:

1. Extension and strengthening of the machinery of peace in and through the United Nations.
2. Recognition of the present government of China.
3. Sending of a citizens' mission to Russia and China in good faith.
4. The United States response to and support of Trygve Lie's peace mission.
5. Removal of all United States trade embargoes, especially against the Eastern European countries and China, in order to terminate international tensions.
6. Support through the UN of an Economic Commission for Europe, including Eastern countries.
7. The United States giving economic and political cooperation exclusively through UN channels and not unilaterally or bilaterally.
8. Ending of the Cold War!
9. Transference of U.S. government appropriations from war purposes to peace purposes.
10. Recognition that all peoples in the world have a right to determine their own government and ideology.
11. Exhange of technical, educational and scientific skills, personnel and leadership with all nations.
12. Outlawing weapons of destruction, particularly the A and H Bombs.

13. Bringing of pressure on all those seeking political office in the coming November elections to move for a peace program.

14. Extending a good neighbor policy to all nations.

15. Giving women more leadership in government--and at this Conference.

16. Adoption of a universal Point Four (technical development of undeveloped countries) with which the United States and the USSR should cooperate through the United Nations.

17. A program of complete denazification of Germany, decartelization, and the restoration of democracy.

18. The military forces of the U.S. should not be used to guarantee or support American business investments in foreign countries.

24-20-14

SEMINAR IV. THE COLD WAR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Moderator: Dr. Charles J. Turck, President, Macalester College, St.Paul

Discussants: Hon. Clifford Durr, Formerly Federation Communications Commissioner, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Formerly of the Home Missions Council of North America, Long Beach, N. Y.
Joseph F. Walsh, Past President, Wisconsin Fraternal Congress, Milwaukee.

Recorder: Rev. Robert Stone, Board of Missions, Presbyterian Church. New York City

Preamble: We, the members of the Civil Liberties seminar of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, believe it is imperative that we emphasize to the general conference the vital relationship that exists between the promotion of the cold war and the current attack upon our civil rights. These are not coincidental occurrences. They are related as cause and effect, and of necessity go together. Therefore in the fight for peace we are compelled to fight for civil rights.

1. Freedom of speech, with freedom of religion, is guaranteed by the First Amendment of our Constitution. This Amendment has constituted the cornerstone of American democracy since the founding of our Republic.

2. We believe that recent Supreme Court decisions depart from a "clear and present danger" test of the limits of free speech. Free speech means the right of citizens to express even extreme views so long as the words used do not incite actual deeds of violence. Imprisoning communists because of their views endangers the liberty of all. We believe that the rights of people who speak for peace are affected by present trends of court decisions which cut down the meaning of free speech.

3. Trial of loyalty by Congressional committee constitutes a threat to civil rights. We condemn a procedure of investigation which threatens the rights and reputations of all. We believe that political opinions of individuals are not within the scope of Congressional investigation and that freedom means freedom from the enforced disclosure of political affiliation.

4. The spying of citizen upon citizen to determine political affiliation under an expanded F.B.I. may open the door to threats of thought control.

5. We direct attention again to the denial of constitutional rights as set forth in the 14th and 15th Amendments. For eighty years these rights have been denied. It is our considered judgment that the extent to which these denials have been continued is the extent to which a great race has been degraded, brutalized and dehumanized; it is the extent of the hypocrisy of our government in claiming to be the champion of freedom and colonial independence. America cannot speak in the name of democracy until she acts and lives basic democracy at home. All violations of these constitutional rights must end.

6. As advocates of civil rights, we call upon Congress to:

a. Enact a F.E.P.C. with genuine enforcement features.
b. Enact legislation to outlaw the poll tax.
c. Oppose the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill.
d. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law, which is aimed at destroying the trade union movement, a bulwark of our civil liberties.

#####

MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE
St James Methodist Church, Chicago, Ill.
May 29-30, 1950

P. I. C

We, the 703 delegates to the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE, having freely and deeply probed the fears and thoughts and hopes of those citizens with whom we meet in our churches, schools, labor unions, farm granges and other community bodies, do hereby issue this

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE COLD WAR

Our nation stands at the crossroads, and we cannot deny that ours is the generation to which it has been given to make the fateful decision. It is either peace and life, or war and wanton destruction for us all. Continued cold war is rushing humanity toward the abyss from which there will be no turning back.

Can this be the only way forward for our great and productive nation? Can it be that our powerful and courageous people shall let a fateful choice be made for them by those who promise peace and yet steadily prepare for war?

Shall we continue to permit our democratic liberties to be sacrificed in a mounting tension and hysteria of a futile arms race until democracy itself becomes the final victim?

We affirm that our people must take their fate into their own hands. We insist that while there is still time, they can save the very future of our beloved nation itself, now moving toward the frontlines of atomic war.

We do not hesitate to state that we at the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE have differing views on how the cold war came about. We have differing judgments on many of the policies of our own government, and other governments. We truly mirror the diversity within our own people as a whole in our political, economic and religious persuasions. We are, however, united in devotion to democratic principles and methods. While, we, the American people, have special responsibility to change those policies of our American government which are continuing the cold war, we assert that the Russian people bear the same responsibility in regard to their own government.

It is for this reason that we claim the right to speak to all the American people and propose that they rise united above their differences to find the peaceful road out of the present international dilemma. Only in this way will our people and all humanity avert the catastrophe.

We affirm that war is not inevitable because of the divergent social systems and that peaceful competition is possible as well as necessary between these systems.

We praise those American statesmen who have taken the lead in pointing the way toward American-Soviet settlement. We are convinced that the possiblities for negotiations with the Soviet Union have not been adequately and sincerely explored. We hail the call of the International Red Cross for banning the use of atomic weapons. We hail the role of the United Nations Secretary General, Trygve Lie, and we urge American support to help make the United Nations work as the agency for peaceful settlements.

We shall measure all statesmen, all policies, and the actions of all leaders in all walks of life by the measure of their devotion to the task of ending the cold war. And we shall hold them to account if in any guise, they actually deepen the crisis and prevent its solution.

We call upon our fellow-Americans to enter the great Crusade for Peace. We call for personal and individual dedication, and the concerted action of all groups, societies, parties, organizations to set this issue above all others. We are calling for Peace to be the moving spirit of our time. Let the voice of America for Peace be heard in the sermons, and in all the work-a-day tasks of our land.

We call upon American mothers and fathers to dedicate their lives so that our children will have a certain peaceful tomorrow.

We call to the leaders and we call to those who follow them. We call to everyone who wants to defend America. We call upon them to make America that leader in Peace which her genius and strength have truly destined her to be. We do not retreat before the difficulty of this work. In God's grace there is no more sacred task for His Children.

Mid-Century Conference for Peace
St. James Methodist Church, Chicago, Ill.
May 29-30, 1950.

PROGRAM OF ACTION DECIDED AT MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

To all delegates, to the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, and to all local peace groups, churches, trade unions, women's and youth agencies working for peace...

Because our chief hope for enduring peace lies in the will for peace by the great majority of our people, the purpose of our ACTION PROGRAM is to suggest ways and means of releasing, expressing, realizing this will for peace.

We propose that the major form of such activity would be the work of local peace groups of the most varied character in all communities of the land. Our objective is the formation and full participation of local groups so that a veritable network of such independent groups arise throughout the nation. Many such groups already exist; they should be brought into contact with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

24-6-36

We propose that city-wide and state-wide conferences be held, under the auspices of the Committee, or local sponsoring groups, to take the message of the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE to the people. There let the people formulate the activities which seem proper to them on their own community level. We envisage that the same principles which have animated this Conference - the unity of all who stand for peace, and the cross-sectional participation - will animate and inspire the local groups.

We urge local peace leaders to maintain contact with and avail themselves of the literature and advice of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

We seek to form no parochial body, nor do we wish to disturb the work of existing organizations. We seek no partisan advantage. We deeply hope that peace activity transcends our existing differences of a political, religious, racial or ideological character. The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives hopes to channel the energies of peaceminded people into the mainstream of activity that will help to influence the fate of the nation and the world.

Specifically we propose:

1- That every delegate at this Conference shall help bring about local meetings of his or her peace group, striving to enlist the support of thousands of sponsors and local peace-workers, for the purpose of discussing what has been accomplished and decided here. We should like to see hundreds of local meetings throughout the land within one month of this Conference.

We recommend that local peace groups study and take action on important domestic and foreign problems related to achieving peace, such as: F.E.P.C. legislation the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill, Anti-Poll Tax legislation, issues of academic freedom in our schools and universities, the Taft-Hartley Act, recognition of the new Chinese Government by the United States and the seating of their representatives in the United Nations, problem of trade between the East and the West.

2- Our thought is that personal testimonials for peace shall be made at these meetings and recorded on a tape recorder; a housewife, a clergyman, a doctor, a worker could testify on what peace means to them and how they propose to work for it. When all taken together, this would constitute a veritable Voice of America for Peace.

3- Since thirty-six Senators and 435 Congressmen are up for election this year, we recommend visits of community representatives to their Senatorial and Congressional candidates, irrespective of Party, for the purpose of instructing them of the desire of the American people for peaceful solutions of international disputes, and assuring them as we do so, that we will support them only if they accept our recommendations on the problem of peace.

4- We propose the sending of a delegation of individuals from local peace groups to Lake Success, Long Island in the middle of September and bring the Voice of America for Peace to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie. Such an action, demonstrating American support for UN peace efforts, would greatly dramatize the will of the people for peace. Consultations might be arranged with the U.S. delegation to the UN and other influential delegations.

5- We propose that peace groups, religious organizations, labor unions, etc., make our "APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR PEACE" widely known. And we urge that the chief activity of local bodies shall be to popularize the resolution of the International Red Cross for peaceful negotiations to avert atomic war. We believe that we can help the Red Cross resolution gain extensive support. Local petitions, resolutions, memorial based on this resolution may be circulated. And we call to the attention of those local groups the additional and unbelievable danger of bacteriological warfare.

6- Another general form of peace effort which this Conference commends is the initiative of Secretary General Trygve Lie, and looks to his 10 point program as a hopeful means of resoloving many of the tensions of the cold war. We suggest resolutions and actions in support of Lie's initiative.

7- We urge that the United States promptly initiate an all-out effort to construct a full-scale atomic plant for peace somewhere in the southwestern United States where power is needed. This would be an investment in the future security and well-being of our country far more worthy of American skill and devotion than is the hydrogen bomb.

8- We heartily endorse the basic principle of using our economic resources in support of programs for peace such as these urged by Senator Brien McMahon and others.

9- We also recommend that news of every local activity be made available to the local press by letters and news releases, and copies sent to local Congressmen and other officials and to the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

10- The protection of civil liberties is intertwined with the frank and full discussion of the problems of peace and the restoration to the people of the right to determine effectively the basic foreign policies of the nation. We therefore protest all violations of civil rights, including the rights of those with whom we are on political disagreement, and pledge our encouragement to local and national groups that oppose these violations. The fight for equality and civil rights for 14,000,000 Negro people cannot be separated from the fight for peace. Similarly the tensions aroused by the Cold War can only result in increasing anti-Semitism in our own country and the development of prejudice against other racial and religious minorities.

84-6-37

11- We consider it advisable for local peace groups to pay particular attention to combatting all manifestations of war-mindedness and all concepts of the inevitability of war. We have in mind especially the impact of such conceptions on the youth and children of the land. What our children should have before their eyes and minds is a symbol of peace and international cooperation. The United Nations flag might well stand beside the American flag in our classrooms. Meetings, lectures, institutes can be organized in cooperation with existing agencies to educate youth in the understanding that America's best defense is peace, and that peace is possible if enough Americans insist upon it. Whenever militaristic statements appear in the press, wherever inflammatory speeches are made by public officials, whenever war-minded actions take place, our groups should be there, replying to these through the public press, initiating public meetings; carrying forward our religious and ethical educational work in concert with all other peace-minded individuals and groups.

12- We advise the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to follow up its earlier initiative and organize a consultation of leading citizens with members of Congress. Such a resolution would affirm America's will to peace and stress that our nation's security depends upon maintaining peace and negotiations of a long-term American-Soviet settlement of the cold war. Such a resolution could provide a rallying point for all peace-minded people. We are confident that important Congressmen and Senators could be persuaded to introduce it.

13- We recommend that speeches and all documentary material coming out of the MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE be circulated widely and made available for all local peace organizations.

We are confident that such forms of activity -- multiplied and amended by the experience and creative genius of our people -- holds out the promise of a great Peace Crusade that can embrace every individual, and give every individual a share in our great Peace Mission.

We are beholden to none--except the conscience of our people. We are moved only by the sure knowledge that they do want peace, and only need direction in order to make their deepest desires felt. The future of our great, productive land depends upon peace; peace requires abandoning the cold war and seeking peaceful alternatives to the present ominous trend to conflict and war.

Peace can be secured if the peoples of the world demand and work for it. This is our great purpose.

##########

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES
50 W.67th St.,Apt.6C, NYC

November 23,1950

Dear friend,

An initial meeting of the New York Committee for Peaceful Alternatives was held on the advice of the National Executive Committee. We are happy to report that the meeting brought forth a splendid attendance and lively participation in our discussion of alternatives to the present tensions which are leading towards war.

At this meeting we attempted to arrive at a common program for consideration and action. The enclosed DECLARATION FOR PEACE has resulted from our initial and subsequent deliberations. Our declaration is the result of the common effort of peace loving leaders from many walks of life. It speaks for itself. We wish to invite you to become one of the endorsers of our statement by checking the enclosed return postcard. This declaration will be presented to the United States Delegation at the United Nations.

We wish also to invite you to become a sponsor of the New York Committee for Peaceful Alternatives and be counted among those who are more than passive in the face of imminent world war. Your desire to join with us may be indicated on the postcard.

Our good friend, Dr. Roscoe T. Foust, has graciously invited us to meet at his Parish House, Church of the Ascension, 5th Ave. and 10th St., on Wednesday, Dec. 6th at 8:30 P.M. The meeting will concern itself with the further implementation of our program, including a large public meeting scheduled for Dec. 20th at the City Center.

We hope that you will join with us in our efforts to promote a moral climate for peace and not for war. Certainly, the fact that insecurity has increased with the growth of atomic bomb stockpiles and mounting military preparedness justifies our seeking better ways of establishing security. Our organization is dedicated to seeking out peaceful alternatives. Would you add your voice to the overwhelming desire for peace.

Cordially yours,

Mark A Dawber — Rev. Mark Dawber

Welthy Fisher — Mrs. Welthy H. Fisher

W J Walls — Bishop W. J. Walls

Jonah E Caplan — Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan

24-24-62

DECLARATION OF PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

As leaders in the Greater New York community, we call upon all men of good will to join with us in efforts to halt the march towards a third World War. We say this with a full awareness of daily events which further compound the dangers of atomic warfare and annihilation. We are impelled to speak out in concert with the people with the people all over the world who daily pray for peace. We seek to create a moral climate for peace and not for war.

We firmly reject the philosophy of those who say that war is inevitable. We believe that long and lasting peace is attainable. It depends only upon the combined will, energy and sacrifice of those who desire it. We must find the courage to rise above our differences. We have a choice only between peace and life or war and destruction. There is no third choice.

We strongly support the United Nations as the instrument for the settlement of all international crises through the peaceful means of negotiation and mediation. We endorse the recent United Nations proposal for a Five Power meeting as an essential move on the road towards peace. We agree in principle with all proposals for resolving East-West tension by negotiation. Not only do we appeal for agreement to outlaw all atomic, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction; but we urge that the consideration of general disarmament of conventional military establishments and weapons be pursued vigorously by the United Nations until agreement is reached.

We believe that the admission of the New Government of China to the current session of the United Nations is fundamental to the work of the organization and to peace in Asia. We look to the United Nations for an immediate truce in the UN-Korea-China crisis and the ultimate settlement of all legitimate differences.

The present armaments race is a serious drain on the resources of many nations. Funds expended on engines of destruction could be more profitably and constructively employed to eliminate poverty and economic backwardness. The world needs a program of industrialization, land reforms, East-West trade, and a long period of fruitful economic cooperation. We urge such a positive, constructive program of aid to under-developed lands with respect for the self-determination of all peoples.

We recognize that there are differing views on how the world has come to the brink of global disaster. We have differing judgments on many of the policies of our own government and other governments; but we are united in our determination to find peaceful solutions in keeping with the fervent desires of people of all nations. We believe that the need for peace transcends all differences between men. Our Committee and those who join with us reaffirm the constitutional right of all Americans to assemble, speak and work for peaceful alternatives to war.

NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

24-24:63

©GOES 1154

Peace 9/3

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES

Statement of Policy

The world today is on the move toward two goals. One is the goal of self-determination for colonial peoples. These colonial peoples seek to industrialize their technology and to achieve national democratic independence as did the Americans and Europeans long ago.

The other goal is that of world order—some form of world government under law, with peace and justice for all nations.

Whether the world moves toward these goals during the next few years in an atmosphere of peace and democracy will depend largely upon the foreign policies of the Great Nations, especially that of our own government. These foreign policies can be democratic or imperialistic—peace-creating or peace-destroying.

As Americans who are concerned about the direction of our foreign policy, we met last May in a Mid-Century Conference for Peace to adopt a positive program for peace. Today, we reaffirm our deep faith that there is still time to avert war; that the peaceful co-existence of nations having divergent social and economic systems is possible and imperative; that no difference between nations can be so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer; and that the final test of these different orders will be found in the benefits they produce for those who live within them and throughout the world.

In these past months, the American people have been offered two alternatives. The first is the so-called "preventive war," seriously advanced by individual government leaders. The second is the "armed truce," which represents the official stated position of our government.

The first means global war—now. The second threatens global war—later.

Americans still are anxiously seeking other alternatives—alternatives which can assure them of an enduring peace.

We are deeply convinced that such alternatives do exist and that the people of this land still have the power to choose them. Our people can still refuse to let the fateful choice be made for them by those who promise peace and yet steadily prepare for war.

This fifth anniversary of the United Nations' founding at San Francisco, we believe, should be the occasion for a fresh appeal to the conscience and common sense of the American people and their leaders.

We believe that there are many honorable avenues, as yet unexplored, which offer genuine alternatives to war and carry a real promise for peace. Among these avenues which this Committee recommends are these:

✻ We believe the United Nations will be immeasurably strengthened and become more truly representative by immediately seating representatives of the People's Republic of China. *We regard this as a prerequisite for a genuine peaceful settlement in Asia.*

✻ We agree with India's Prime Minister Nehru that "The strongest urge in every country in Asia today is the anti-colonial urge . . . Remnants of colonialism must be completely ended and the national movements receive support." Consequently we are firmly opposed to American military aid now being given to the colonial regime of Bao Dai in French Indo-China. Unilateral action on the part of the United States in Indo-China is arousing distrust and antagonism among the peoples of Asia toward our country. It is not too late to change this unilateral policy as we did in Formosa. The agreement by our government to modify its unfortunate unilateral action on Formosa by placing the final decision in the hands of the United Nations is a hopeful sign.

✻ The members of our Committee and the delegates to the Mid-Century Conference for Peace are not in complete agreement on the use of military intervention by the United Nations in Korea. We represent various approaches to the moral, religious, and political questions of the use of military force, as well as different interpretations of the origins of the Korean conflict. *But we are all united on the all-important principle that peace can be won and maintained with justice through persistent work with peaceful alternatives, such as those proposed in the Committee's program.*

✻ We recognize that whatever decisions are made with respect to Korea will have a marked effect upon the attitudes of the Asiatic Nations. We believe that a truly representative United Nations—in which the People's Republic of China has been seated—should guarantee the unification of the entire Korean peninsula, along with unfettered opportunity of the Korean people to determine their own form of government and their own governors. The United Nations Commission should command the confidence of the Asiatic Nations

and guarantee that the Korean people be permitted to work out their own political destiny, free of reprisals and repressive measures. *The Commission must be free of any pressures to aid the Syngman Rhee government which has been repudiated by the Korean people, and which has been reliably reported by neutral observers to be repressive and undemocratic.*

✻ We are alarmed at the possibility of further tragedies such as the one in Korea. To avert "another Korea," we urge that our government support U. N. efforts to discover latent war dangers and undertake mediation and negotiation aimed at resolving disputes without resort to arms. *In future cases where aggression is charged, we urge that the U. N. first explore all peaceful means, including mediation and negotiation, before invoking military sanctions.*

✻ We urge the United Nations to resume negotiations on the use and control of atomic energy. In this connection, we support the appeal of the International Red Cross for an agreement to outlaw all atomic, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction. *Plans for general disarmament of conventional military establishments and weapons should be pursued vigorously by the United Nations until agreement is reached.*

✻ We are convinced that one of the solutions to world peace is in negotiations between the heads of the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, aimed at honorable and genuine settlement of the major outstanding disputes. *Every offer of a peaceful settlement should be fully explored.* The continued failure to undertake such negotiations means that with every day that passes, the world moves closer to the "last war."

✻ The world needs a program of industrialization, land reform, East-West trade and a long period of fruitful economic cooperation. The absence of an American-Soviet settlement makes such a program impossible and perpetuates the domination of economic life by stronger powers over weaker ones, giving nourishment to undemocratic and feudal regimes. *An American-Soviet settlement would immediately breathe life into the United Nations program of economic development.*

✻ The present armaments race is a serious drain on the resources of many nations. Funds expended on engines of destruction could be more profitably and constructively employed to eliminate poverty and economic backwardness. In our own country, the ever-increasing armaments program and the weight of a military economy are undermining our well-being and freedom on many fronts. Health and educational

services are being reduced; the construction of desperately needed housing has been drastically curtailed; government spokesmen warn of further increases in the mounting cost of living and in taxes; and the Armed Services are multiplying the waste of precious years of young manhood. Parallel sacrifices are being made by the people in the countries we include in our program of military cooperation. *We urge the vigorous promotion of a ten to fifteen billion dollar peace program of economic development through the United Nations for the immediate benefit of the economically undeveloped countries and the long term benefit of the entire world.*

✻ The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives sees grave dangers to what we have traditionally regarded as our American way of life if the present drive toward militarism continues. In the McCarran Internal Security Act we see the greatest threat to our civil liberties. We hold that patriotism does not consist of blindly following the program of whatever administration our government happens to have, or of apathetic indifference. The protection of civil liberties is obviously intertwined with a frank and full discussion of the problems of peace and the restoration to the people of the right to criticize the basic foreign and domestic policies of our nation.

✻ We are dedicated to the promotion of peaceful alternatives and to their ultimate adoption by our elected public officials and our representatives in the United Nations. PEACE IS OUR GOAL AND OUR HOPE, as it is the goal and hope of all Americans. We have abiding faith that it can be won—and kept.

Issued December 1950 • Committee for Peaceful Alternatives • 30 North Dearborn Street • Chicago 2, Ill.

honorary chairmen: Dr. Thomas Mann, Bishop W. J. Walls.

co-chairmen: Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Prof. Kermit Eby, Dr. W. H. Jernagin, Dean John B. Thompson.

vice chairmen: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, Dr. D. V. Jemison, Dr. Halford E. Luccock, Prof. Linus Pauling, Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder.

chairman of the board: Prof. Robert J. Havighurst.

executive board: Rev. J. Burt Bouwman, Rabbi Stanley Brav, Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Rev. M. E. Dorr, Prof. Harl Douglass, Hon. Clifford Durr, Rabbi Alvin I. Fine, Rabbi Oscar Fleishaker, Dr. George Fowler, Rev. Edgar Jackson, Rev. Massie Kennard, Hugo Leaming, Rev. Donald L. Mathews, Dr. George Mecklenberg, Miss Renee Shapiro, Rev. Robert Stone, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Dr. Lorell Weiss, Rev. Wayne White, Aubrey Williams.

additional copies available at $2.00 per 100.

SEND US AWAITING A SPEEDY

answer

PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE

[Committee for the Negro in the Arts]

WESTERN UNION (09)

1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA098 PD=MV NEWYORK NY 25 1051AM=

1950 JAN 25 AM 11 15

DR W E B DU BOIS=

:409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

:WOULD LIKE TO HONOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION NEGRO LIFE LUNCHEON MARCH 5 MANHATTAN TOWERS HOTEL. PLEASE WIRE COLLECT WHTEHER ABLE TO ATTEND AND IF NAME MAY BE USED INVITATION=

RUTH JETT, COMMITTEE FOR THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS 77 FIFTH AVE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

9 Jean Albert Du drumm Drea 5

4 Jean du deare

January 28, 1950

Miss Ruth Jett
Committee for the Negro
in the Arts
77 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Jett:

I can attend the dinner March 5, if you so desire.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Committee for the Negro in the Arts

77 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRAMERCY 3-5940

Initiators
PAUL ROBESON
MARGARET WEBSTER
CARL VAN DOREN

Feb.28,1950

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr.DuBois:

May I thank you for accepting our invitation to be Guest of Honor at the "Brunch" being held Sunday next, March 5th, at 12:30 P.M., at the Manhattan Towers Hotel, 76th Street and Broadway, New York City.

Those also honored, and seated on the dais with you, are listed on the enclosed card. As part of the proceedings we would like you to speak about The Future of the Negro in the Arts, over a period of five minutes, or so.

Will you let us know, Dr.DuBois, how many tickets you would like to have for your own guests? Perhaps you would prefer to have us get in touch with them. In that event, we would need their telephone numbers and addresses.

Looking forward to greeting you, I am,

Sincerely,

Sylvia Golden

sg/tm

24-11-14

My dear
I shall be glad to be present Sunday March 5, but I cannot make any speech whatsoever

March 1, 1950

Miss Sylvia Golden
Committee for the
Negro in the Arts
77 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Miss Golden:

I shall be glad to be present Sunday March 5, but I cannot make any speech whatsoever.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS

24-11-16

invites you to a

Sunday Brunch

to greet and honor

LAWRENCE BROWN	SHIRLEY GRAHAM	FREDI WASHINGTON
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS	LANGSTON HUGHES	CHARLES WHITE
JAMES EDWARDS	PAUL ROBESON	MARY LOU WILLIAMS
HOPE FOYE	FRANK SILVERA	(and others)

Sunday, March Fifth, 1950—12:30 p. m.

MANHATTAN TOWERS HOTEL

Broadway and 76th Street

COUVERT $2.50

R.S.V.P.

The Committee for the Negro in the Arts

presents this scroll to

William Burghardt Du Bois

For outstanding contributions as an artist, to the cultural life of the United States and to the struggles of the Negro people and their artists for full equality and freedom.

SUNDAY • MARCH 5th • 1950

Mark Folder

Committee for the Negro in the Arts

77 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRAMERCY 3-5940

SPONSORS *

Harry Belafonte
Marc Blitzstein
Lawrence Brown
Howard Brubaker
Henriette Buckmaster
Georgia Burke
Saul Carson
Bennett Cerf
Janet Collins
Betty Comden
Aaron Copeland
Ernest Crichlow
Jo Davidson
Dean Dixon
Jean Destine
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
James Edwards
Philip Evergood
Howard Fast
Betty Garrett
Mercedes Gilbert
Shirley Graham
Robert Gwanthmey
Oscar Hammerstein
Minna Harkavy
Cyril Haynes
Georgette Harvey
Gordon Heath
Juan Hernandez
Joseph Hirsch
Judy Holliday
Libby Holman
Langston Hughes
Dr. Alphaeus Hunton
Leo Hurwitz
Hall Johnson
Garson Kanin
Andy Kirk
Millard Lampell
Jacob Lawrence
Canada Lee
Ray Lev
Norman Lewis
Alain Locke
Peter Lyon
Abbie Mitchell
Fayard Nicholas
Harold Nicholas
Frederic O'Neal
Aubrey Pankey
Dorothy Parker
Arnold Perl
Pearl Primus
Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick
Anton Refregier
Vivian Rivkin
Paul Robeson
Leon Rothier
Billy Rowe
Lee Sabinson
Archie Savage
Symeon Shimin
Muriel Smith
Hester Sondergaard
Kenneth Spencer
Paul Strand
Arnaud d'Usseau
Carl Van Doren
Sam Wanamaker
Theodore Ward
Fredi Washington
Perry Watkins
Margaret Webster
Charles White
Larry Winters
William Zorach

*Sponsors list incomplete

24-19.37

June 17, 1949

Dear Friend:

Since its inception in March, 1947, the COMMITTEE FOR THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS has tried to stimulate the broadest possible action on the part of both white and Negro toward a solution of the problem which faces the Negro artist in all cultural media.

Radio - the broadest and most pervasive medium of mass communication has consistently denied recognition to the Negro as a human being. It has, except in the rarest cases, presented the Negro as a stereotype of a clown; lazy, stupid, and ignorant. And radio has consistently denied employment to Negro artists.

Now, television, too, threatens to follow in radio's footsteps.

In view of these facts, a broad conference is being called to determine what action can be taken to insure the fullest and most truthful expression of Negro life, and to provide equal job opportunities at equal pay for qualified Negro men and women.

ON JULY 9TH, 1949 - AT 1:00 PM - IN THE SKYLINE ROOM OF THE HOTEL THERESA, 125TH STREET AND 7TH AVENUE - THE CONFERENCE WILL BEGIN.

It is the opinion of this Committee that your endorsement of the conference will help to ensure the successful determination of this perplexing problem. We ask that you sign and return to us immediately the enclosed card.

Cordially yours,

For the Committee

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
SHIRLEY GRAHAM
DOROTHY PARKER
THEODORE WARD
FREDI WASHINGTON

Encl: "Call to Conference"
Sponsors' Card

Jos. American Activities Comm.

COMMITTEE OF THE 25

VICTIMS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

SUITE 1503 • 192 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y. • LE 2-3430

May 15, 1950

DR. JACOB AUSLANDER
DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY
ALVAH BESSIE
HERBERT BIBERMAN
PROF. LYMAN R. BRADLEY
HELEN R. BRYAN
LESTER COLE
EUGENE DENNIS
EDWARD DMYTRYK
HOWARD FAST
ERNESTINA FLEISCHMAN
LEON JOSEPHSON
HARRY M. JUSTIZ
RING LARDNER, JR.
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
JAMES LUSTIG
MANUEL MAGANA
ALBERT MALTZ
GEORGE MARSHALL
DR. LOUIS MILLER
RICHARD MORFORD
SAMUEL ORNITZ
ADRIAN SCOTT
CHARLOTTE STERN
DALTON TRUMBO

24-10-40

Dear Dr. DuBois -

Thank you for adding your signature to the petition presented to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. I am happy to tell you that despite the shortness of time, more than fifty distinguished people have signed it, and more acceptances continue to arrive.

The occasion was quite successful in terms of the impression made on both the U.N. and the press. Our delegation was well received, and the Human Rights Commission will review the petition. You may have seen some of the press coverage in the New York papers - reports in both the Times and Tribune were complete and unbiased.

In case you have not already been informed, Mr. Stone made a few last-minute changes in the style of the petition. As a writer, he felt that these would improve the effect without in any way altering its basic content.

Thank you again for your forthright stand in this matter. With the courageous support of citizens like you, we can hope to get some word to the American people of the danger of their liberties.

Cordially,

John Howard Lawson

John Howard Lawson

JHL/mro

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: FREEDOM FUND

Un American Committee

COMMITTEE OF THE 25

VICTIMS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

SUITE 1503 • 192 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y. • LE 2-3430

May 18, 1950

DR. JACOB AUSLANDER
DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY
ALVAH BESSIE
HERBERT BIBERMAN
PROF. LYMAN R. BRADLEY
HELEN R. BRYAN
LESTER COLE
EUGENE DENNIS
EDWARD DMYTRYK
HOWARD FAST
ERNESTINA FLEISCHMAN
LEON JOSEPHSON
HARRY M. JUSTIZ
RING LARDNER, JR.
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
JAMES LUSTIG
MANUEL MAGANA
ALBERT MALTZ
GEORGE MARSHALL
DR. LOUIS MILLER
RICHARD MORFORD
SAMUEL ORNITZ
ADRIAN SCOTT
CHARLOTTE STERN
DALTON TRUMBO

24-19-39

Dear friend;

Since our last letter to you, we have had many inquiries about the petition presented to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. Public interest in the document is growing steadily.

As a result, we should like to print it in booklet form for wider circulation to individuals and groups interested in the cause of human rights and peace.

May we have your permission to do so? If we do not hear from you to the contrary by May 25, we will proceed with our plans for the printing.

Cordially yours,

John Howard Lawson

JHL/mrc
uopwa-19

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: FREEDOM FUND

April 11, 1950

TWO YEARS AGO, IN CHILE, a poet was driven into exile; a representative of the people, an elected Senator, was proscribed and forced to flee from his country; proscribed by the man he helped put in office. Pablo Neruda, the great Chilean poet, raised his voice against the tyranny of the President of Chile, Gonzalez Videla, and for that reason was stripped of office, indicted, and forced to go into hiding.

And now the government of the United States, through its President, is about to honor the man who is responsible for this outrage among other outrages. On the 12th of April, in the special plane of the President of the United States, Gonzalez Videla will come to this country as an honored guest.

Before his exile, Pablo Neruda sent a letter to his friends throughout the Americas, in which he outlined the internal situation in Chile - outlined it in defiance of the country's iron-clad censorship. Neruda, speaking for his outraged fellow countrymen, accused the President of Chile, elected as an anti-fascist by a tremendous popular vote, of betraying the people of Chile to a handful of feudal landlords and to dollar imperialism. He gave facts and figures on the suppression of civil liberties, the destruction of trade unions, virtual slave labor under what amounted to martial law, the setting up of concentration camps for political prisoners, and the inclusion of Nazis once prominent in Germany in the Chilean government and police.

For this he was ordered arrested and stripped of his parliamentary immunity in order that he might stand trial. He escaped, and the people hid him until he was able to leave the country and seek safety abroad.

We, writers and artists, have protested before against the persecution of Pablo Neruda. We now protest the implications of the reception which is about to be accorded to Gonzalez Videla, the dictator of Chile. We wish to speak again, recognizing the historical meanings of the action of our government; we wish, in all respect, to call the attention of our own President to the character of the man who is about to be his guest; we wish to call to the attention of the American people the announced reception and its meaning. Hoping that at this last moment the President's invitation may still be cancelled we ask the American people to take appropriate action in keeping with our own great democratic tradition; to protest and refuse to receive Gonzalez Videla in this country.

SIGNED: Benjamin Appel, Herbert Aptheker, Elizabeth Aarons, Thomas Bell, Millen Brand, Dorothy Brewster, Robert Carse, John Ciardi, Herman Cherry, Richard Crane, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Arnaud d'Usseau, Theodore A. Emanuel, Howard Fast, Lion Feuchtwanger, Philip S. Foner, Mike Gold, Ruth C. Gutman, Dashiell Hammett, Louis Harap, Serge Hovey, Rackham Holt, Charles Humboldt, John Howard Lawson, Alfred Kreymborg, Alan Lomax, Charles A. Madison, E. Louise Mally, Marianne Moore, Celeste Newman, Robert Morse Lovett, Shaemus O'Sheel, Anton Refrigier, Muriel Rukeyser, Anthoney Toney, Dr. Margaret Schlauch, Samuel Sillen, Lyman Beecher Stowe, Donald Ogden Stewart, Edna Amadon Toney, Louis Untermeyer, Ira Wallach, Eda Lou Walton, Chandler Whipple, Gene Weltfish, Solita Solano Wilkinson, Maxine Wood, and Len Zinberg.

Committee of Writers and Artists
c/o Louise Mally
210 West 17th Street
New York, New York

STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

vote ROW C

COMMITTEE TO ELECT

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

CANDIDATES

17 MURRAY STREET, New York 7, N. Y.
WOrth 4-8153

October 21, 1950

Dr. William E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been asked by Mr. Abe Zeitz, who is in charge of the program for our Madison Square Garden Rally, to be held Tuesday, October 24th, to advise you concerning final arrangements, and particularly your part in the program.

The program schedule calls for you to speak for exactly 15 minutes.

You are scheduled to start your talk at 10:20 PM sharp. Would you please be at the Garden at 9:45 PM?

We are naturally sorry if this kind of a schedule appears to be placing an undue strain on our candidates but we know you will understand when we say that only with such an arrangement can we carry through such a program whose smoothness and efficiency depends totally on split second timing.

Enclosed are two Guest Passes, which will be honored at the stage door of Madison Square Garden. Kindly ask for Miss Peck at the stage door and you will be shown to your seats.

If you desire any further information concerning the Garden Rally program, please call me as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Kaufman

Dorothy Kaufman

Fed Comp

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

January 6, 1950

Dr. William E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are looking forward to the address that you are to give at the Community Church of Boston on Sunday morning, February 12th. Would it be possible for you to send me the subject that you would like to use on this occasion? You might like to send me two or three subjects, permitting us to choose.

Please note that our services are now held at the new John Hancock Hall, a block and a half away from our Parish House in Copley Square.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DGL/DLS

DONALD G. LOTHROP

24-6-28-91

January 6, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Rev. Lothrop:

You have not yet answered my inquiry as to the subject of my lecture February.

May I suggest one of the following subjects:

The American Negro, 1900-1950
Reconstruction, 75 years after
The Question of Colonies
The United States and Russia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

January 11, 1950

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for sending me the subjects. We have chosen the first one, namely "The American Negro, 1900-1950".

Would you be good enough to send me half a dozen single column newspaper mats and three glossies?

We are looking forward to hearing you on Sunday morning, February 12th.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

Sent 1/13/50

Lech Compass

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
Minister
REV. CLARENCE R. SKINNER, Litt.D
Minister Emeritus

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON, 16, MASSACHUSETTS
TELEPHONE COmmonwealth 6-6710

Feb. 14, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for coming to Boston to bring us the splendid message which you did last Sunday. It was a great privilege to welcome you back to the pulpit of The Community Church. We do hope that you can be with us again next year.

Sincerely,

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

24-12-22

February 16, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Lothrop:

I thank you very much for the audience which you gave me last Sunday.

I enjoyed speaking and talking with them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-12-11

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

November 8, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Would you be free to come to Boston to occupy the pulpit of The Community Church on Sunday morning, December 31st? Mr. Paul Blanshard, who was to have occupied our pulpit on that occasion, has had to delay his coming to us for another month or two by virtue of a new book which he must prepare to meet a printer's deadline.

We would certainly appreciate it if you could be with us. You could take an entirely different subject from the one you took last year and feel perfectly free to choose it. It was a real privilege to have had you with us and we are looking forward to having you once again. We will of course provide the same honorarium which we did before.

Do you have two or three spare newspaper mats that you might send me? I need one particularly for the Church News Letter that goes out shortly.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DGL/DLS

DONALD G. LOTHROP

24-7-12

And Nov 21
Yes

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

November 14, 1950

Miss Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Miss Murphy:

Is there any way we can reach Dr. Du Bois by wire? We get out a monthly newsletter and that is the reason why it would be real helpful if we could find out about Dr. DuBois' availability sooner than by the time he returns. December 1st makes it beyond the deadline for the printing of the December issue.

Can you help me?

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

24-7-10

November 17, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

I regret that I am unable to give you Dr. Du Bois' address, unfortunately I do not have it my self. He said he would be back in the office on November 27. I had a letter from him yesterday, but all I can say is that it was mailed from Wilmington, Delaware.

However, I do know that he is interested in speaking for you, and if the 27th is not too late; you will be able to reach him here.

I am sorry not to be of more help.

Sincerely,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

November 22, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

In view of the fact that the 31st of December is a holiday week-end, I don't believe it would be acceptable for Dr. Du Bois.

However, he will be in the office Monday, November 27, I think it would be better if you waited and talked with him or until I can explain to him and he can make his own decision.

Very sincerely,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

24-7-4

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

November 24, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of November 21st. It arrived the day after we had completed arrangements for filling December 31st. However, in the meantime Mr. Michael Straight, who was to have occupied our pulpit on December 3rd, has had to postpone his coming to us until later. Consequently this date is open. I realize it is a close call both for you and for us. It would be grand if you could come to us on the third.

Would you kindly wire or telephone me as soon as you receive this letter? The office phone is the above, and I will be here Saturday morning. If you receive the letter later, you may send the wire to my home address, 46 Williams Street, Brookline. Telephone ASpinwall 7-9576. I will certainly appreciate hearing from you as it will not be too late for me to send out my newspaper stories and make the other necessary arrangements. I am assuming of course that you will return from your journey by Sunday at least. Your secretary did say that you would be in your office on Monday.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

P.S. If you wire, please send subject.
D.G.L.

Sorry but Dec 3 is impossible
WEBD

24-7-13

November 27, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

I am sorry my absence has made you so much trouble. Unfortunately I cannot leave my desk again during the month of December.

I am very sorry not to have been able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Oct. 1951

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

November 29, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were sorry that you could not be with us in December. Perhaps you would like to come on the same Sunday that you came last year. We still have open February 11th. I will hold it until I hear from you.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

24-7-14

I shall be glad to do for you
if I'll Unless Conyste — now
unforseen arise.

V.S.Y.

December 6, 1950

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

I shall be glad to speak for you February 11, 1951, unless complications now unforeseen arise.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-7-15

[1]

God bless our native land
May heaven's protecting hand
Still guard our shore.
May peace her power extend,
Foe be transformed to friend,
And all our rights depend
On war no more.

May just and righteous laws
Uphold the public cause,
And peaceful reign.
Home of the brave and free,
Stronghold of liberty —
We pray that still on thee
There be no stain.

And not this land alone,
But be thy mercies known
From shore to shore;
Lord, make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family
The wide world o'er.

Tune: America — William Edward Hickson, 1836

[2]

God save America, New world of glory,
Newborn to freedom and knowledge and power,
Lifting the towers of her lightening-lit cities
Where the flood-tides of humanity roar.

God save America! Here may all races
Mingle together as children of God,
Founding an empire on brotherly kindness,
Equal in liberty, made of one blood!

God save America! Bearing the olive,
Hers be the blessing the peacemakers prove,
Calling the nations to glad federation,
Leading the world in the triumph of love!

Tune: Russia — William Gay Ballantine, 1912

[3]

With clearer minds we see a world united,
With stronger faith we face the task beyond.
A challenge sounds. Around the world it echoes,
All minds alert! Let every heart respond,
Till man's ALL CLEAR, throughout the world resounding,
Makes way for Life to yield its best for all.

Tune: Finlandia — Marian Katherine Brown, 1946

The Community Church of Boston

[Non-Sectarian]

JOHN HANCOCK HALL

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP, *minister*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1950

10:30 A. M.

Invocation	*Wagner*
Romance	*Tours*
Aria	*Mozart*

Edith Weinbaum, soprano
Arthur Lang, organist

10:45 A. M. ORDER OF SERVICE

INVOCATION	—	
HYMN (1)	—	"God bless our native land"
READING	—	
* * * *		
INTERLUDE	—	Praise the Lord — *Wesley*
PRAYER	—	
RESPONSE	—	[BY PEOPLE WITH ORGAN] **Great Spirit, clear our vision now,** **Inspire our minds this hour.** **Through truth revealed, through faith released,** **Oh guide our use of power!**
* * * *		
NOTICES	—	
OFFERTORY	—	Fear not ye, O Israel — *Buck*
HYMN (2)	—	"God save America, New world of glory"
ADDRESS	—	**REV. HARRY F. WARD, D.D.** Professor Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary, Formerly Chairman, Methodist Federation of Social Welfare **"Is Peaceful Co-existence between the Capitalist and Socialist Systems Possible?"**
HYMN (3)	—	"With clearer minds we see a world united"
BENEDICTION	—	
POSTLUDE	—	Allegro — *Haydn*

NOTICE—Quiet During Music! Please do not disturb those near you by talking during the music. Please refrain from applause during the address. It is requested that all remain until after the Benediction.

*** * * * At this time those who have arrived late will be seated by the ushers.**

FORUM 12:00 - 12:30 P. M.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Community Church is a free fellowship of men and women united for the study and practice of universal religion, seeking to apply ethical ideals to individual life and the democratic and co-operative principle to all forms of social and economic life.

Future Speakers - John Hancock Hall - 10:30 A. M.

Dec. 24—The Rt. Rev. NORMAN B. NASH, D.D.
Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts
Formerly, Faculty, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and Former Rector, St. Paul's School
"Christmas: Why and What?"

Dec. 31—The Hon. O. JOHN ROGGE
Just returned from Sheffield-Warsaw Peace Conference
Former Asst. U. S. Attorney General
"The Struggle for Peace"

Jan. 7—DR. SCOTT NEARING
Sociologist, Author of "Whither China" and "The Revolution of Our Time"
"The War in Asia"

Jan. 14—Symposium: "IS HUMANISM AN ADEQUATE PHILOSOPHY?"
Speakers: **DR. CORLISS LAMONT**, Author of "The Philosophy of Humanism"
DR. EDWIN P. BOOTH, Prof. of Historical Theology, B. U., Author of "Life of Martin Luther"

Jan. 21—THE HON. HENRY A. WALLACE
"March of the Common Man—Destructive or Constructive?"

Rev. Mr. Lothrop is available for weddings, funerals, and personal consultation on call. He has office hours at The Community Church Center on Wednesday and Saturday mornings from 9 to 12, when he will be able to meet any of the church members or friends who may wish to consult him. Office phone COm 6-6710. Residence, 46 Williams Street, Brookline. Home phone ASpinwall 7-9576.

MARRIAGE CONSULTATION SERVICE by appointment, Call COm 6-6710. All appointments are made for Wednesday evenings if possible, or for Thursdays from 11 to 2 if necessary.

This Church is a free church supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who believe in its ideals and work. The Finance Committee is now working on the financial program for the 1950-51 budget. Please make your pledge or contribution TODAY.

ESTIMATED BUDGET 1950-1951

Estimated Expenses	$21,696.00
Estimated Income (Open Sunday Collections and Group Activities)	8,150.00
Amount which must be raised in individual contributions and pledges	13,546.00
Amount contributed or pledged to date (299 persons)	5,850.00
Amount still needed in individual pledges and contributions to balance the budget	**$ 7,696.00**

Please fill in and sign the pledge card below, tear out and leave it at Secretary's Table in the lobby, or mail to The Community Church, 565 Boylston St., Boston 16.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY AND ZONE ..... **STATE** .....

PHONE ..... **Date** .....

Mr. H. Leon Sharmat, Treas.

I hereby agree to contribute to the support of THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF BOSTON for the season (Oct. 1, 1950 to Sept. 30, 1951) subject to my right to cancel if necessary, the total sum of $..... to be paid ( ) now ( ) weekly ( ) monthly or as follows:.....

Calendar of Events

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER — 565 BOYLSTON ST. [Copley Sq.] BOSTON

FELLOWSHIP OPEN HOUSE

TODAY AT 3:30 P.M.

"THE OLD ARE EVER YOUNG"

SPEAKER

MISS REBECCA W. GRIEST

Director, Friendly Folk, South End House

Moving Picture — "LIFE WITH GRANDPA"

Tea will be served — Hostess, Mrs. Ione Riedel

Dec. 17—(TONIGHT)—7:30 P. M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY, CHRISTMAS-CHANUKAH SOCIAL.

Dec. 31—(SUNDAY)—3:30 P.M. THE COMMUNITY POETRY GROUP. Writers' Section. Mrs. Claudia Harris, director, Mr. J. Martin Davis, chairman of the day. All poetry lovers are invited to bring original and favorite poems and participate.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

If you believe in the purpose and work of The Community Church of Boston and are willing to sign the following Bond of Union

"We, the undersigned, accepting the stated purpose of this Church do join ourselves together that we may help one another, may multiply the power of each through mutual fellowship and may thereby promote most effectively the cause of truth, righteousness and love in the world."

you are cordially invited to become members of this Church. The Church Book may be found at the Secretary's table in the lobby. A convenient time to sign is afforded after the close of the service or after the Forum period.

SPECIAL NOTICE

Any couple who would like to entertain a foreign student for Christmas Dinner please notify Church Office, COm 6-6710. Arrangements are being made by the Race Relations Committee to provide hospitality for students who are far away from their homeland. A student of the nationality of the host may be procured if so indicated.

If you are not receiving at the present time **The Community Church News**, and would to have your name on our mailing list, please fill in the blank below, tear off and leave it at the Secretary's Table in the Lobby or mail to The Community Church Center, 565 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

Please Print Mr.
Mrs. .....
Miss

Phone Street .....

City and Zone number .....

State .....

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

December 21, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

May we list for the subject of your address at the Community Church on Sunday morning, February 11th, "The Rise of the Colonial Peoples"? If you prefer another one do not hesitate to suggest it.

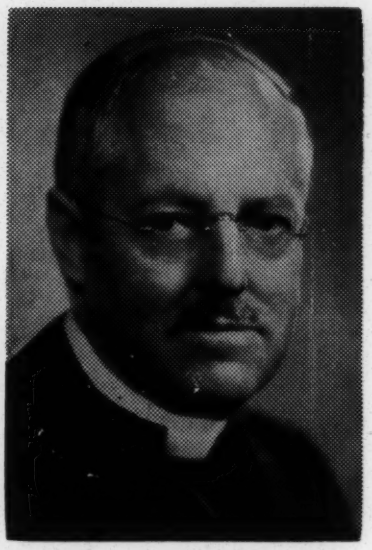
Would it be possible for you to send me a mat or two, single column newspaper? I want to use it for our Church News and for a flier which we issue each month, a sample copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely,

DONALD G. LOTHROP

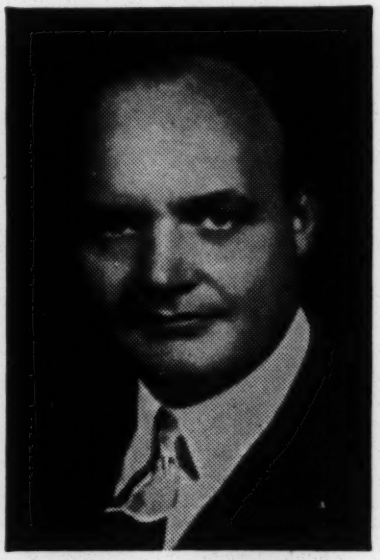
DGL/DLS

248-28-121



RT. REV. NORMAN B. NASH, D.D.

REV. RAYMOND B. BRAGG



HON. O. JOHN ROGGE

The Community Church of Boston

[Non-Sectarian]

John Hancock Hall

(CORNER BERKELEY & STUART STREETS)

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP, Minister

1920 — Thirtieth Anniversary Year — 1950

SUNDAYS at 10:30 A. M.

Dec. 3—Rev. Raymond B. Bragg

Director Unitarian Service Com., Formely Minister of Unitarian Church, Minneapolis, Minn.

"G. B. Shaw's 'Appeal to Reason'"

Dec. 10—Rev. Donald G. Lothrop

"Mixed Marriages"

Dec. 17—Rev. Harry F. Ward, D.D.

Prof. Emeritus, Union Theological School; Formerly Chairman Methodist Federation for Social Welfare

"Is Peaceful Co-existence between the Capitalist and Sociailist Systems Possible?"

Dec. 24—The Rt. Rev. Norman B. Nash, D.D.

Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Mass., Formerly, Faculty, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and Former Rector, St. Paul's School

"Christmas: Why and What?"

Dec. 31—The Hon. O. John Rogge

Just returned from Sheffield-Warsaw Peace Conference; Former Asst. U. S. Attorney General

"The Struggle for Peace"

Question Period after the Meeting

FUTURE SPEAKERS

JUDGE THURMAN ARNOLD
ROGER N. BALDWIN
PAUL BLANSHARD
RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER
DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
THE HON. HAROLD L. ICKES
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
DR. CORLISS LAMONT
DR. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
DR. SCOTT NEARING
HER EXCELLENCY MADAME VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
THE HON. HENRY A. WALLACE
DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER

565 BOYLSTON STREET BOSTON 16, MASS.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
(Against the Mundt and Ferguson Bills)
1050 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
PEnnsylvania 6-4973

Chairman
STANLEY M. ISAACS

Secretary
MARIAN WYNN PERRY

James E. Allen
William T. Andrews
Dr. Algernon D. Black
Louis B. Boudin
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
Rev. J. Henry Carpenter
Rabbi J. X. Cohen
Elijah Crump
Olin Downes
W. E. B. DuBois
Henry Pratt Fairchild
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Helen Hall
Bernard Harkavy
Jules J. Justin
Frank E. Karelsen, Jr.
Nathan B. Kogan
Rev. John Howard Lathrop
Robert S. Lynd
Arthur Miller
Broadus Mitchell
Fred G. Moritt
Michael M. Nisselson
Paul O'Dwyer
Nathaniel Phillips
Rev. James H. Robinson
O. John Rogge
Paul L. Ross
Randolph B. Smith
Mark Van Doren
J. Raymond Walsh
David L. Weissman
James Waterman Wise

March 8, 1950

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The action of the Senate Judiciary Committee approving the Mundt Bill renews the threat to our democratic institutions which we faced when the Conference Against the Mundt and Ferguson Bills was organized and held on Thursday, June 16, 1949.

You sponsored that Conference and I write to advise you that I have written a letter, copy of which is attached, to both Senator Ives and Senator Lehman. It is of the utmost importance that everyone interested in the maintenance of free democratic institutions take immediate and vigorous action to urge that these bills be defeated. I hope you, too, will write to your senators, asking them to oppose the bills.

Sincerely yours,

STANLEY M. ISAACS

SMI:c

24-3-47

COPY

March 6, 1950

Hon. Irving M. Ives
Member of The Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Irving:

In June last, a Conference of which I acted as Chairman, and Marian Wynn Perry as Secretary, sponsored by those whose names are listed on the leaflet enclosed, voted unanimously its disapproval of the then pending Mundt and Ferguson bills.

I am certain that similar disapproval would be voiced by the same group today of the present measures, which differ very little from their predecessors. They are equally unsound, violating the Bill of Rights, menacing wholly legitimate organizations, threatening those who organize to voice their opinions in true American fashion. The passage of these measures would do little or nothing to restrain subversive activities, and much to discourage organized expression by American citizens desirous of being heard in favor of or in opposition to proposed legislation and contemplated governmental action. Accordingly, I am writing to you to urge that you oppose these measures and endeavor to prevent their passage.

I enclose report of the Committee on Federal Legislation of the Association of the Bar of this City, just issued, which will be submitted to the meeting of the Association itself on March 14th. I am confident its reasoning and its conclusions will be approved by the Association.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley M. Isaacs

SMI:MS

ATTENTION: John Darr

CONFERENCE GROUP OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE UNITED NATIONS
Minutes of Meeting, July 26,1950

A meeting of the Conference Group of National Organizations was held on Wednesday, July 26, 1950 at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation to discuss (1) the Korea Conflict (2) the Stockholm Resolution and (3) the "Peoples' to Peoples' Service" proposal made at the meeting of June 19th.

The Chairman opened the meeting and reported the widespread interest that the Group had created. Three organizations had requested membership in the Group: the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Citizens' Conference for International Economic Unity, and the Post-War World Council. On the basis of Conference Committee recommendations, a motion was made and passed to have the National Jewish Welfare Board admitted to the Group. Concerning the other two organizations, it was agreed that the Conference Committee should obtain information about them and report back to the Group at a future meeting.

KOREA CONFLICT

The chairman reportedthat he had received about twelve responses from organizations to his request for statements made by organizations or their officers re the Korea situation. He suggested that they could be mimeographed and circulated. Mrs. Sporborg felt that it would be stimulating to other organizations and made a motion which was seconded and passed, that this action be taken. Since statements are still coming in, Mr. Davis suggested that we start mimeographing what we have and in two or three weeks mailing out any new statements.

Mr. Williams of the U.S.Mission emphasized that this would be useful and asked whether texts could be exchanged with other countries by participants in the Group who were affiliated with international organizations who might inform their international committees in order to stimulate similar action in their own countries. The Chairman suggested that we might send the mimeographed copies of resolutions to the Interim Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations for distribution to its list of correspondents. Mr. Rubinow made a motion supporting this suggestion, which was seconded and passed.

STOCKHOLM RESOLUTION

Mr. Eichelberger said that up until recently he had resisted the idea of an answer to theis petition becauuse it puts us on the defensive. A great many people have signed it, either under duress or not reliazing its sponroship, because hope of abolishing the atomic bomb is a normal impulse and desire. We regret they didn't go further and condemn acts of aggression also. He then described the action taken by Wallace Carroll, editor of the Sentinel, in Winston-Salem, N.C. in publishing a petition in which there was no reference to the Stockholm Resolution. He received 3,000 answers and this halted the circulation of the Stockholm petitions in Winston-Salem. A group of newspapermen have formed a committee to try and make a nation-wide appeal along like lines. They are drafting a pledge which they proposeeto publish simultaneously for one week in daily papers all over the country. They would like each non-governmental organization to support this by urging local memberships to ask local editors to run this in their newspapers, and local radio stations to publicize it. All the technicalities involved can be worked out in cooperation with the NGO's. If organizations representing millions of people endorsed it, we would have a positive alternative to the Stockholm Resolution. Mr.Eichelberger then read the petition, comments were made to the effect that any counter action to the Stockholm Resolution might seem to put us on the defensive and that it might best be ignored except for exposing it as what it is actually.

Also a few changes in the text were suggested. A summary of these suggestions follows:

a. Reverse order of resolutions, since Point 2 is more urgent today.

b. Idea for statement proposing the abolition of tanks, as well as the atom bomb, since that is what is being used in Korea today. There was disagreement with this view, since it was pointed out that statements of this nature have been and will be distorted beyond any resemblance to original meaning by the Communist press.

c. Urge making clear that current action is against aggression, since so many misconceptions of our intent are being circulated.

d. Caution was urged in regard to mention of the 38th parallel, since it is difficult to foresee what action may be necessary in the future.

e. Suggestion was made that the statement "effective UN action to resist aggression anywhere" is not clearly defined. There are areas of disagreement as to waht is effective. Some reference might be made to a "neutral mediator." Also to offset emphasis on the military action of UN, mention should be made of hope for honorable settlements of disputes.

f. It was pointed out that the effect of the Stockholm Resolution in this country is negligible; however, in Europe it had created an impression because no alternative to it existed. There was need for something aimed at giving Europeans confidence and an alternative with clear and constructive meaning.

The chairman commented that all suggestions would be considered by Newspaper Committee and it was agreed that the group participants would receive the official text when it is available for consideration by their organizations as to any steps they might take to call it to attention.

PEOPLES' TO PEOPLES' SERVICE

Mr. Eichelberger, who had originally presented this proposal, gave a short summary of the ideas for this service. He added that many of these, such as exchanges of people, have become out of date in view of the Korea situation. It did not seem feasible to burden the UN staff with this type of work during the present emergency. Some of the original ideas, particularly the peoples radio, were, however, more important than ever before. The Group felt that reconsideration should be given to the plan. A motion was made, seconded and passed, that the Conference Committee further explore the plan and report the results to the next Group meeting.

GENERAL

Mr. Fagley gave information of a meeting that he had with a staff member of the Korean Embassy in Washington who is concerend about relief for the Korean people. For the time being everything that can be done has to be done by the army, but the Korean representative had been receiving spontaneous contributions from American citizens. It is not desirable to handle this through the Embassy, and the question was whether anybody had knowledge of any relief plans being organized. Lacking

In

information, it was decided to consult with agencies on this and bring the subject up at the next meeting.

Concerning the Korean situation, there was reference also to a statement by Frank C. Nash, U. S. representative in the U. N. Commission for Conventional Armaments, that it would have been impossible for any power to have built up an aggressive force without detection if an effective system of safeguards had existed. Some discussion was held on the Baruch Plan on atomic energy. There were inquiries whether it could re-examine the original policy of not committing the Group to any stands, in the light of recent happenings. There was a show of hands as to which organizations supported the Baruch Plan. Further discussion dealt with the disirability of linking atomic energy proposals with armament limitation and reduction under permanent internati n inspection and enforceable control.

In response to suggestions, the Chairman put the question whether the Group would like to have another meeting before September. With a favorable indication, it was suggested that organizations get in touch with the Chairman and let him know what subjects they would propose for consideration, and an attempt would then be made to set a time in August. The meeting was then adjourned.

Malcolm W. Davis, Chairman

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING

American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education	Mr. E. S. Evenden
American Assoc. for the U. N.	Mr. Clark Eic elberger Miss Margaret Olson
American Assoc. of University Women	Miss Frances L. McGillicuddy
American Council on Education	Miss Ethel F. Huggard
American Freinds Service Committee	Mr. Elmore Jackson Mr. Charles R. Read
American Jewish Committee	Mr. Sidney Liskofsky
American Labor Conference on Int'l Affairs	Miss Raphael R. Abramovitch
American Women's Coluntary Services	Mrs. Frances M. Freeman
Assoc. of Junior Leagues	Mrs. Lee L. Cornell
B'ani B'rith	Mr. Stanley D. Halperin
Boy Scouts of America	Mr. Thomas Keane
Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace	Mr. Malcolm W. Davis
Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Earl F. Cruickshank

Church Peace Union and World Alliance	Mr. Walter S. Head
Citizens Conf. on Int'l Economic Union	Mr. ~~Walter~~ Nelson Dengston
Common Council for American Unity	Mr. Read Lewis
Country Women's Council	Miss Adelaide F. Barts
Foreign Policy Assoc.	Miss Eileen Lusk
Gen. Federation of Women's Clubs	Mrs. Constance A. Sporborg
Hadassah-Women's Zionist Org. of America	Miss Elvira Michaels
League of Women Voters	Mrs. Zelia P. Reubhausen
League for Industrial Democracy ~~League~~ ~~League For Industrial D~~	Mr. Samual R. Friedman
Lions Int'l	Mr. Alexander T. Wells
Jewish War Veterans of the U. S.	Mr. Burton S. Cooper
Metroplitan Opera Guild Un. N. Commitee	Mrs. Frances Flynn Paine
Nat'l Assoc. of Manufacturers	Miss Vada Horsch
Nat'l Assoc. of Women Lawyers	Miss Dorothy Groeling
Natl Catholic Welfare Conf.	Miss Catherine Schaefer
Nat'l Grange	Mr. Franklin C. Nixon
Nat'l Citizen's Committee for Un. N. Day	Mr. Philip Schiff
Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews	Mrs/Raymond Rubinow
Nat'l Council of Catholic Women	Miss Martha M. Fuhrer
Nat'l Council of Jewish Women	Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein Mrs. Adolf Robison
Nat'l Fed. o Business & Prof. Women's Clubs	Miss Helen Hoffman

L-16-24

Nat'l Federation of Temple Sisterhoods	Mrs. Harrison Thomas
Nat'l Negro Assoc. of Business & Prof. Women's clubs	Mrs. Florence Madison Hill
Nat'l Peace Conference	Mrs. Bertha V. Louis
Gilr Scouts of the U. S. A.	Dr. Mary S. Hayes
Synagogue Council of America	Rabbi Hirsch E. L. Freund
Town Hall Club, Inc.	Mr. E. R. Lerbert
United Commercial Travelers	Mr. James G. Daly
United Council of Church Women	Miss Luella Reckmeyer
United States Council of the Interstae Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Curtis J. Hoxter
United States Dept. of Agriculture	Mr. E. W. ~~Aiton~~ Aiton
United States Jr. Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Thomas B. Noble
United States Mission to the U. N.	Mr. Chester Williams
United World Federalists	Mr. Cord Mayer
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S.	Col George E. Arneman
Women's Int'l League for Peace and Freedom	Miss Gladys D. Walser
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America	Mr. Richard M. Fagley

8/-11-18

January 20, 1950

Mr. Stanley J. Beyer
Vice-President-Senior League
Congregation Ohab Zedek
118 West 95 Street
New York 25, New York

28-44-38

Dear Mr. Beyer:

Referring to your letters of November 9 and 22, may I say that I shall be unable to address your group this Spring, as I have already accepted as many lectures as I shall be able to fill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Corres. B

December 7, 1950

Mr. Stanley J. Beyer
325 Riverside Drive
New York 25, New York

My dear Sir:

I am returning the enclosed documents to you, as I am sure you will want to keep them.

I was glad to have the opportunity of seeing them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Documents

24-5-35

Bills

24-1-18

September 18, 1950

Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.
P. O. Box No. 138, Cooper Station
New York 3, New York

Gentlemen:

The enclosed bill is wrong. From August 14, until September 13, I was absent from my apartment in Europe, and consumed no electric or gas during that time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Tech Coun

the cooperative Bookshop

telephone REpublic 4843

75

Washington, D. C.
523 6th Street N. W.
January 13, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 46th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have written to you before inviting you to speak for us at a meeting commemorating Negro History Week. Your reply to our request was that it was too early at that time for you to give a definite commitment.

We are planning our meeting for Friday, February the 17th, and we would very much like to have you as our speaker of the evening. If you can plan to be with us, we would appreciate having an early reply, so that we can make the necessary arrangements for publicity, etc.

Also, would you please send us biographical information suitable for advance publicity for the meeting, and also give us an idea of the cost of your talk. We know that you are acquainted with the financial problem the bookshop continually faces because of its progressive program.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Very sincerely,
Ray Pinkston, by SB
Ray Pinkston, Chairman
Forum Committee

24-12-24

I am very sorry but I can take no further engagements in Md.

January 18, 1950

Mr. Ray Pinkston, Chairman
Forum Committee
The Cooperative Bookshop
823 6th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pinkston:

I am sorry but I can take no further engagements in February.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

52-6-47

TELEPHONE CHELSEA 3-1390

Personal Finance

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

DUNHAM B. SHERER
CHAIRMAN
RALPH PETERS, JR.
PRESIDENT
JOHN R. McWILLIAM
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

JOHN SUTTER
MANAGER
GEORGE J. KRYGIER
ASST. MANAGER

FIFTH AVENUE BRANCH
FIFTH AVENUE AND 20TH STREET

NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

May 9, 1950

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The balance of your account as of May 8, 1950 was $958.94.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

John Sutter
Manager

JS:IT

24-8-16

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 17, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe
New York
New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I am sure that I sent Sorokin a copy of our important article when it came out but, of course, we all know what happens to things like that!

Note well the letterhead. Harvard has apparently joined the confraternity of church schools in Georgia and Mississippi.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Rushton Coulborn

Rushton Coulborn
Chairman
Department of History

enclosure

P. S. I am sending Sorokin some reprints.

24-8-41

C
O
P
Y

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Research Center in Altruistic Integration

And Creativity

Pitirim A. Sorokin,
Director

Emerson Hall
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Professor Rushton Coulborn and
Professor W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

With my humblest apology, only to-day I "discovered" and read your thoughtful paper about my Dynamics, in the Journal of Modern of Modern History. Possibly some of your ciriticisms are based upon a misunderstanding of my notions, possibly some others can be answered, but on the whole your criticism is thoughtful and fruitful. I wonder as to whether you may have a reprint of your article. If you have, I would be very grateful to you if you find it possible to send one or more copies of it to me. I would be glad to pay any expense involved.

By the way, in my forthcoming Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis (a comparative and critical analysis of the theories of Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, Northrop, Kroeber, Schubar, Berduaev, Schweitzer etc.) - the volume is an extended version of my Cole lectures to be delivered at Vanderbilt University at its 75th anniversary, April 16-21, 1950 - I try to indicate (besides the differences) the common core of all these theories and thus elucidate mutual relationship of these theories to one another, including also to my "yarn" (as suggested on pp. 519-21 of your study).

With my apology for the request and my appreciation of your creative criticism.

Very sincerely yours,

P. A. Sorokin

July 21, 1950

Mr. Rushton Coulborn
Chairman, Dept. of History
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Coulborn:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 17, and the copy of Sorokins' letter. He is quite impossible as a scholar it seems to me, especially with that extraordinary research center!

I hope this will find you and Mrs. Coulborn well. I am sending you a card about the death of my wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-8-42

24-15-25

W.E.B.

RUSHTON COULBORN
2197 HOWELL MILL ROAD, N. W.
HEMLOCK 6713-W
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 29, 1950

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

My wife and I are grieved to hear of Mrs. Du Bois's death, and we offer you our sincere sympathy. We have pleasant memories of her when you and she were living in the Atlanta University dormitory in 1939. You possibly do not remember it, but we lived there a lso during parts of the year, and we used to see Mrs. Du Bois occasionally as well as yourself.

Yours sincerely,

Rushton Coulborn

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

[Council on African Affairs]

Jan 3. '50

Dr. Du Bois —

Would it be possible for you to acknowledge these three contributions for the Nigerian mine strikers? — receipts to be enclosed with your letters.

The check from Alfreda Abell — a U. N. employee who is active with our Brooklyn chapter — requires your endorsement before deposit.

Alphaeus

24-6-31-15

[Council on African Affairs]

Dear Du Bois —

If Deems Taylor agrees, would you see if he approves of this letter so that it can be sent out without delay. (The hours may be changed to suit his convenience.)

If we fail there could you try to reach Olin Downes and ask him?

Alphaeus

24b-31-10

[Council on African Affairs]
[January, 1950(?)]

C
O
P
Y

Dear_____

At the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the question of human rights, specifically with reference to racial and religious persecution and discrimination, occupied a preeminent position in the debate on many of the problems upon which the delegates acted.

The extended debate on the Indian government's complaint concerning discrimination against Indians in the Union of South Africa, and the victory of getting the Assembly to take a positive stand on this matter, marked a new and important stage in international action toward aiding oppressed minority peoples. Heretofore, the sanctified doctrine of national sovereignty has prevented such action by an international agency. The welcome action on the South African issue, as some of the opponents of that action indeed argued, establishes a precedent which those of us interested in full citizenship rights for Negro and other minority peoples inthe United States, must be quick to recognize and act upon.

The barrier of national sovereignty - the international equivalent of the "states rights" obstacle to federal action in the United States toward accomplishing democratic reforms - was also overcome in the decisions of the United Nations dealing with Spain, the political rights of women, genocide and other issues. Further, a resolution was adopted calling on governments "to conform both to the letter and the spirit of the Charter" and "to take the most prompt and energetic steps" to put an immediate end to "religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination."

In the light of these circumstances there is every reason why there should be no further delay in pressing for United Nations consideration of the conditions of oppression and discrimination experienced by the Negro in the United States, which have not been remedied despite the urgent and repeated appeals to our government for corrective action.

That there is justification and popular support for bringing this question to the attention of the United Nations has already been made evident. The petition submitted to the United Nations by the National Negro Congress and the similar steps taken by the National Lawyers Guild, National Bar Association and other organizations, all demonstrate that the time is ripe for a nationally coordinated effort to get the United Nations to take action toward making the country in which the organization has made its home, a true model of democratic and just treatment of all peoples.

We feel that we must immediately plan and initiate the most effective steps to achieve this aim and, for that reason, we are inviting responsible leaders in several key organizations to meet together for the purpose of mapping our joint plans on February 8th, 2:00 P.M. at 23 West 26 Street.

I am sure you will agree that no further time must be lost in getting into action on this most important matter. We hope to have your attendance and full cooperation at the meeting on February 8th.

[Council on Afr. Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

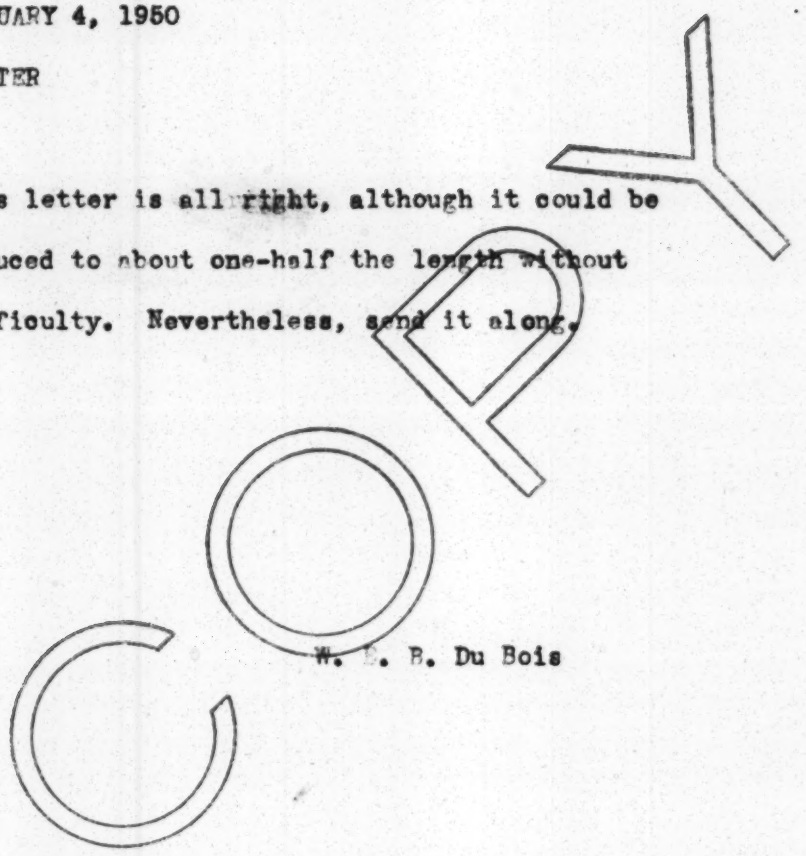
TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JANUARY 4, 1950

SUBJECT: LETTER

This letter is all right, although it could be reduced to about one-half the length without difficulty. Nevertheless, send it along.



W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lym

[Council on Afr. Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JANUARY 6, 1950

Do I need any legal advice on the attached letter? I am sending with it the previous correspondance. I was not a sponsor but a co-chairman and presided at one meeting.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lym

[Council on Afr. Affairs]

Jill Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. PATTERSON

FROM: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JANUARY 18, 1950

In July 1949, we loaned you a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, prepared for the NAACP.

It has not been returned after repeated requests.

Will you PLEASE return it immediately.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. PAUL ROBESON

FROM: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JANUARY 23, 1950

T. R. Marryshow of Granada, British West Indies is at The Hotel Theresa. I am sure you remember him and he wants to get in touch with you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lw

[Council on African Affairs]

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 9, No. 1 January, 1950

264

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

32-39-45

African Aid Committee Sends Help to Nigerian Strike Victims

African mine workers and families of those killed and injured last November by British police during the workers' strike at Enugu, Nigeria, West Africa, are receiving material help from Americans as a result of a contribution of $200 sent them by the African Aid Committee, headed by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. The A.A.C. acted in response to this urgent message from the Nigerian workers:

"We have but one appeal to make to you our brothers abroad and all freedom-loving people — your moral and financial support will highly be appreciated by the working class movement of Nigeria and Cameroon.

"The shooting of the defenseless miners at Enugu because they agitated for the good things of life has occurred, but I do assure you that whether Commission [of Inquiry] or no Commission, we of the working class will never let it go unchallenged."

A check for $200, made out to the Nigerian National Federation of Labor (N.N.F.L.) with which the Enugu mine workers are affiliated, was handed by Dr. Du Bois to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigerian leader, on January 11, during his visit in the United States. Dr. Azikiwe, on behalf of the N.N.F.L., thanked the African Aid Committee and leaders of the Council on African Affairs for their work in the interest of African freedom.

Plan to Send More Funds

In writing to the N.N.F.L., Dr. Du Bois stated that, although inadequate in relation to the needs of the Nigerian workers, the contribution should be regarded as "a tangible token of the concern of progressive Americans over the inhuman and shocking answer of the Nigerian authorities to the rightful demands of African workers for a decent living wage."

The message continued: "The African Aid Committee hopes to be able to send additional funds to help your struggles. We are sure that if the American people can be fully acquainted with the real meaning of colonial exploitation in Africa — and we are doing our best to spread this understanding — they will respond generously to your appeal and to similar ones received from other sections of Africa."

The African Aid Committee, organized in May 1949, has its headquarters at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. It is sponsored by approximately 100 prominent citizens throughout the United States. Serving with Dr. Du Bois, the Chairman, are Vice Chairmen Charlotta A. Bass, Rabbi Max Felshin, Bishop James A. Gregg, Mary Church Terrell, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.; Dr. Walter N. Beekman, Treasurer; and Victoria Garvin, Secretary.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois presenting $200 check to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe from the African Aid Committee for assistance to Enugu strike victims.

They Will Keep Up Fight, Say Nigerian Workers

"Your letter of the 2nd December has been received and we are highly impressed by the stand which you our brothers and compatriots of the Council on African Affairs have taken," writes the Nigerian National Federation of Labor, expressing thanks for the Council's pledge of support.

"We do assure you that we shall never let you down in our fight for freedom, human rights and justice."

What Happened at Enugu

The management of the government-operated coal mines refused to meet the workers' demands for basic pay of 80c a day and payment of wage arrears, although the latter had been officially approved. The workers thereupon started a slow-down strike. Management retaliated by firing 250 of the most active union members, recruiting scabs to take their places.

The miners then began a sitdown strike to keep the scabs out: they slept in the mines, their wives bringing them food and staging demonstrations against the management. Finally, on November 18, when the workers refused to move explosives from the mines, British officers without prior warning or justification issued orders to open fire on the miners. Twenty-six of them were shot dead.

Azikiwe Questions U. S. Policy in Africa; Urges Support for Africans' Freedom

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's return to the United States — his last visit was in 1947 — came at a time when the American public could most profitably listen to the message which the foremost leader of Nigeria's 30 million people had to convey concerning the meaning of present-day events in his own country and throughout Africa. But judging by the manner in which the general daily press ignored Dr. Azikiwe's presence and statements, it is clear that those ruling class circles of America who most needed to hear and heed his warning failed to do so.

Addressing the 35th anniversary conclave of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity in Washington, D. C., December 27th, three days after his arrival by plane from Nigeria, Dr. Azikiwe declared: "Throughout Black Africa a struggle for national freedom is in the offing."

Having made sacrifices in two world wars only to be cheated out of their promised freedom and democracy, he said, "the reaction of African peoples has quickened the tempo of nationalism, particularly in West Africa."

He pointed out that the broad united-front movement for national liberation in his country, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, of which he is president, at first "envisaged self-government within the framework of the British Commonwealth." But after its delegation to the Colonial Office in London in 1947 had been rebuffed, the organization "decided upon a course of action which would lead to complete independence outside the British Commonwealth."

Explosive Situation in Nigeria

He stated that "the murdering in cold blod of 26 Nigerian workers" at Enugu was a manifestation of the extreme tension existing in Nigeria, adding that "in places like Aba, Onitsha, and Port Harcourt, men, women, and children had their bodies riddled with bullets."

If these brutal shootings are whitewashed by the current official Commission of Inquiry, he said, "widespread trouble must be expected. I would not be surprised if it took the shape of guerilla warfare after the fashion of Palestine and Malaya."

While expressing his belief that "the government and the people of the United States can play a creditable role in the attempt of the African to achieve freedom in his lifetime," the Nigerian leader said, "At times I am perplexed at the role of the United States on the African continent. Is this great nation buttressing the forces of European reaction so as to manacle the people of Africa and thwart their legitimate aspirations towards nationhood?" (A partial answer appears on the next page.)

Questions About Point Four Program

Truman's Point Four Program, he stated, represented recognition that "no economic chain can be stronger than its weakest link." "But is there a deeper economic significance to the Point Four program?" he asked. "Is it possible that the underdeveloped areas contain raw material which the United States must have because the stock-pile reserves are getting dangerously low? To an African who has been conditioned to expect many strange behaviour patterns in international relations, in so far as these patterns have affected Africa, the questions seem to cast the twin shadows of doubt and fear."

In concluding his address, Dr. Azikiwe emphasized that political freedom was essential to enable the Africans to develop the natural resources of their country in the best way, raise living standards of the people, and "play a positive role in the cause of world peace."

Du Bois Warns of 19th Century Mistakes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, participated in the meeting welcoming Dr. Azikiwe. In his address, Dr. Du Bois warned that the liberation movement in British West Africa must avoid "emphasis on nationality and on investment and profit-making which if uncurbed and uncriticized may land this people in the same morass of exploitation and capitalist subjugation which has ruined the world. And, contrary to wishful thinking, it will make no difference in the end whether the masters are black or white . . ."

"In Africa, as nowhere in the world," he continued, "lies the opportunity to build an African socialism which can teach the world — on land historically held in common ownership; on labor organized in the past for social ends and not for private profit; and on education long conducted by the family and clan for the progress of the state and not mainly for the development of profitable industry. What is needed, and all that is needed, is science and technique applied to the group economy by men of unselfish determination and clear foresight.

"It is this uncompromising program which I trust Mr. Azikiwe and his co-workers will adopt. I trust they will peer across the borders of Nigeria and the Gold Coast to French West Africa where conscious effort of this very sort is already working among French and Berber Negroes; and that they will not allow the brow-beating of British Colonial officials, nor the red-baiting hysteria of America, to swerve them a single inch from these great ends.

"I pray that Mr. Azikiwe will tell Africa that although our Negro colleges and race leaders are momentarily stricken by acute lock-jaw, nevertheless we know the truth and depend upon it for you to make Africa free."

MI5, the Secret Section of the British Military Intelligence Service, is being kept busy these days investigating African strikes such as that at Enugu, West Africa, in their endeavor to uncover "Communist plots" behind the workers' demands for a living wage.

ANTI-COMMUNISM MASKS DRIVE AGAINST AFRICAN NATIONALISTS

Communism-in-Africa scare stories are barometers of the anxiety in official imperialist circles over the challenge of rising African nationalist movements. These red-scare stories at the same time are intended to justify the brutal repressive measures taken by government against these movements.

It is reported that police officials from nearly every British African colony have been summoned to Scotland Yard to receive special instructions in how to combat "Communism" in their territories. Last month the Belgian State Security Bureau released a lengthy report recommending "energetic and drastic measures" against alleged Soviet infiltration and agitation in the Congo. And French authorities have opened war, in the holy name of anti-Communism, against the militant nationalist movement in French West Africa, jailing over 700 members of the African Democratic Union (R.D.A. — Rassemblement Democratique Africain).

Several of the jailed R.D.A. leaders began hunger strikes last month in protest against their having been held in prison for ten months without trial. Simultaneously, many thousands of R.D.A. supporters gathered at protest meetings in Ivory Coast cities .At Grand-Bassam on December 24, police attacked the peaceful crowds, injuring 40 African women.

In Paris a delegation of parliamentary deputies visited President Auriol and demanded an end to the persecution of the people of the Ivory Coast.

U. S. Aids Colonial Suppression

What has all this to do with the United States? Plenty. The European imperialist powers could not tighten their policing of Africa — or continue to wage war against Malayans and Viet-Namese — without financial and military assistance from this country.

First came U. S. loans, then the Marshall Plan, then the Atlantic Pact, and last fall the $1,314,000,000 gift of arms to the Atlantic Pact allies. That's how Britain, France, and Belgium get the needed cash and guns to hold down revolts in their colonies.

In testifying against the Atlantic Pact last spring at the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs warned that this treaty represented, among other things, an alliance of the world's imperialist powers for holding their colonial subjects in slavery. Proof of this became evident when it came to implementing the Pact through the Arms Aid Program.

True, it was stipulated that U. S. military equipment provided under the program should be restricted to use within the North Atlantic Pact area. But this stipulation is now seen to be equivalent to the dodge of scratching the "Made in the U.S.A." labels off the guns used to shoot down Indonesian revolutionists. For the British have Washington's approval to receive American guns, etc. with one hand while sending out their own with the other hand wherever needed to save what's left of the Empire. The French with more frankness demanded the right to use U.S. war materials where they pleased. They will at least receive the same dispensation as the British.

Thus do American supporters of the Truman Administration's cold war program directly assist in the suppression of the national liberation struggles of Africans and Asians.

Treated Worse Than Animals, Say Kenya Africans

The harrowing story of how officials in Kenya, East Africa, forced 11,800 African men, women, and children to move away from their land at Olenguruone has been told in reports received in London. The huts of these people were burned to the ground, their crops and foodstocks destroyed and their livestock, numbering over 1600 cattle and nearly 9000 sheep and goats, forcibly taken away.

"Our men, women and children are left homeless, sleeping outside and foodless," one of the victims writes. ". . . Even the wild animals cannot be treated in such a manner."

The people had been served an eviction order. When they failed to move, the authorities proceeded to burn down their huts last November.

Inquiries at the Colonial Office in London concerning this eviction brought the response that the action was fully justified. "These chaps are squatters on Crown land who have not been obeying the rules of cultivation and have thereby been ruining the land," said a government spokesman.

The eviction victims tell a quite different story and the available evidence backs them up.

But whatever differences there may be concerning these facts, who can condone or justify the brutal manner of eviction used by British officials? This is not a new practice. The driving of Africans from one place to another by burning their villages has been a customary method of Africa's exploiters for getting new lands and a fresh supply of wage workers at one and the same time.

A posse of armed men commanded by an officer descends on the doomed village at dawn. At a word of command the soldiers break into the flimsy huts. As the started inhabitants are driven out, they snatch a few treasured belongings, a cooking-pot, a hunting-knife or a sleeping-mat.

Then standing a few yards away, a miserable, forlorn group, dogs barking defiance, women wailing hopelessly, children whimpering and frightened, and the men silently gazing with a cold stare of hatred and despair, they watch all that they have regarded as home go up in smoke.

The soldiers jump smartly into their lorries and drive away. Justice — colonial justice — has been done and a subject people have been taught to respect their masters' law.

The crime of the peasants of Olenguruone was that they were in the way: "These chaps are squatters . . ."

— Desmond Buckle, *London*

An old woman evicted from her home by order of some white official sits surrounded by all her possessions, with nowhere to go. This is South Africa, but it mgiht just as well be Kenya, Rhodesia, or elsewhere in Africa — yes, or somewhere in the United States.

NEW LEADERSHIP AND PROGRAM VOTED FOR S. AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

At the four-day conference of the African National Congress held last month at Bloemfontein, South Africa, Dr. A. B. Xuma, long the President-General, was defeated for reelection by Dr. J. S. Moroka. Dr. M. S. Molina was elected the new Treasurer, and Mr. Walter Sisule the new General Secretary. Dr. Xuma was retained as a member of the Executive, together with Dr. R. T. Bokwe, member of the Council on African Affairs, Mr. M. Kotane, Secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr. Victor Mbobo, a youth leader, and others.

The change in the leadership of the Congress reflected the successful demands of the Congress Youth League for a more aggressive program including support for a policy of "uncompromising non-collaboration" and boycott of all Jim Crow "advisory" bodies set up by the government to represent Africans.

Dr. Xuma urged continued participation in Advisory Boards and the Native Representative Council in order to fight from within these groups. His attitude was regarded as "too cautious" and conservative. Dr. Moroka, who supported the non-collaboration policy, was elected by a big majority.

The Conference decided on a one-day general strike of Africans to be called at a yet unspecified date to protest against the segregation and oppression policies of government, and adopted a plan of action "inspired by a desire to achieve national freedom from white domination and to achieve political independence."

Among the main points in the plan of action are fighting for direct African representation in all political bodies in the country, organizing Africans in industry, and advancing the Africans' political consciousness.

COMMUNIST CANDIDATE WINS IN S. AFRICA

A year ago Mr. Sam Kahn became the first Communist to be elected to the National Assembly in South Africa. He was overwhelmingly voted into office by Africans in Cape Province. Last month a second Communist, Mr. Fred Carneson, was elected by the same constituency to the Cape Provincial Council.

Both successful candidates are white men, since non-whites, according to the laws of South Africa, cannot serve in these or other general elective bodies.

The fact that Mr. Carneson received 4,179 votes against the combined vote of 1,407 for his two opponents and that Mr. Kahn had even a larger majority aroused considerable comment in the South African press. The Cape *Argus*, by no means a leftist paper, explained the phenomenon by saying that Africans "are simply discontented people who have lost faith in the intention of their white rulers to improve their lot and have accordingly voted for the Party which declares that it stands for racial equality without reservations of any kind."

MOZAMBIQUE—Another indication of America's new role in Africa is the holding of a conference this month at Laurenco Marques, in this Portuguese East African colony, of representatives of U.S. diplomatic and consular missions in Africa. The subject of the conference has not been disclosed.

Announcing

Nigeria—Why We Fight For Freedom

by Amanke Okafor,

with foreword by Paul Robeson.

Printed in London, a limited supply of this 40-page illustrated pamphlet has just been received. No quantity orders can be filled, but single copies, at 25c each, will be mailed as long as supply lasts.

•

Subscription to NEW AFRICA — $1 a yr.
Membership, including subscription — $2

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

MOMBASA, KENYA—African bus drivers in the Royal Army Service Corps mutinied last month near here, refusing to obey orders of their British officers, given as a disciplinary measure, to clean their vehicles on Sunday. British troops, armed with pick handles, were called in to enforce the orders, but the Africans charged them and broke ranks. Ninety-three of the men were arrested, sentenced to 42 days imprisonment, and dismissed from the service.

AFTER ASIA, AFRICA . . .

One of the big events of the 20th century took place some weeks ago in Indo-China where the independent Viet Nam republic is fighting victoriously against French attempts to reimpose pre-war colonial rule. Deep in southeast Asia, thousands of miles from their homes, soldiers from another and still enslaved continent formed a "Free North African Brigade" and went into battle against the French.

How did these men get there? They had been drafted into France's army in her African possessions to fight the Vietnamese, but they changed sides.

Such happenings are not measured by the number of people involved or the attention paid them at the time. What history now proudly calls the battles of Lexington and Concord were seen by Britain in 1775 as village riots. Yet they began American freedom. The earliest seeds of the Chinese revolution were no more impressive. Yet they grew to change the face of Asia, where half the world's people live.

The Viet Nam event was similar in nature. It was the spark, still small, of Asia's liberating chain reaction leaping to the world's last colonial continent. It showed that Africans will no longer beg or wait for 'reforms' by their masters to make life tolerable, but will learn and adapt the ways of Asia's revolt even as Asian peoples learned and adapted the lessons of the American, French, and Russian revolutions.

This prediction can be made with all the more confidence because it is not only abroad that Africans are rising. Loss of Asiatic possessions has caused profiteering colonial powers to press all the harder on Africa and her people are fighting back . . .

— Israel Epstein (*Allied Labor News*)

STORM CLOUDS GATHERING OVER ERITREA, SOMALILAND

As prophesied by the Council last month in reporting how the U.N. General Assembly disposed of the ex-Italian colonies question, the tension between Eritrean and Somali peoples on the one side and British and Italians on the other is rapidly worsening. The past month has seen the following developments:

- The British imposed new press restrictions in Eritrea, among them one forbidding discussion of the territory's future.
- Following additional clashes between Eritreans and Italians in Asmara, British authorities imposed a 5:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew.
- The Italian government charged Ethiopia with responsibility for Eritrean attacks on Italians. The Ethiopian government denied the charge.
- A British warship has been dispatched to the Eritrean port of Massawa and British army reinforcements have arrived in the colony.
- Italy asked the U.N. for the right to set up military, naval bases and air bases in Somaliland, and appointed General Guglielmo Nasi, once sent by Mussolini to invade British Somaliland and become governor of part of conquered Ethiopia, as Italian Special Commissioner over Somaliland under the 10-year trusteeship rule granted by the U.N.
- Ethiopia told the U.N. it will not accept Italy's return to Africa and may take its case to the International Court of Justice.

MRS. ROBESON TO MAKE LECTURE TOUR

Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, widely known author and lecturer, has consented to go on a speaking tour under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs upon her return from China and the Soviet Union.

Her experiences there, together with her previous background of travel and observation in Africa, which she told about in her book "African Journey," give Mrs. Robeson extraordinary qualifications for speaking authoritatively upon the present-day status and role of women and general social problems in the various countries of Africa and Asia.

It is planned that Mrs. Robeson will fill engagements in the east during the month of February, setting out on a cross-country tour during March. Information concerning arrangements for speaking engagements or concerning her itinerary can be secured by writing to Mrs. Louise T. Patterson at the Council's office.

THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION

We wish to thank Dr. J. Finley Wilson, Exalted Ruler of the I.B.P.O.E.W., officers of the Harlem Trade Unions Council, Fur Dressers and Dyers Joint Board, and other labor, fraternal, and civic organizations as far away as the Panama Canal Zone, who responded to our request by sending statements to British officials protesting the shooting down of the mine strikers at Enugu, Nigeria.

We wish also to thank those individuals and organizations who sent contributions to the African Aid Committee. As stated by Dr. Du Bois elsewhere in this issue, the campaign is continuing in order that more funds may be sent to aid the Nigerian workers.

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: FEBRUARY 16, 1950

SUBJECT: TELEGRAM

No telegram was sent from this office to Atlanta during December.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: FEBRUARY 20, 1950

I am leaving Wednesday, February 22, for Chicago and will be gone until the 27.

I should like to have Mrs. Murphy work for me the 21st, then you could take the 24 in compensation and when I come back I will find another day for her to work for you.

I trust this will be satisfactory.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

•

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 9, No. 2 Feb.-March, 1950

264

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Imperialist Force and Violence Against the African Peoples

From North Africa to neo-fascist South Africa (see next page) *and from Liberia, America's own protectorate, in the West to Uganda in the East, come reports of increasing violence against the peoples of Africa.*

"The suppression of African revolts," said Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, commenting February 15 on the latest of these reports, "shows the kind of enforcement of exploitation by armed might which the rulers of Africa are employing in order to keep that continent 'safe' for American and European investment."

A quick survey of some of the most recent trouble areas in Africa shows:

LIBERIA: A strike of African employees on the rubber plantation of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which pays them 18c a day, started in early February and culminated with the Liberian Government sending riflemen and machine gun squads against the strikers. The 25,000 Firestone plantation workers had rejected as wholly inadequate a two cents-a-day wage increase granted after two months of negotiation.

Another American corporation, the Liberia Mining Company (linked with Republic Steel), which acquired an extensive iron ore concession at Bomi Hills in 1946, also was beset in February with a strike by 350 of its African laborers; they too demanded higher wages, cut communications with Monrovia, and set up road blocks around the company's property.

All but a tiny fraction of Liberia's 1,800,000 people are in desperate need of schools, hospitals, and other social services, but President William V. S. Tubman prefers to spend money for American arms and equipment and the service of a U.S. military adviser. A representative of the U.S. State Department told President Tubman that he "fully recognized the need for basic security forces" in Liberia as protection against "Communist agitation."

IVORY COAST: On January 30 police attacked a gathering of Africans at Dimbokro in this French West African colony, killing 14 people and injuring 70 more. The gathering was one of several demonstrations held throughout the colony to protest against the continued imprisonment of leaders of the African Democratic Union (R.D.A.). Meetings in other towns were similarly broken up by police attacks. On February 1 the Paris Government orderd a ban on all gatherings and public meetings of the R.D.A. "for having provoked disorder." Efforts were being made to arrest other leaders of the powerful R.D.A. movement, including President Felix Houphonet-Boigny.

GOLD COAST: Since early January the government of this British West African colony has been waging war against the trade union movement and the Convention People's Party, led by Kwami Nkrumah. A general strike was called by the Gold Coast Trade Union Council on January 7 and a general boycott of British goods was begun by the C.P.P. as part of protest action against the denial of self-government demands (See *New Africa*, Nov., 1949). The strike and boycott were answered by the government's declaration of a state of emergency on January 12. Peaceful meetings of C.P.P. supporters were broken up by club-wielding police. Riots broke out in Kumasi and Accra. Three Africans were killed and 9 injured at Jakora, south of Kumasi. The Secretary and Vice President of the Gold Coast Trade Union Council and scores of others have been ordered arrested by the Governor in an effort to crush the civil disobedience campaign.

UGANDA: On the heels of the long-delayed report, (completely pro-government, of course) of the one-man "investigating committee" concerning the "disorders" of last April when 8 Africans were killed and over 1300 jailed (*New Africa*, May, 1949), extraordinary "security measures" have been ordered. A special Secret Service branch is being set up in the British colony and the police will be equipped with aircraft, tanks, radio, look-out posts, — and riding boots as a "useful weapon against bare-footed natives." There are also new laws limiting freedom of assembly and movement. Recently the editor, manager and three others connected with a vernacular newspaper, *Gambuzi*, were fined £100 to £125 each on charges of printing and publishing a "seditious article."

FIRST LINE OF RESISTANCE

"The imperialists consider the colonial peoples as their special reserve. In fact, war has already been declared against these peoples, before being made on the masses in other countries.

"Thanks to the stubborn national strength of the colonial peoples, the imperialists have run up against a first line of resistance which makes it difficult for them to carry their plans further.

"Our certainty of being able to consolidate world peace will depend, in no small measure, on the ability of these first lines to stand firm and to hold off the warmongers."

—from "Algeria Refuses to Become a Battle-Field" by Abderrhaman Bouchama, In Defense of Peace, *November* 1949.

AFRICANS FIGHT PITCHED BATTLES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

How long will the world sit idly by and watch the efforts of the Malan Nationalist Government in the Union of South Africa to clamp a fascist tyranny upon the eight million Africans of that land?

Each month for the past six months there have occurred one or more serious clashes between Africans and police in and around South Africa's main industrial center of Johannesburg (see Oct. and Nov. 1949 issues of *New Africa*).

"It is a narrow-minded and dangerous policy for the South African Government to think they can rule Africans by batons and bayonets," said Mr. W. S. Sisulu, General Secretary of the African National Congress, in a recent statement.

The night of January 29, during one of the almost nightly police raids upon the African ghetto settlement at Newclare on the fringe of Johannesburg, Africans came to the assistance of one of their number who was trying to prevent the arrest of his wife. The crowds swelled, police vehicles were attacked, boulders were rolled into the street as barricades, and street lamps were smashed so that the people could fight under cover of darkness.

The police were forced to beat a retreat. Even with reinforcements and tear-gas they dared not reenter the settlement in the darkness. Throwing a cordon of 400 armed police and mounted men around the settlement, they waited until dawn and then launched their attack, arresting over 600 men and women.

That same evening, January 30, an enormous meeting in protest against the police action was organized by the African National Congress. The speakers called on the Government to withdraw police from the area and put an end to the hated pass regulations and beer prohibition, applied exclusively to Africans and the excuse offered for the everlasting police raids and round-ups. Speaker after speaker condemned the police methods. That night Newclare was deserted by the police.

Appeal to Government Ignored

But peace did not last very long. The night of February 13 police again raided Newclare. And again the people fought back. The African National Congress telegraphed the Prime Minister and Minister of Justice: "A serious situation is developing between the Africans and police at Newclare. The pass and beer raids are the cause. Immediate withdrawal of police is imperative."

This telegram was ignored. Instead, the police in the early morning of February 14 made another of their dawn attacks, arresting 275 Africans. And it was the intense anger caused by these arrests which led twelve hours later to the most wide-spread fighting between Africans and police since the 1946 strike of the 50,000 gold mine workers.

The outbreak started in Newclare and spread to other African settlements. Police were rushed from the length and breadth of the Witwatersrand. They attacked the Africans with machine guns, tear gas bombs, and hand grenades. Armed white men, civilians, joined in the attack.

In the street fights Africans replied to the police fire, erected barricades, stoned cars and trams. Five Newclare shops were set alight. Shop windows were smashed and looted, and some Indian-owned shops were set afire, but these actions engaged only a small group and were incidental to the main clashes in which many hundreds battled the police.

Five days later, on February 19, still another fight took place at Benoni, another Negro ghetto near Johannesburg. Seven Africans and one white policeman were killed in that clash.

When asked recently how many Africans had been killed by whites in South Africa during the past three years, the Minister of Justice replied that it would take too much time and trouble to supply the answer.

"The African people in many of our urban areas are living today in the same atmosphere as the conquered people of Europe under the Nazi jackboot," the South African *Guardian* states editorially. "These outbreaks of violence of course correspond with the increasing severity of police application of the pass laws. And Nationalist Government policy in the face of these occurrences is to turn the screw ever harder and harder, in a futile attempt to smash the spirit of the people by force."

AFRICAN LABOR LEADER AT U. N. PROTESTS JOB DISCRIMINATION

To Lake Success all the way from the Ivory Coast, French West Africa, came Abdoulaye Diallo, Secretary General of the French Sudan Trade Union Council and a Vice President and Executive Bureau member of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The 33-year old African leader, able representative of Africa's new militant labor forces, together with George Fischer of France, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Latin American Federation of Labor, and Boleslav Gebert, Polish trade union leader, was appointed to present to the current meeting of the U.N. Economic and Social Council a 42-page W.F.T.U. "Report on Social and Economic Discrimination against Workers for Reasons of Race or Color."

Abdoulaye Diallo, African labor leader, was guest of honor at a meeting in Harlem, New York City, sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, when Eslanda Goode Robeson spoke about her recent trip to the Asian Women's Conference in China. Mrs. Robeson is making a cross-country tour during March, speaking in 15 cities.

Ironically, Mr. Diallo on coming to America in February was subjected to the very Jim-Crowism which was the reason for his mission to the U.N. In Paris, the U.S. Vice-Consul told him that he would "have to look for accomodations in Harlem" when he arrived here. On reaching New York the delegation applied to fifteen hotels for accomodations, all of which suggested that Mr. Diallo go elsewhere. He finally found a room at a hotel which has an arrangement with the U.N. for housing official delegations.

The W.F.T.U. report cited carefully documented facts concerning racial discrimination in employment, wages, living standards and housing, social legislation, recruitment and forced labor, and trade union rights. It covered discrimination against African peoples, Mohammedan peoples of the Mediterranean and Middle East, the peoples of Southeast Asia, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia, and Negroes in the United States.

Abolition of Jim Crow Demanded

The W.F.T.U. called for the United Nations to take "effective and immediate measures to abolish discrimination" in order to strengthen the prestige of the United Nations and "accomplish the most urgent and noble mission that the Charter has assigned them — the safe-guarding and consolidation of peace."

This document received the same run-around treatment that was given the petitions against U.S. discrimination submitted to the U.N. some time ago by the National Negro Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was shoved aside like the Soviet proposal of a year ago for a new kind of U.N. investigation of world-wide labor conditions (*New Africa*, March 1949).

The American and British delegates in the U.N. Economic and Social Council took the lead in having that body on February 7 refuse to consider the W.F.T.U. report, referring it instead to the International Labor Organization, an agency which has already failed to bring about correction of the discriminatory conditions cited. The U.S. and British delegates further attacked the W.F.T.U. for alleged "propaganda" and sought to have the consultative status of that body in the U.N. revoked.

The W.F.T.U. representatives vigorously protested this evasion and submitted a supplementary memorandum to the U.N., calling attention to the "intensification of the colonial system of repression in Africa at the present time" and citing recent instances (some of them reported on the previous page) of government attacks upon the African people and their leaders.

The Facts About Forced Labor in the Union of South Africa

BELIEVE it or not — the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Union of South Africa to the United Nations, in a note to the United Nations Secretary-General on February 8, 1950, stated, ". . . the institution of forced or compulsory labour, otherwise than as a penalty or corrective measure imposed by the ordinary courts under the law, does not exist in the Union of South Africa."

What are the facts?

Forced labor exists by virtue of the operation of the Masters and Servants legislation.

This legislation, some of which dates back nearly a century, although theoretically holding both servants and masters subject to prosecution, has in practice been applied on the complaint of white employers against their African employees for such "crimes" as neglect of duty or absence without leave. Criminal prosecution for breach of contract has also been embodied in legislation controlling the employment of Africans in the mining industry and other work in urban areas. (See *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa*, edited by Ellen Hellman and published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1949, page 145.)

Forced labor results from the denial of elementary trade union rights to African workers.

Black workers in South Africa are excluded from the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act for the prevention and settlement of Industrial disputes without recourse to strikes and lock-outs. Their trade unions have no legal status. Moreover, by the terms of the Masters and Servants Acts and the Native Labor Regulations Act, black workers are subject to criminal prosecution for going on strike (*Handbook on Race Relations, page* 148), and hundreds of them have been prosecuted and fined or jailed under these statutes.

Forced labor is practiced on South African farms.

By the terms of the Native Service Contract Act of 1932, "Every Native resident on a private farm is required to obtain a document of identification before proceeding to any place other than his home. No one may employ a Native domiciled outside a location unless he can produce a labor contract between himself and the owner of the land on which he is domiciled, or a signed statement, which may be endorsed on the document of identification, that he is not obliged to render any service during the period in question." Even children between the ages of ten and eighteen may be subjected to farm labor contracts and sentenced to whipping for breaking the contracts. In addition, the whole family is liable to eviction if one member fails to render the required labor service, which may extend from one to three years. (*Race Relations Handbook, pages* 284-285.)

In 1944 the Anglican Diocesan Church made an investigation of labor conditions on the farms in the Bethal district of Transvaal Province, South Africa, and reported that African workers were "not let out except to go to work unless accompanied by an induna ("boss boy" or overseer). Wages varied from 10d. (18c) to 1s. 6d. (31c) a day. Contract laborers moved only at the employer's will and could not get to the magistrate unless they escaped . . . Within five months in 1944 there were two cases where indunas in the Bethal area were charged with flogging Native laborers to death. Last June the Bethal magistrate criticized a case as 'disclosing conditions tantamount to slave driving. On a farm of 200 morgen 25 Native laborers were employed and driven to do their work by sjambok (thonged whip)'."

Three years later the Natal *Mercury* (June 28, 1947), in an article entitled "Treated Like Slaves," stated: "Conditions akin to slavery exist on some farms in the Bethal district of the Transvaal, says our Johannesburg correspondent, who reveals evidence disclosed by various authorities and supported by a report after a visit to the area by the Rev. Michael Scott."

South African police and courts assist in maintaining the system of farm peonage.

It is common knowledge that "Africans convicted under the pass laws may be offered the alternative of serving a prison sentence or of 'volunteering' for work on the farm. With the approval and encouragement of the Minister of Justice, private jails are being built by farmers in the Union of South Africa for the accommodation of convicts who serve to provide labor for the farmers who build the jails." (*The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, London, January, 1950.)

"Convict labor is now being used on a large scale in farm areas," says Senator W. Ballinger of South Africa. "Farmers have subscribed to have jails built near at hand to house convicts supplied from Johannesburg and other urban centers. Convictions under the Pass Laws provide a plentiful supply of convicts, some of whom are from the British Protectorates. This prison labor is hired to farmers at the rate of one shilling and nine-pence a day."

In 1948, 1,199 Africans were sent to private jails supplying this slave labor to the farms. In 1949, the number was 3,206.

A Johannesburg daily newspaper, the Cape *Argus*, reported recently: "There was an angry scene in Johannesburg when a large group of Europeans and non-Europeans crowded around a farmer's lorry parked in Commissioner Street. The rear portion of the lorry had been converted into a wire cage in which two natives were padlocked. They were convicts being taken to work out their sentences on a farm.

"Shouts of 'slavery' were heard among the crowd and, at one time, it looked as though an ugly incident might develop. But the driver emerged from a building and drove away. A senior official said that there was no regulation to prevent a farmer from conveying hired convicts in a 'cage' of the type described. He considered, however, that the farmer had been indiscreet in parking the vehicle in the city, and promised to discuss the matter with him."

Others besides farmers profit from this convict labor system. Black prisoners in South Africa are put to work "for private employers or public organizations under contracts entered into by the Director of Prisons. About 2,600 Non-Europeans are supplied daily to the railway administration for quarrying and other laboring work; others, with short sentences, are used on road construction along the Witwatersrand; approximately 1,400 long-sentence Non-Europeans are supplied daily to certain gold mines; Non-Europeans are hired out to farmers and other private employers, and extensive use is made of free prison labor by government departments and institutions.

"Whether performed for public agencies or private individuals, the work is neither a deterrent nor reformative, and has the undesirable consequence of encouraging the employers to see in the prison population a source of cheap labor." (*Race Relations Handbook*, page 106.)

Does the South African Government believe that it can keep these facts hidden from the United Nations and the world? In the light of the facts, the Government of Prime Minister Malan is guilty of a colossal fraud when it asserts that "the institution of forced or compulsory labor . . . does not exist in the Union of South Africa"!

This Is the True Story of a Black Man's Life in South Africa

We met him leaving the out-patient's department of the hospital where he had been vainly waiting in line since early morning to get some medicine.

We sat down on some boulders on the pavement to hear his story.

In his shirt pocket was the empty medicine bottle, waiting to be refilled. In his hands a pouch from which he drew two tattered documents, folded and refolded again till they were crumbling, kept carefully in a pocket for months and years on end, as Africans have to keep documents. A note from a farmer in the Springs District saying he had completed his service. A pass with a police stamp permitting him to report to the office of a court prosecutor in Johannesburg. Before him, on the grass, his hospital card, recording: "Headache, pain in chest, cough . . . nose deformation, the result of a mine accident."

From Basutoland he had come to the Rand Mines in 1934. He worked at Randfontein, Springs, Rand Leases, City Deep. "A long time," he said.

In 1944 he left the mines, found work in the city, eventually with a firm of house painters.

Then he become ill. He couldn't be sure when the continual pain in the chest and the cough had started. He had coughed blood. Miners' phthisis? Possible.

During his illness he lost his job and lay at home waiting to recover. One day he got up from his bed, walked slowly to the hospital for medicine. On the way back, as he was returning along the road in which we were standing, a few blocks from his room, he was stopped by the police flying squad. The passes for his previous job were of no use now.

This man was one of those taken to the Native Commissioner's Court and offered the alternative of serving a jail term for a pass offense, or working for a farmer. He remembers that he did not appear before a magistrate, but found himself among a group of men taken out to a farmer's truck parked outside the court.

Six Months of Farm Peonage

For the next six months he worked on a farm in the Springs District, planting and digging up potatoes, reaping corn, weeding. To save his clothes he wore a sack during those months. He signed no contract. The work began at five in the morning and ended at five or six in the evening. The workers slept in a small compound. They were locked in at night.

"Plenty ran away," he said.

"You didn't?"

"I was sick. I could not take a chance."

The six months on the farm were "hell," he said simply.

"We had no rest in the day. They make you run even when you work. Foremen all the time. There was no chance to eat properly in the middle of the day. They kick you. Force you up when you collapse."

He had fallen in the fields several times, he said, and was forced up each time.

"There was no time to wash. The food was eaten from the ground. No bowls or plates."

The six months over, he received £3 ($8.40). Also the note from the farmer and the one from the police to Johannesburg.

He wants to work but he has no passes, nor can he get any. Even should he find a job he would probably not be registered under the new regulations which give the City Council power to refuse to register a man even though he may have employment in the city. A trip to town to find work, to plead for a pass to seek work, will most likely result in a trip to jail. On the way, or at the pass office, he might meet the police. The Council wants no more work-seekers. "Surplus Natives" must work on the farms, is the order.

Knowing the workings of the pass laws, he stays away from the white streets of the city, remains in the black ghetto, runs when the police come. He is a man become a rabbit, ever furtive and hiding. Back to "hell" on a farm, though, he says he will never go.

In Basutoland are his wife, his two children, his mother. He last saw his family in 1934. His children are strangers to him. He would be the happiest man, he said, if he had the money to go back to see his family in Basutoland.

One of the great united demonstrations of Africans and Indians in Johannesburg demanding that the South Africa Government abolish racial discrimination and place Southwest Africa under trusteeship in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

"NOT WORRIED"

"Much has been said at the United Nations sessions about alleged oppression of the non-European population. alleged maltreatment and so on. I am not worried about this kind of criticism. But there is a clash when delegates to the United Nations want to interfere in our domestic affairs and insist that the color bar be abolished in South Africa. What they are propagating, in fact, is a policy which would lead eventually to complete equality between white and black in this country. We are not even prepared to argue with them on such a point. . . ."
—a recent statement by Mr. N. C. Havenga, South African Minister of Finance.

U. S. CALLS COLONIAL CONFERENCE TO COPE WITH AFRICAN NATIONALISM

British officials at their Colombo Conference in Ceylon, and American officials at their Bangkok Conference in Siam, soberly pondered the problem of how to keep the whole of the East from following China out of the shrinking orbit of the imperialist world.

Instead of Chiang Kai-Shek, Bao Dai of Viet Nam has now become the Asian hero of the imperialists. Says A. T. Steele, N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* correspondent, "The grim fact is that in Viet Nam as in China we are putting our diplomatic weight behind a minority regime whose chief virtue is that it is anti-Communist."

When it was announced in December that George F. Keenan, Counselor of the U.S. State Department and exponent of its "containment of Communism" policy, would make an extensive official tour of Africa this year, James Reston of the N.Y. *Times* reported: "Mr. Keenan is known to have felt for some time that this country's responsibilities for the development of the African continent have often outrun its first-hand knowledge of affairs there. For this reason, he suggested that a survey of developments in various parts of the African continent might be useful at this time. Mr. Acheson agreed."

Now we learn through the pages of *News Week* Magazine (Jan. 23, 1950) that "The United States has taken the initiative in calling an international conference to decide the future of the remaining colonies and to adopt a unified colonial policy for the Western Powers . . . [the conference] is expected to take place in Washington next April.

"While ostensibly the conference is called at this time to draft inter-Allied agreements, the State Department, still smarting under the charges of unpreparedness in Asia, is also anxious to avoid the repetition of similar criticism in regard to its African policies.

"The department has become increasingly aware of the strategic importance of Africa and the problems that will have to be faced in the wake of growing African nationalism. In regard to Africa at least it intends to avoid the charge of operating on a crisis basis. The colonial conference will be asked to provide solutions to problems well in advance of the crisis stage."

But we prophesy that, just as with Asian nationalism, the imperialists will be unable to hold back the tide of African nationalism. They will only succeed in making more enemies.

EDITORIAL

A democratic American *domestic* program must go hand in hand with a democratic American *foreign* policy. The question of Negro rights — at home and abroad — is at the core of the problem of preserving and extending democratic right for *all* Americans *and* of making the democratic will of the American people for peace triumphant.

Inseparable from the past, present, and future status of the American Negro people is the status of the black or brown subject peoples of other lands, and particularly the 180 million subjects of colonial, feudal, and neo-fascist regimes in Africa, the last continental stronghold of colonial imperialism. Precisely as the survival of the slavery regime in the South has meant the poisoning, corruption and retardation of our whole country, so also, the imperialist enslavement of the peoples of Africa sets the pattern of the oppression and exploitation of Negroes in the Americas and Western Europe.

The future course of the African people's struggle for freedom rests largely in the decisions and actions of our own government, for it is the United States Government which is money-lender and arsenal for the imperialist world and chief boss of the United Nations, the world organization which has the responsibility, as yet hardly taken seriously, of advancing subject peoples toward freedom.

When asked about his attitude toward the pending Fair Employment Practices legislation — a few days before the House of Representatives, ignoring the loud demands of the Negro people and progressive Americans, passed a useless "voluntary" Fair Employment Practices bill — President Truman declared that he "would not support or continue to support any legislation which deprived a citizen of the right to run his own business, for which that citizen was responsible, as he thought best. The President does not agree that the Administration's FEPC legislation would have any such result. If he thought so, he would not be for it, and under him it will not be so administered." (Arthur Krock interview, N. Y. *Times*, Feb. 15.)

Here, plainly spoken, is the philosophy of Free Enterprise which is the justification for the Jim-Crow exploitation of American Negro workers, as well as for the imperialist exploitation abroad practiced, for example, by the Firestone Corporation and other American enterprises in Liberia — America's "'pilot plant' for Point-Four."

Yes, a democratic domestic program must go hand-in-hand with a democratic foreign policy. Neither can be achieved without the other. In waging an aggressive fight for the rights of Negro people in America and for the freedom of African and other colonial peoples, progressive Americans can make their most strategic and effective contribution toward defeating American reaction and winning world peace. The time to wage that fight is NOW!

FASCIST GENERAL FORCED OUT OF SOMALILAND COMMAND

A victory of no small measure was won against the Italian Government when it was forced to revoke its designation of General Guglielmo Nasi as Governor of ex-Italian Somaliland, which the U.N. handed back to Italy as trustee for a 10-year period.

The appointment was announced in Rome December 26. On January 29 the Ethiopian Government sent a strong protest to the U.N., pointing out that General Nasi had been an active participant in Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, was a party to the brutal crimes committed by the fascists in East Africa, and also had been listed as a war criminal by the Allied War Crimes Commission.

Communist members in the Italian Chamber of Deputies also assailed the appointment, reading official documents showing that General Nasi had ordered several executions and reprisals while in Somaliland. These disclosures forced Count Carlos Sforza on February 4 to state that General Nasi would remain in Somaliland only long enough to superintend the transfer of military powers from Britain to Italy and would then be replaced by a civilian. Next day, February 5, the Italian Government performed a complete about-face, announcing that General Nasi had been withdrawn from any role whatsoever in Somaliland and would not leave Italy.

The vote in the Italian Chamber of Deputies for acceptance of the ten-year trusteeship over Somaliland was 287 to 153. The Communist members solidly opposed the trusteeship and were joined by some left-wing Socialists and a few Republicans. The main grounds of their opposition were (1) that by accepting the trusteeship, Italy would be collaborating with "the anti-Soviet military plotters and American capitalists who plan expanded African investments"; (2) that impoverished Italy could not afford the cost of taking over Somaliland — estimated at $31 million during the next three months and at least $6 million a year thereafter; and (3) that no benefits would accrue to the Italian people from this new adventure in African colonialism.

The first shipment of Italian occupation forces and military supplies for Somaliland was dispatched from Sicily on February 8, having been first sent there instead of directly to Somaliland as a ruse to evade expected hostile Communist demonstrations.

AFRICAN WOMANHOOD SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE OF ASIAN WOMEN

At the historic conference of Asian Women held in Peking last December there were two Negro women present as observers from the United States, Mrs. Ada B. Jackson and Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, and two others from Africa — from the Ivory Coast, French West Africa, and from Madagascar.

The following are extracts from the report to the Conference made by the observer from the Ivory Coast, Celestine Ouezzin Coulibaly:

"I am an African woman. I bring greetings from the Black Women of the Ivory Coast. . . .

"During the anti-fascist war the Negroes contributed greatly. They demanded their freedom, and after the war formed the All-African People's Progressive Movement. At first the women did not realize the importance of these democratic meetings.

"When the colonial authorities began persecuting the democratic movements, women became more conscious and started the Women's Democratic Movement. . . . In only five months almost 10,000 women were organized, and the number is still increasing. So the Women's Committee was born among struggles, and they understand the necessity for struggle.

Examples of Women's Struggles

"One comrade was arrested and put in jail. When the women learned of this, they gathered 3,000 people and surrounded the jail and the Court in an orderly manner and demanded the release of their comrade, and finally won her release. This was the first victory of the African women.

"In another place, there was a bloody incident in which two were killed and many wounded when the police came and blockaded a village, arrested some villagers, tied them hand and foot, and put them in trucks to drive them away. Women spread the word, and women of the League came and laid themselves down in the road. For 30 meters the road was covered with human beings, so that the trucks could not pass. They finally had to release the prisoners.

"In another place, women held a demonstration opposing polygamy. Many women, including the wives of tribal chiefs, left their husbands and went to the Government to petition against polygamy. Government detained them and put them in jail. The news spread, and many more women came and said, "You must put us all in jail." So Government released the women prisoners . . .

"We demand that Colonial Wars be stopped. We will not allow our sons to be sent to Viet Nam to fight people who, like ourselves, demand independence. . .

"Let all women unite and build up a new world in which there will be no masters, no slaves, no capitalists, no poor people."

Don't Forget the Enugu Miners

The Executive Committee of the Scottish section of the National Union of Mine Workers (British) has made a donation of £500 ($1400) to the Enugu mine workers in Nigeria, over 20 of whom were killed by police during a strike last November.

This one contribution represents nearly three times the total of contributions received thus far from all sources in the United States by the African Aid Committee for forwarding to the Enugu mine workers.

True, the striking coal miners here in the United States have received considerable aid — much-needed and much-merited help — from Americans.

But can't something also be done for these Nigerian miners, who must rely almost completely upon assistance from outside their own country?

WHAT ABOUT IT? WE APPEAL TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE, ORGANIZED LABOR, AND ALL SUPPORTERS OF AFRICAN FREEDOM.

Let Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman of the African Aid Committee, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, hear from you!

And to those of you who have already responded we say — THANKS!

Items Worth Noting

FRENCH WEST AFRICA — African youth here joined with the youth of other lands around the world in commemorating February 21 as the "Day of Struggle against Colonialism" under the leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. They held conferences and circulated petitions demanding a stop to the government's repressive measures in the Ivory Coast and pledging solidarity with the peoples of Viet Nam and Malaya in their struggles.

•

LAKE SUCCESS — An Iranian member of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights proposed in January that the U.N. send teams out to make on-the-spot surveys of areas in which discrimination and prejudice against minority groups are found. The Council on African Affairs as long ago as May, 1946, petitioned the U.N. Human Rights Commission to make such an investigation of discriminatory practices in South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN PIONEER

Alpheus Ndlovu, the son of a Zulu laborer who never went to school, is the first African to win a law degree and be admitted to the practice of law in South Africa. He worked as a porter, farm laborer, house-boy and waiter to pay his way through the University of Cape Town, where he received his degree.

But Mr. Ndlovu realizes that he still has a hard road ahead. Thus far no lawyer's office has been opened to him as to other novice advocates. And as the first black lawyer in South Africa's all-white courts, he faces all the hazards of a pioneer in a hostile land.

THE CASE OF SERETSE KHAMA

Unofficial reports indicate that the British Inquiry Commission appointed to determine whether Seretse Khama was entitled to rule over his people has decided in the negative.

The marriage of the 27-year old chief of the Bamangwato in Bechuanaland (one of the three high-commission protectorates of Britain in South Africa) to a 24-year-old white girl in London and his right to succeed to the chieftainship were upheld at a great gathering (kgotla) of the Bamankwato last year. His uncle, Tshekedi Khama, however, continued to insist that he be barred from ruling.

More important, the South Arican and Rhodesian governments, horrified by the thought of an African reigning with his white queen on their borders, brought great pressure to bear upon London authorities to throw out Seretse Khama (*New Africa*, September 1949). Apparently the British authorities consider that the prejudices of the white settlers in Southern Africa are to be respected above the ancient custom and clearly expressed will of the Bamangwato people.

Early this month Seretse Khama was told to come to London with his wife for discussions with colonial authorities there. He asked the advice of his people in another great kgotla. They shared his suspicion that the couple might be prevented from returning to Bechuanaland, but finally voted that he should go, leaving his bride there with them. And so Seretse Khama departed alone for London.

•

KHARTOUM, SUDAN — In December the Ashigga Party told the Governor-General that "the existence of British rule is an aggression to Sudanese liberty and wishes which were unanimously declared, and a plain contradiction of the covenant of the United Nations as far as self-determination is concerned." In January the Sudan Umma Party demanded an immediate plebiscite on the future status of the Sudan, stating. "Most categorically the Sudanese will not accept foreign sovereignty in any form whatever, but aspire to absolute and complete independence."

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.
Subscription to NEW AFRICA — $1 *a yr.*
Membership, including subscription — $2

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: APRIL 13, 1950

The Executive Committee of the Peace Information Center, of which I am a member, would like to meet here Tuesday, April 18, at 8:00 p.m.

Of course they could meet in my office, but it is rather difficult to get to. I am wondering if they could meet in your office.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-L-31-13

April 13, 1950

Dr. W. A. Hunton
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Hunton:

I have always been under the impression that the Council paid my salary, and I see in you letter to Dr. Du Bois that I am right; yet when the Union met with you, you told them I was not an employee of the Council.

I asked you last Summer for an increase and received one after a memo from Dr. Du Bois. When the Union was formed, and I became a member, my salary was still found to be below standard. Naturally the Union asked to have it adjusted.

I did not ask the Union to meet with you and have my salary adjusted.

I did not think it necessary to explain to you my hours on days that I work for Dr. Du Bois, or to him on the day that I work for you. If I am wrong in assuming this, please let me know.

I have asked Mrs. Mitchell to answer the phone for me, which she has graciously consented to do. I think however, you should know that I have been asked by both Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Patterson to come down stairs and answer your phones also, and I feel that I have cooperated with them in this respect.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

April 13, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is not my slightest thought that Mrs. Murphy is under my exclusive jurisdiction in any respect.

I would certainly consult with you before making any deduction from her wage. I told her, in fact, this morning that I had no intention of making any such deduction in the check for the period of April 1 to 15, which she asked that she might have today. I did say that I was under the impression that she had been absent for two days or most of two days during the period and that, while I did not have in mind penalizing her for this, I did want it understood that, according to union regulations, and in fairness to the other person on our staff who comes under the same regulations, a limit on excused absences has to be observed. Naturally, before proposing any deductions for Mrs. Murphy's absences I would consult with you.

It appears that when it is a matter of getting salary increase or adjustment Mrs. Murphy considers me the responsible person. Some weeks ago she had the local committee of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 16, wait upon me to request adjustment of her salary from $90.00 twice a month to $97.50. I mentioned to the Union Committee at the time that Mrs. Murphy was actually your employee and the matter should be taken up with you. However, as I saw no point in burdening you with this detail, I agreed to the request, and she has received payment in the amount of $97.50 since February 15.

I have always been under the impression that the Council was paying Mrs. Murphy's <u>full</u> wage, rather than half as you state in your note. If I have been in error, please let me know.

I assume that our previous agreement regarding the division of Mrs. Murphy's time between your work and our work still stands. I make no claim to any jurisdiction beyond that. I raised no objection to her giving you two days of our time when you were recently pressed with work. I understood that she would later make up this time. However, there has been no further mention of this by her.

Mrs. Murphy has asked Mrs. Mitchell to answer phone calls for your office on occasion, when she is out. We are glad to cooperate in this and every other way and hope that the cooperation can be mutual. I deeply regret having conveyed any impression of infringing upon your authority with regard to Mrs. Murphy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton

24A-31-7

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 9, No. 3 April, 1950

264

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Council Demands Lifting Of Ban on Seretse Khama

New Africa was the first publication in this country to bring the central issue in the Seretse Khama affair to the attention of the American public. Last September, seven months ago, *New Africa* said: "Here is a clear-cut test case of African rights and democracy as against white settlers' demands and Jim-Crow (in South Africa and Rhodesia)," pointing out the choice which Britain would have to make between supporting the decision of the Bamangwato people in favor of Seretse and his wife or supporting the Color Bar system in that region of Africa.

Last month *New Africa* revealed that the British authorities had decided against Seretse Khama, though the verdict had not yet been officially announced. It further noted that the Bamangwato leaders were suspicious of the Government's invitation to Seretse Khama and his wife to come to London.

That these suspicions were well-grounded, despite assurances to the contrary given Seretse by officials in Bechuanaland, all the world now knows.

The Council on African Affairs on March 15 telegraphed Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador in Washington: "Our organization strongly protests exilement of Seretse Khama and urges government's revocation this order. We request opportunity discuss this matter with you." The Embassy replied evasively, saying the matter was "under review" in London.

The Council is now securing endorsements of a petition to the United Nations demanding justice for Seretse Khama and the Bamangwato people. Similar petitions are being sent from England and Africa. We urge all progressive American organizations to support this appeal to the United Nations. Copies of the Council's petition are available.

A Message from SERETSE KHAMA

"I want to thank the Council on African Affairs and its supporters for the help you have given my case. I am grateful for the way you have rallied to the support of the Bamangwato people and myself in our struggle to establish our democratic rights which have been flagrantly violated.

"It is pleasant and reasuring to know that Africans overseas and those of African descent remain conscious of our homeland and its welfare. Permit me to say that on our own account, my wife and I will always be indebted to you."

BETRAYAL OF SERETSE EXPOSES COLONIAL TYRANNY

If any further evidence was needed, the exile of Seretse Khama is final proof that the British Labor Government is no less stupid and ruthless than its Tory predecessors in matters of the Empire. Colonial tyranny remains today what it was in the nineteenth century. But it can no longer function as it did. The colonial peoples are striking back!

The colonial rulers received their first shock of disappointment when, contrary to general expectation, the Bamangwato people at a parliamentary conclave last June almost unanimously acclaimed Seretse Khama as their chief with his white wife as consort.

The next blow came when the former London typist was warmly welcomed by all the African people in Bechuanaland.

Then came the major calamity in Seretse Khama's rejection of the Government's verdict and its pension bribe, and his refusal to keep quiet and let the government explain things in its own way. He let the world know that he had been "double-crossed."

Next the Government was astounded to find the British people rallying to the support of this black man. At a meeting which he addressed in London, Seretse said, "I am happy to say that the British people have not associated themselves with the government decision."

In Parliament, Government leaders were harassed by endless embarrassing question. But on March 29 when it came to the showdown vote on ending debate on the question, Government easily won, demonstrating that the British Parliament, like the U.S. Congress, is full of lip-service friends of democracy.

But the ending of debate in Parliament by no means settled the matter. With surprising quickness the Bamangwato people in far-away Bechuanaland joined with their chosen leader in expressing defiance of the unjust verdict. A government-called meeting was picketed and completely boycotted by the tribal leaders. Nor were the people cowed by the importation of white-officered troops and police from adjoining territories. Non-payment of taxes and non-cooperation with the administration: that was the Bamangwato people's answer to the British Government's exile of their chief.

Dishonest, Cowardly, Insulting

"I consider the Socialist Government's action in the Seretse affair to be dishonest in suppressing the report; cowardly in surrendering to South African policies, which are certain to cause the disintegration of the Empire; and insulting to the 400,000,000 colored citizens of the Empire. As one of these and to mark my disgust, I have today resigned my appointment to the Colonial Economic and Development Council." — *Letter to the Government written by Dr. Arthur Lewis, Professor of Economics at Manchester University.*

NEXT STEPS: DEFEATING ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE THE BAMANGWATO PEOPLE

"Watch out for the next British moves," Seretse Khama told newspaper men in London. "They'll throw the tribal headmen into jail on some pretext. They'll try to split up my people. It's an old British custom: divide and rule."

Now that it is quite clear from the Government White Paper on the Seretse Khama case that Britain's action regarding the Bamangwato chieftanship is directed also against Tshekedi, the former regent, London friends of Seretse are trying to bring about a reconciliation between him and his uncle, both of whom have been exiled. It is understood that Seretse himself favors such a course and wishes to reach a compromise with Tshekedi on the legal dispute in which they are engaged.

A reconciliation between Seretse and Tshekedi would further weaken the Government's already feeble contention that there is danger of conflict between rival forces ranged respectively behind Seretse and Tshekedi among the Bamangwato tribe. Indeed, reconciliation would strengthen the remarkable unity which, contradicting the Government's arguments, already exists in the tribe as shown by the overwhelming support of Seretse before his departure for London and since announcement of the ban on his return.

In asking for a judicial inquiry into the question of Seretse's right to succession, Tshekedi clearly committed a blunder. He could only have been led to this false step by his anxiety to prevent the intervention of Dr. Malan's government in Bamangwato affairs, a move which was almost inevitable as a consequence of Seretse's marriage.

Why British Distrust Tshekedi Too

There is no gainsaying the fact that Tshekedi has, during his 23 years of regency, proved a wise and competent ruler. That is admitted even by the British imperialists, who have never been fond of him since 1933 when he ordered the flogging of a white man, Phineas McIntosh, who was guilty of molesting an African woman and then assaulting her husband for registering a complaint.

The flogging of a white man by an African so shocked the imperialists that the acting High Commissioner, Vice-Admiral Evans, appeared in the Bamangwato Reserve a few days later with 300 seamen and marines armed with two howitzers. An official inquiry ensued and a five weeks suspension of Tshekedi from the chieftanship was ordered. Today Tshekedi again goes into exile and once more on a Color Bar issue.

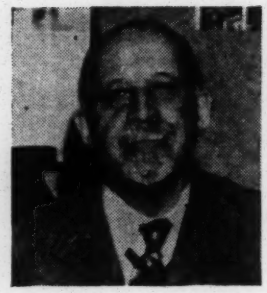
During his 23 years at the head of Bamangwato affairs, Tshekedi was responsible for initiating many schemes designed to promote the welfare of the tribe and to advance the people's standard of living. He was particularly interested in health, housing, and education, and he planned to improve agriculture by developing collective farms, using modern equipment and methods.

Now, with Seretse and Tshekedi both out of the way, the Government will scout around for suitable stooges who would be ready to serve on a puppet council to administer Bamangwato affairs. Effective opposition to this typical imperialist manouver can only begin with reconciliation between Seretse and his uncle Tshekedi.

—DESMOND BUCKLE, *London.*

Background and Significance of Seretse Khama Case

By W. E. B. DU BOIS



About a thousand years after Christ, the so-called Bantu tribes of North and Central Africa began to migrate South, being displaced by the new civilization beginning in the Sudan, and which resulted in the great Negro kingdoms of the 12th and 13th centuries. A part of these nations called the Bechuana were among the most advanced of the Negro tribes. Their government was a feudal system with hereditary chiefs and vassals. They were careful farmers, laid out large towns, and were the most skilful of smiths. They used stone in building, carved on wood, and were keen traders. They crossed the Zambezi in the 14th century and coming southward occupied the east central part of Africa comprising modern Bechuanaland.

The fight with the Hottentots, Dutch, and English broke these Bantu tribes into various fragments. But in the northern part remained the self-governing Bamangwato, and Khama became the greatest of their modern rulers. It was into this country that Cecil Rhodes extended the British Empire so as to link the Cape and Cairo. But the Bamangwato remained semi-independent, although the Union of South Africa wanted to seize the territory and is still trying to do so.

In our day succeeding Khama came Tshekedi, who gained celebrity by whipping a white Englishman. Tshekedi tried in 1946 to represent the depressed Herero of South West Africa before the United Nations in opposition to South Africa's efforts to annex that territory, but the Empire wuld not give him a visa.

The successor to the chieftanship was his nephew, young Seretse Khama, who studied in England and married a white wife. What followed, climaxed by Seretse's refusal to be exiled, marks the beginning of the independence of Africa, which is coming in this century. All over Africa the tribes are stirring: in West Africa they are demanding independence of Britain; in French Africa they are organizing an independent state within the so-called French Union; in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan they are demanding autonomy; and in East Africa and even in the Belgian Congo they are beginning to demand recognition.

Some incident like this in Bechuanaland is going to light the fire which will eventually drive the white man from Africa, just as he has been driven out of Asia. The Union of South Africa, with its gold and diamonds in which the whole white world has invested, does not believe anything of this sort can possibly happen. They depend on white investors to stop it. But this last stand of colonial and financial imperialism in Africa is bound to end. Its continuance today is a greater threat of war than the Iron Curtain or the Atom Bomb.

WHO IS LYING?

BUNK—In announcing the Government's decision in regard to Seretse Khama in the House of Commons on March 8, Mr. Gordon-Walker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "We have had no communication from the Government of the Union of South Africa. There have been no representations and no consulation in this matter."

BECAUSE—On October 26, 1949, at the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein, the South African Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, himself stated that he had sent a telegram to the British authorities pointing out "the dangerous priniple" set by Seretse Khama.

AND BECAUSE—In July 1949 Prime Minister Sir Godfrey Huggins told the Southern Rhodesia Parliament that he had already communicated with the British High Commissioner and would send a second message expressing the opinion of the House regarding the dangerous consequences of permitting Seretse Khama to hold the chieftanship in accordance with the decision of the Bamangwato people.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

The Chicago *Defender*, a Negro weekly, states editorially in its March 18th issue: "The United States is pouring our tax dollars into Britain, and many in the State Department wish to lend American dollars to the Union of South Africa. In short, the blood of the African natives on Malan and his gang is dripping on the British and indirectly upon us. We believe that the United States is morally obligated to crack down on the Union of South Africa and the British Government for this inhuman attack upon the natives of Africa which is now climaxed by the exile of Prince Seretse Khama and his wife."

But the spokesmen of American Big Business and Government, deeply concerned and highly vocal about the so-called violation of human rights in "enslaved" socialist countries, remain completely silent about a Seretse Khama affair in their own "free" capitalist world with its high-profits-from-cheap-labor system founded on racial discrimination and colonialism.

Where would Imperial Britain and fascist South Africa be without Jim-Crow America's helping hand?

"OUTLAW THE PROGRESSIVES!"

Legislation prompted by hysterical witch-hunting is being pushed forward simultaneously in our own Congress and in the South African Parliament. Both the Mundt-Nixon Bill and South African Anti-Communist Bill are aimed not merely at Communists, although they are the center of attack, but at all those who disagree with government policies.

In South Africa a member of the cabinet, Mr. Eric Louw, has openly stated that "any organization which does not want to accept the Color Bar has no right to exist in South Africa."

The Mundt-Nixon Bill "would strike at the very foundation of our democratic institutions — the right of the people to speak their minds, to hear every viewpoint on public questions, and to associate together freely to advance their common views," says Senator Langer.

Nine nationally known religious and fraternal leaders representing Negro church groups and organizations in America with a membership of over seven million have warned in a joint statement "that we are paving the way for blotting out all rights even to protest and demand civil rights with the proposals contained in the Mundt-Nixon bill"

A tremendous protest demonstration against the South African government's repressive measures took place March 26 in Johannesburgh at the "Defend Free Speech Convention" organized jointly by the major African and Indian organizations, together with the Communist Party. The Convention was attended by 528 delegates representing over one million people in the Transvaal Province.

The keynote was sounded by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo. Indian leader who. with Mr. Sam Kahn, Communist M.P., has been barred from addressing public meetings in cities throughout South Africa. "The right of free speech is vital and essential," Dr. Dadoo said. "It is the main dividing line between the remaining vestiges of democracy and fascism."

That goes for the U.S.A. as well as South Africa. Defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill!

KEEPING WEST INDIES ENSLAVED

The long-awaited report (Colonial No. 255) of the Standing Committee on Closer Association of the Caribbean was finally issued March 10. It provides for a "British Caribbean Federation" embracing the twelve now separate units (exclusive of Bermuda and the Bahamas) with Trinidad as the suggested capital. The Federal Government would consist of the Governor-General, a 14-member Council of State (6 nominated by the Governor-General), a 23-member Senate, and a 50-member House of Assembly.

The fact that the proposals represent no real change in the colonial status of the Caribbean peoples may be deduced from the following terms of the report: "When Bills have passed through the appropriate stages in the House and Senate, they would be presented to the Governor-General who would be empowered to 'reserve for His Majesty's pleasure,' i.e. for the approval of the U.K. Government, Bills on a few specified subjects, notably defense, external affairs, and measures affecting the financial stability of the Federation. In addition, His Majesty may legislate by Order of Council for the Federation on these same subjects."

DR. CARTER G. WOODSON, Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Editor of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, and author of numberous historical works, has become known to many Americans, white as well as Negro, through the celebration of Negro History Week, an institution which he and the Association inaugurated. His long years of quiet, persevering, and distinguished labor in the history of black people in Africa and the Americas marked him as a great scholar. The Council on African Affairs deeply mourns his death.

POINT FOUR REALITIES IN AFRICA

With the U.S. Congress having taken the first step toward implementing Truman's Point-Four Program (see *New Africa* July-August 1949), it is pertinent to draw attention to two items from current publications, illustrating Point-Four at work in Africa.

Item one is a full-page advertisement of the Egyptian Government's Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune's* special supplement on Egypt (April 2, 1950). In heavy-face type we read "EGYPT'S SOIL . . . CONTAINS . . . IMMENSE MINERAL RESOURCES—THIS DORMANT WEALTH AWAITS DEVELOPMENT . . ." By whom? The answer is given in the "WELCOME" extended to "FOREIGN INTERESTS." After enumerating some of the resources available, with emphasis on OIL, the appetite of prospective American investors is further tickled by the big bold statement that Egypt is the "Land of Inexpensive Manpower, Peaceful Labor, Low Taxes." You can interpret that for yourself.

Item two is the marvelous success story of the mining operations in South West Africa by the Newmont Mining Corp. (14 Wall Street). In three years, we learn, the Tsumeb Mines, an abandoned German enterprise, have paid off net earnings of between 8 and 9 million dollars from lead, copper and zinc. This profit on an investment of just $7,000,000 was made possible through "the sympathetic cooperation of the South African government . . . low taxes and a liberal depletion and depreciation allowance" together with other generous benefits for foreign investors, according to *Fortune* magazine (February).

What about the objective of raising living standards, the avowed aim most emphasized in discussions on Point-Four? The Tsumeb Mines employ 1800 white workers and 4000 Africans. The white workers have been given 200 new houses, a new hospital, an $80,000 twelve-room school, a swimming pool, a golf course and two tennis courts. Very nice.

And the African workers? Well, that's a different story — as it always is. For the Ovambo and Herero tribesmen who come from several hundred miles away to work at the mines — "one European supervisor for every ten natives" — for 50c a day plus room and board, we are told that a new "native compound" (jail-like barracks) is "contemplated" and "perhaps" a missionary school.

U. S. OFFICIALS BUSY WITH CONFERENCES, PLANS IN AFRICA

United States consular and diplomatic officials from all over Africa were present at a conference February 27 to March 2 in Laurenco Marques in the Portuguese East African colony of Mozambique. American economic and strategic interests in Africa, Africa's role in Europe's economy, and "Communist agitation in Africa" (according to the London *Daily Mail*) were among the topics discussed.

Another conference of 52 U.S. officials, including 15 from the staff of the State Department in Washington, opened in Cairo, Egypt, on March 7. The Point-Four Program, in relation to Africa and the Near East, was on the agenda.

A front-page story in the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* of February 26 by Fitzhugh Turner, headlined "West Planning Africa Bastion to Balk Reds," cited U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, George C. McGhee, who was chairman of the Laurenco Marques Conference, as believing that "the vital economic relationships between Africa and Western Europe, plus strategic considerations raised by the cold war, plus the older problems of illiteracy and low standards of living, have made Africa a vital area now in American foreign policy."

Mr. McGhee has done quite a bit of getting around in Africa, conferring with government leaders in various parts of the continent including Liberia, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa (where the largest amount of U.S. investment capital in Africa is concentrated — an estimated $100,000,000).

Incidentally, bear in mind that except for Edward R. Dudley, Ambassador to Liberia, there is not a single Negro in a responsible position among the 138 employees in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.

New Council Publications —

Africa Fights For Freedom

A new pamphlet by Alphaeus Hunton, with foreword by Eslanda Goode Robeson, giving an up-to-date survey of trade union, political, and other organizations in Africa and their role in the African people's liberation struggle. Five cents per copy or 3½ each on orders of 100 or more copies (add postage on all orders).

* * *

Africa Bibliography

(January 1945 — February 1950)

A new listing of books, pamphlets, articles, etc. pertaining to Africa and its people. Arranged under subject and territorial headings, the references cover 14 pages. Appended is a selected list of books and articles on Africa published before 1945. Twenty-five cents per copy.

* * *

Address orders (and don't forget your subscription to NEW AFRICA—$1 a year):

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

AFRICAN AID COMM. ANNOUNCES FURTHER AWARDS AND CONCERT

A donation of $100 toward the founding of the first free school for girls in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, West Africa, and an additional contribution of $200 (making a total of $400) to the Nigerian National Federation of Labor for the aid of African mine workers and their families, victims of police assault during the strike at Enugu last November, have been announced by the Chairman of the African Aid Committee, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

Michael M. Moerane — his African symphony will receive American premiere.

On Sunday afternoon, May 21, the African Aid Committee will present a benefit concert of Negro symphonic music directed by Dean Dixon at Town Hall in New York. The program will include the American premiere of "Fatse la Heso" by the Bantu composer, Michael M. Moerane. The score of the composition was sent by him from South Africa specifically for this concert.

Information and tickets for the concert are available at the Committee's office at 23 West 26th Street, Murray Hill 3-6209, New York.

Problems of African Students in U. S. A.

There are 410 young African men and women now studying in the United States. All except a very small number are from the three British West African colonies of Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast, and from Liberia and Ethiopia. There are none at all from the Belgian Congo, the Union of South Africa, and most of the rest of Africa.

A recent survey reevaled that these African students were "shocked and embittered" by the wide-spread racial prejudice they had found in the United States. They were also greatly distressed by the vast ignorance about Africa among Americans and their gross misconceptions of African life.

The students' main concern, however, is financial. None of the colonial governments provide scholarships for Africans to study in America, and many difficulties in fact are put in the way of African students desiring to come here. Their small stipend from home has been drastically cut by the devaluation of the home currency. Moreover, these students have even greater handicaps than American Negroes in finding suitable summer and after-school employment.

The Institute of International Education in New York has recently received grants of $32,500 from the Carnegie Corporation and $1,500 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund for the expansion of its services for students from Africa. We hope this means that the African will no longer remain the "forgotten man" among foreign students receiving aid.

Readers of *New Africa* who desire to do something personally for these young men and women in the way of providing food, clothing, funds or employment may secure from the African Aid Committee the names and addresses of those who will welcome such assistance.

TODAY IN AFRICA — Behind the Imperialists' Iron Curtain

JAILED Outrageous sentences have been imposed upon the elderly leaders of the Bataka Party of Uganda charged with instigating a rebellion there last April (see *New Africa*, June 1949, and picture of leaders, September 1949). Sentences imposed last December were set aside by the Chief Justice of Uganda but at a retrial were made even heavier. The 70-year old head of the Bataka Party, James Miti Kabazzi, was sentenced to a fine of £1000 or 14 years "light labor." Others were sentenced to from 10 to 16 years of hard labor. The sentences have been appealed . . . Also at Mbale in Uganda six Afrians were jailed from two years to six months for belonging to an outlawed religous society, whose members were found in a cave sitting around fires singing and praying for "strength to drive the Europeans out of East Africa" . . . Nigeria's Supreme Court has sentenced the 24-year-old General Secretary of the Zikist (Nationalist) movement, Mokwugo Okoye, to 33 months in jail for being in possession of publications held to be seditious . . .

In the Gold Coast, leaders of the Trade Union Council, Ex-Servicemen's Union, and Gold Coast Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) have received sentences of from 3 to 12 months' imprisonment on various charges growing out of the general strike and demonstrations for self-government in January. Kwame Nkrumah, American-educated head of the C.P.P., was one of those receiving two separate sentences of a year's imprisonment. Following the pattern of prosecution of attorneys for Communist or alleged Communist defendants in this country, the legal advisor of the C.P.P., Mr. T. Hutton Mills, was sentenced to four months. Among others sentenced was the distinguished poet and journalist, Bankole Awooner Renner . . . Also in the Gold Coast, Chief Nana Kobina was sentenced last month to two years' imprisonment and a £200 fine for ordering his tribesmen to assemble and surround a government police detachment which he had ousted from his state during a disturbance.

* * *

LABOR It was announced March 29 in Washington, D. C., by officials of the "International Conference of Free Trade Unions," organized in London last year, that that body would send delegations to the Far East, Southeast Asia, and Africa and "set up colleges for the training of rank and file trade unionists in Southeast Asia and Africa." The organization apparently aims at trying to rally the workers of these colonial areas behind the cold war objectives of American-Western European imperialism — an utterly hopeless undertaking, but fraught with the dangers of provocation and disruption within the colonial labor movements . . . Over 5000 African and Indian workers attended the recent meeting of the East African Trades Union Congress in Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa. The assemblage called for the repeal of forced labor law and anti-strike bill, government recognition of the T.U.C., better wages and conditions of employment, support of all measures for world peace, and the immediate release of Chege Kibachia, President of the African Workers' Federation, who was deported three years ago.

At the port of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika, 1500 dock laborers went on strike in February. White sailors from a British frigate were enlisted to help break the strike. In the course of disorders one African worker was killed and 86, including the secretary of the Dockers' Union, were arrested . . . In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan transport workers struck when their demands for a 75% wage increase were refused by the government. The General Workers' Congress called a sympathy walkout of workers in other industries . . . Miners and agricultural workers in Tunisia, North Africa, won pay raises last month after strikes which lasted 79 days in the M'Dilla Mines and 50 days on agricultural estates. The strike was marked by the killing of two strikers and injuries to eight others. Twenty-four others were jailed.

Antoine Darlan and Mamadou Konate were African members of the Delegation of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress which visited Moscow last month and addressed the Soviet Parliament. (The U.S. State Department barred a similar delegation from coming here.) The two delegates are shown here with Moscow children who greeted them. Mamadou Konate (right) is a Vice President of the African Democratic Rally and Sudan Deputy to the French Assembly.

* * *

BANNED The Governor of the Kasai Province of the Belgian Congo has outlawed an African organization known as the Kibangisme on the grounds that its existence "menaced peace and public order" . . . For the same reason a woman, Mme. Debotte, was ordered deported from the Belgian Congo. She had been recently sentenced to a month and a half imprisonment for being connected with the *Watch Tower*, an American religious publication, banned by an ordinance in January 1949 along with many others . . . In Brussels the establishment of a special committee to investigate the question of freedom of the press in the Belgian Congo has been demanded by members of the Senate Commission for the Colonies . . . In London the Council for Civil Liberties is this month taking action on a motion that the attention of government be called to the dangers of restrictions of the press in Kenya, Zanzibar, and other British possessions, and to other limitations not permissible in Great Britain.

Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. A. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: MAY 8, 1950

I have finished my book on Russia and begun the revision. The book, of course, ought to be in the hands of the publisher at the first possible moment to insure fall publication, especially since I may have to approach several publishers.

May I ask therefore during the next two weeks that you let me have as much of Mrs. Murphy's time as possible. I will make this up to you later.

24-31-1

Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. A. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: MAY 22, 1950

I think the concert was a magnificent success, it ought to be repeated at least annually.

Mrs. Murphy's teeth did not help my b[illegible]k last week I am hiring outside help and if you can spare her for this week, I shall be finished by May 30[illegible]

24-31-2

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

C.A Affairs

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

FROM: LOUISE T. PATTERSON

SUBJECT: Monies advanced by the Council on African Affairs to meet expenses in connection with the May 21st concert of the African Aid Committee.

DATE: May 23, 1950

To meet the advance payments on Saturday, May 20, of the symphony orchestra, $1873, and the rental of Town Hall, $456.68, the following loans were advanced:

From the personal account of Paul Robeson	$1000.00
From the account of the Council on African Affairs. . . .	300.00
Personal loan from Lou Poulan	200.00
TOTAL . .	1500.00

The loan to Mr. Poulan has already been refunded and it is necessary that the $1000.00 loan from Paul Robeson be refunded immediately. It is also necessary that the loan from the Council be returned as soon as possible.

Other expenses at the concert paid by the Council on African Affairs are as follows:

City Center of Music and Drama for rehearsal . . .	$30.00	
Station WQXR for announcements on the air.	40.00	
Daily Compass advertisement	16.80	
William Shiver for services	46.40	
	133.20	
TOTAL	133.20	

There will also be a large telephone bill which has not yet been received from the telephone Company.

We hope to have a complete report on income and expenses on the concert ready by tomorrow.

L.T. Patterson

24-6-31-24

[Council on African Affairs]

Bill Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

FROM: W. A. Hunton

DATE: June 2, 1950

1. Attached is the financial statement on the concert as of May 24. Since then there has been an additional income of about $230.00. Donations from orchestra members, except for one of $10.00, have not yet come in but we are hoping that they will soon. This will further reduce our deficit, although probably still leaving it well over $1000.00. We will have a new financial statement drawn up next week.

2. I sent Moerane a congratulatory cable the day following the concert and also, by airmail, a copy of the program and a collection of reviews and press items. I think it would perhaps be more fitting for you to write him, and perhaps also Dr. Bokwe, explaining that because of the heavy expenses of the orchestra, etc., the concert failed to realize the objective of raising funds to send them, but that we hope to find other means of fulfilling our promises as soon as possible. Their addresses are:

Mr. Michael M. Moerane, 10 Scanlen Street, Queenstown, South Africa
Dr. R. T. Bokwe, Middledrift, Cape Province, Union of South Africa

3. As an immediate step toward building on the results of the concert, advancing support for the Aid Committee, and perhaps getting some additional donations, a bon voyage reception for Dean Dixon has been arranged by a committee of women under Louise Patterson's direction. It will take place Friday evening, June 9, in the YMCA Little Theatre, 135th Street. We are hoping you may be able to attend.

4. Last week Paul and I had a talk with Dean Dixon and a friend of his, Dr. John Gilmore. It was the feeling that plans should be made as soon as possible toward preparing for one or a series of really big cultural programs following Dean Dixon's return from abroad. Dean Dixon is anxious to have some further exploratory discussion on this before he leaves (June 10). When I hear from him as to when the discussion is to take place, I will let you know. We would like to have you participate in the planning if you can arrange to do so.

5. If you have not already written him, I am sure Dean Dixon will appreciate a letter of thanks from you on behalf of the Committee.

Alphaeus Hunton

WAH:mpm
P.S. I hope that you have not forgotten the promised memo on the Council's objectives.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

•

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 9, No. 4 May-June, 1950

264

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

BUT THEY CAN'T JAIL IDEAS!

In the United States, where Americanism today is officially measured with a crooked "loyalty" yard-stick, the courts have conspired with the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities to strike at American justice, democracy and plain human decency by sending to jail anti-fascists, defenders of the people's rights.

They were held guilty of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer whether they were Communists. They were guilty of standing on their constitutional rights. They believed, with Tom Paine, that "the constitution is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise the government."

Africa, too, has its political prisoners: anti-imperialists, freedom's soldiers.

In Uganda the elderly leaders of the Bataka People's Party have been given outrageous jail sentences. In Nigeria the government's repressive measures, following the massacre of mine workers at Enugu, culminated in April with the arrest and sentencing of 18 leaders of the militant Zikist movement.

In the Ivory Coast, French West Africa, the members of the African Democratic Union have been the target of vicious police assaults. Leaders of that movement, after being held in jail for over a year, were finally brought to trial and twenty of them were given jail sentences in March ranging up to five years.

In the Gold Coast, British West Africa, leaders of the Trades Union Congress and of the Convention People's Party were rounded up and jailed for having planned a general strike in protest against the denial of self-government demands. The authorities called these leaders agitators and radical upstarts. But just two weeks after Dr. Nkrumah and the other leaders of the Convention People's Party had been sent to jail, candidates of that same Party overwhelmingly won all of the six elected seats in the Accra Municipal Town Council.

In Kenya, South Africa, and throughout the continent, repression rules. Here and abroad repression is justified in the name of "security" — security for the exploiters and oppressors. Everywhere the Cold War spells intensified persecution of the people's progressive organizations and leaders. IT MUST BE STOPPED!

Kenya To Be Another Palestine?

Brigadier Michael Sylvester O'Rourke, Kenya's new Commissioner of Police, was formerly in charge of the British police forces in Palestine. In addition to his work in Palestine, O'Rourke has quite a record of service in maintaining "law and order" in various parts of His Majesty's realm. He was a Lieutenant in the Royal Irish Constabulary; Inspector General of Police and Prisons in the British administration of occupied territories, with responsibilities in East Africa, North Africa and the Middle East; and, more recently, Inspector General of a specal police corps in Germany.

O'Rourke's present assignment to Kenya is significant of the strategic importance of this East African area. This colony is counted on to take the place of Palestine as the nerve-center of British military operations in the Middle East. It is natural, therefore, to find O'Rourke there.

With him came a large number of British troops. Part of the expense of maintaining this enlarged military force had to be borne by the Kenya government itself. The colony's military expenditure for 1950 more than doubled that for 1949. The 29,000 white people in this country of over five million Africans did not complain too much about this added tax burden, realizing, as one white member of the Legislative Council said, that "the presence of these troops contributes very markedly to the solution of our own problem of internal security. But for the presence of the armed forces, there is no doubt that our expenditure on police and on the arming of police would be substantially higher than it is."

Military Suppression of Africans

The African member of Kenya's Legislative Council, Mr. Mathu, asked whether by increasing the expenditure for police and military services it was the policy to suppress the African and curb his political development. The answer may be clearly seen in what the Kenya police, under Brigadier O'Rourke's command, have done within the last few weeks.

On April 25 three white officials, a district officer and two police inspectors, led a police party to hunt down and arrest Lucas Kipkech, leader of the Dini Ya Msambwa, an organization among the Suk people known for its hatred of the white settlers and outlawed by Governor Sir Philip Mitchell.

Kipkech had escaped from jail several months ago. The police party came upon him, surrounded by 300 of his tribesmen. They refused to surrender their leader. When the police resorted to force, the tribesmen still resisted. The police had guns, the tribesmen only spears. The result: On the police side, the three white officials and an African policeman were killed and three African policemen wounded. On the Suk side, at least twenty Africans were slain and over fifty wounded. Strong police reinforcements were dispatched to the area and "the situation was brought under control."

Next to be attacked were the Kikuyu, who have never forgiven the white settlers for making them landless. Early in May, 25 Africans of this tribe were arrested for allegedly attempting to administer an "illegal oath."

Police then turned their attention from Africans in the rural reserve areas to those in the city. On May 15 they raided the office of the East African Trade Union

(*Continued on last page*)

COLONIALISM AND THE COLD WAR

The principal champion of reaction in Africa, Prime Minister Malan of South Africa, recently renewed his proposal for the formation of a political, economic and strategic alliance among all of the governments of Africa for the purpose of building a bulwark against Communism and "preserving Western European civilization in Africa."

Some such alliance would probably not be unwelcome to the United States government, as a sort of counterpart to the Western European Union and North Atlantic Pact. Major Lewis Hastings, speaking recently in London, observed that "the Americans have learned a great deal recently about the British empire. Looking toward the East and the Middle East, they realize certain facts about world strategy. They are no longer enthusiastic about 'scuttle'."

Professor Rayford W. Logan puts it even more bluntly in his review of the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in London. "Secretary of State Dean Acheson," he writes in the Pittsburgh *Courier*, May 27, "has pledged United States support for the continuation of the colonial system in Africa!"

The United States government is doing its best to din its Cold War propaganda into the ears of the Africans, as well as other peoples of the world. The "Voice of America" is now to be heard over Radio Nigeria every Monday evening. In Tangiers, North Africa, the Steersgrove Company with American advisors and technical personnel is building for the "Voice of America" what is reported to be the most important relaying station in the world.

But neither the "Voice of America" nor the repressive measures of Africa's overlords can achieve a Cold War victory over the African people. In Africa, as surely as in Asia, the foreign exploiters — whether they realize it yet or not — are on their way OUT!

* * *

"What has gone wrong with the men of the white races overseas to cause them to be so iron-hearted as to produce a bomb capable of the destruction of their own children?"

The question was asked recently by a respected, venerable African teacher in the Transkei district of South Africa, Mr. W. J. Qwelane. In an article denouncing "the Witchcraft of the West," he likened today's makers of death-dealing bombs to the wizards of old who were hunted down and killed because they possessed poison for killing other people.

* * *

MORE WAR BASES

KENYA—The great £100,000,000 Mackinnon Road Arms Dump has been completed after two years of work (with the help of imported Italian workers). Next step is the building of 24-foot wide military highways linking up this arsenal with other strategic African bases.

TANGANYIKA—A big modern airport costing $2,800,000 is to be located just outside the strategic port of Dar-es-Salaam.

NORTHERN RHODESIA—The new Livingston Airport has the largest main runway of any airbase in Africa, more than a mile and a half long and 200 feet wide, capable of accommodating the largest aircraft in the world. Cost: nearly $2,500,000 — charged to American taxpayers?

BELGIAN CONGO—A new military base has been built at Kamina, elaborately equipped with airfields, repair shops, and technical training quarters. It has a permanent staff of 175 men ("Europeans" are specified), but can accommodate 1,000 in war-time. Cost: 750,000,000 Belgian francs.

Clearly, it is something of a problem for the American-Western-European alliance to find the means for trying to hold down Asia, carry out Atlantic Pact plans in Europe, and provide for the new military bases in Africa. U.S. Vice President Barkley a short time ago said that this country "must maintain armed forces all over the world and we may have to occupy more countries before the cold war is ended." Will American soldiers follow American dollars into Africa?

What the U.S.A. Is Planning in Africa

The following account of U.S. objectives in Africa comes not from any anti-American source but from the conservative "Cape Times" (March 20, 1950), published in Cape Town, South Africa, for white readers:

"American interest in Africa is threefold. In the first place, the United States is spending enormous sums to help countries in Europe which own colonies in Africa, and realizes that the more the colonies are exploited the sooner their owners can stand on their own feet. Secondly, Africa represents a huge potential market for American goods, a market where, at present, few of the customers have money to buy."

[Africa also represents a profitable area for investment of American capital, evidenced by the rapidly expanding holdings of major U.S. investment and industrial corporations. Among the more recent additions: the acquirement of new gold mine holdings, with a capital outlay of over $7 million, in the Orange Free State of South Africa by the American Kennecott Copper Corporation; and the pending acquirement of part ownership and control of copper and uranium mines and railways in the Belgian Congo by the Wall Street firms of Lazard Freres and Ladenburg, Thalmann and Co. Note that the several thousand African workers in the Belgian Congo's Shinklobwe Mine, major source of U.S. uranium ore imports, are paid $25 a month, employed under a seven-year contract, and not allowed to leave the restricted area until their contract ends. —Editor, *New Africa*]

The article continues: "The third interest, and by far the most important one, is strategic. It is in the nature of strategy that it should be secret, hence the Americans are saying little of the military significance of the new plans in Africa which they are preparing to finance.

"Mr. George McGhee, Assistant United States Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs, probably knows as much about it as any man, but would not discuss it publicly when he was in Cape Town recently.

" 'The United States is vitally interested,' a prominent Cape Town American told me. 'With the British withdrawal from the Mediterranean, Africa becomes the obvious Allied base for operations in any future war with the Eastern powers.'

U.S. Agents All Over Africa

"Point is added to this by the fact that the United States has Pretoria's biggest Embassy, with air and military attaches who are known to travel all over Southern and Central Africa in the course of preparing their reports.

"As an advanced base, Africa south of the Sahara leaves much to be desired, and the roads, railways, ports, aerodromes and water supplies which are necessary to it in this role demand such millions as only the United States possesses. [According to a report in the *Crown Colonist*, April 1950, the U.S. government, through the Economic Cooperation Administration (Marshall Plan), plans to spend nearly $1,400,000,000 in developing transport facilities in Africa south of the Sahara, about one-quarter of this amount being allocated to the British colonies.—Editor, *New Africa.*]

"The aim of the Western powers is to create in Africa the conditions under which big troop concentrations could be made at short notice and base installations, such as the new British stores depot at Mombasa, be brought into operation.

"Military bases need vast supplies, and the less these have to be carried across the sea to them the better. Hence E.C.A. is likely to spend money, too, on 'strategic' industries. It is understood, for instance, that millions of dollars are to be poured into the development of the Kenya coal deposits, to produce oil from coal. The Americans are already financing the search for natural oil in Portuguese East Africa and are known to have interests in similar prospecting elsewhere.

"The Americans, who are business people, will see to it that they get the utmost security for every dollar spent. The gains to Africa will be incidental, and will depend upon the extent to which Africa can realize them."

Repression Madness Rules South Africa

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

NEW AFRICA has received the accolade of knighthood by being banned from the mails in the Union of South Africa, Kenya, and the Belgian Congo. Sometimes we feel as though the efforts of Negroes in America and elsewhere are useless and inefficient, because they accomplish so little or at any rate so slowly. But every once in a while something happens that makes us realize how dangerous the truth is, even when spoken by oppressed people, and how men fear the truth or any discussion of the evils of which they are the authors.

The Union of South Africa is the worst center of race hatred in the world. It is worse in many respects than our Southern South, or any other part of Africa. The present Nationalist government under the narrow-minded and stubborn Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan is going the limit in trying to keep Africans and all other non-white people subject to the rule of white farmers and business.

Since coming into office in 1948, the Nationalists have step by step deprived the South African population of their rights. In regard to the franchise, they repealed the section of the Asiatic Act dealing with Indian representation. They plan to deprive the African people of their limited communal vote allowing 3 white representatives in the House of Assembly of 153 members, and 4 white representatives in the Senate of 44 Senators. And they intend to remove the Colored voters (a separate group of mulattoes who have a vote) from the general register of voters.

They have banned Dr. Dadoo, leader of the Indian National Congress, and Mr. Sam Kahn, white representative of Africans in Parliament, from attending and speaking at public meetings. They have cut down the school feeding of African children and have abolished family allowances for the poorest section of the Indian people.

They have introduced segregation at railway stations, in buses, trains, post offices, and even in the law courts. They have dismissed non-white workers from the civil service, government departments and railways.

They have introduced a bill to ban not only Communism but all groups and organizations which stand for equality and fight the Government's color bar policy. They have also sponsored the Group Areas Bill to enforce segregation of the African, Coloured, Indian and white sections from each other. Coupled with this is the Population Registration Bill to provide for passes and identity cards for all persons over the age of 16, male and female, white and non-white.

Besides banning overseas publications like *NEW AFRICA*, they have, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, banned publication of local progressive pamphlets, for the alleged reason that they create hostility between whites and non-whites. Trade union and the progressive leaders hostile to the government's policies are denied passports to leave the country.

Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad! The Union of South Africa is going mad. There are about ten million black and colored people in South Africa, and less than two and one-half millian whites. In the past the whites have depended on the military and naval strength of Great Britain to protect them in any crisis. The Dutch-descended South Africans, whom Malan represents, are breaking the tie between South Africa and Great Britain, and Great Britain itself is a declining power.

That means that within the next fifty years, if the non-European people of South Africa get the education and training which they seek, they will take over this wretched and reactionary section of the world and make it into a new democratic state. There is no doubt of this, and it is the fear of such a development which is leading Malan and his followers to suppress the darker peoples in every possible way.

May Day Massacre

All during April, South Africans heard about the great "People's Holiday" demonstration jointly sponsored by the African National Congress, Indian National Congress, and South African Communist Party, planned for May 1 in all the main cities in the country. The first of May was to be known as "Freedom Day" and all progressive South Africans were urged to support the peaceful protest against the government's mounting fascist tyranny.

Despite public statement of the sponsors that "no violence is or ever was advocated or contemplated in the celebration of People's Holiday," the government and the white South African newspapers expressed loud alarm as though a revolution threatened.

On April 26 the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, told Parliament that the government would take "strong measures" against the "Freedom Day" strike. He said that the Riotous Assemblies Act would be applied, banning all gatherings, meetings, and processions on May 1. The Rand *Daily Mail* reported that an infantry unit would be stationed in readiness and kept in radio communication with the police, whose riot squads would be equipped with submachine guns.

When May Day came, eighty per cent of the African, Indian and Colored workers stayed away from work, bringing industries in the Johannesburg area to a standstill. Throughout the day armed mobile police patrols drove around, chasing Africans from the streets. As night fell, the police started using their guns. Before the night was over they had killed at least 18 Africans, including one woman, and had wounded scores of others, including a woman and three children.

The Johannesburg *Star* (May 2) reported that at Benoni, one of the places of slaughter, "a large crowd of Natives defied the ban on meetings and when they refused to disperse the police charged with fixed bayonets. Later they fired. Three Natives were killed on the spot and another died in hospital. Five more are still in hospital with bullet wounds."

Eye-Witness Describes Horror

This is how an eye-witness described what happened at Benoni: "A small group of unarmed people was suddenly given three minutes to disperse. I have never seen anything so horrible in all my life. The people were dispersing and walking unhurriedly away from the police in all directions.

"The police rushed into the crowd — some of them with fixed bayonets. They slaughtered the people like cattle, stabbing them from behind and shooting them in their backs as they ran. I swear that there was no provocation from the people."

The influential *Bantu Forum* (Inkundla ya Bantu) declared editorially May 6: "The Government's own acts of fear are now beginning to recoil on its own head. But not even this; not even the threat of force; not even the harshest persecution that the Government could have borrowed from Hitler will silence the Africans' voice of protest!"

On May 21 thé African National Congress announced a national day of protest throughout South Africa, a day of mourning for "all the Africans who have lost their lives in the struggle for liberation."

Monday, June 26, is the date set for this second "Freedom Day" demonstration in South Africa. The people will brave more bayonets

(continued at left)

Two of a Kind . . .

Dr. William Jansen is Superintendent of Public Schools in New York City. Dr. E. G. Jansen is Minister of Native Affairs in the Union of South Africa. They have more in common besides their names.

Dr. Jansen of New York, who refused to take action against a teacher guilty of telling Negro children that they should be content to "stay in their place," but summarily fired eight teachers, all Jewish, for refusing to say what their political beliefs were, is co-author of a seventh-grade text book in which occur statements like the following: "Because the native people of Africa, most of whom belong to the Negro race, are very backward, the greater part of the continent has come under the control of European nations since its opening up began."

Dr. Jansen of South Africa told members of the Senate there that he doubted the wisdom of spending too much money on African education. He said that education merely Europeanized the "native" with the result that every "native" who had a modicum of education would not want to do manual work. "People," he said, "are asking why public money should be used to educate natives and to train people who become Communists."

Double-Edged Sword

In November 1948, 3,780 Africans elected Mr. Sam Kahn (Communist) to South Africa's Parliament. A year later 4,179 Africans elected Mr. Fred Carneson (Communist) to the Provincial Council. Both victories were by wide margins. Said Mr. Eric Louw, one of the leaders of the Malan regime, "If the three natives' representatives in the Assembly are not abolished, the time will not be far distant when those three will all be Communists."

So one of the purposes of the Unlawful Organizations (anti-Communist) Bill being pushed through the South African Parliament is to deprive Communists of the right of holding public office.

But the irony of the matter is that the terms of the Government's bill are so vague and general that even reactionary supporters of Malan are afraid of the measure. "Under a government like the present," said one Malanite, "there is very little danger of misuse, but this government will not always be in power. Let us not make a trap for ourselves."

and bullets to force the government — and the whole world — to hear and heed their demands for justice. Progressive Americans must answer their appeal for our help.

ROBESON ADDRESSES T. U. CONFERENCE AFRICAN LEADERS SEND GREETINGS

At the historic Trade Union Conference on Negro Rights, Chicago, June 10-11, attended by over 900 delegates and observers from all parts of the United States, one of the major addresses was delivered by the Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, Paul Robeson. It was regarded as such a powerful and important statement that the delegates unanimously voted to have it printed as a pamphlet and widely circulated.

Among the leaders of Negro labor in other countries to send greetings to the Conference was Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary of the Union of French Sudan Trade Unions, and a Vice President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Expressing his regret at his inability to be present, he said:

"This Congress will make it possible to take a great step forward in the struggle against oppression, racial discrimination, and war preparations; and for liberty, justice, and peace. It will be especially profitable to Negro workers who suffer a two-fold exploitation. It will form a link in the chain of the great struggles being waged by the peoples for peace and democracy."

BARRING OF D'ARBOUSSIER AN AFFRONT TO AFRICAN AND AMERICAN NEGROES

One of Africa's foremost leaders, Gabriel D'Arboussier, was refused admission to the United States this month to attend the Trade Union Conference on Negro Rights.

The barring of D'Arboussier, Secretary-General of the African Democratic Union, a Vice-President of the World Partisans of Peace, and Vice President of the Assembly of the French Union, represents an affront to Negroes both in America and in Africa.

Whatever the technical grounds for the refusal of a visa to Gabriel D'Arboussier, it is clear that the real reason is the government's fear of having the American people hear from this outstanding African leader how the people of his land regard the war plans and colonial exploitation which Washington and Wall Street are pushing forward there.

BELIEVE-IT-OR-NOT DEPT.

"The British Commonwealth is the greatest influence for world stability and peace," says Mr. John McLean, President of the British Chambers of Commerce . . .

"I do not see prospects of the Africans making Africa prosperous, for in general they destroy the soil. I consider that the territories should be populated with Europeans," says Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk, American expert on soil conservation, after a British government-sponsored tour through eastern and central Africa . . .

Although only one African child out of 20 in Nigeria can get any schooling at all, the Colonial Church Council considers that special schools ought to be provided for the 500 children of white parents in the colony . . .

The step taken by the Roman Catholic Church, announced May 29, of establishing its first local heirarchies in Africa, says a N.Y. *Herald-Tribune* dispatch, will mean "a rapid expansion of the number of African Negro Catholic Bishops and, at least in theory, increases the possibility of election of a Negro Pope. . . ."

Who's Kidding Whom?

It would be interesting to know what the African employees of the Liberia Mining Company, who went on strike recently for a decent living wage, think about the action of Lansdell K. Christie, President of the said Company, in giving $500 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a life membership — and the acceptance of the money "with sincere thanks" by Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. Administrator.

And we wonder whether Edward R. Dudley, U.S. Ambassador to Liberia, will be speaking for the peoples of Africa or for the State Department and American business men like Mr. Lansdell K. Christie when he addresses the N.A.A.C.P. convention this month on the subject of "Point-Four, Africa, and the Colored Peoples of the World."

Not in Your Newspaper

The wife of Seretse Khama, a month before she gave birth to a daughter on May 15, was asked by British authorities to accept the services of a white government doctor in place of Dr. Moikangoa, also a government physician, who had been attending her. Said Mrs. Ruth Khama "My doctor is an African and I have no desire to encourage racial discrimination among government officials" . . . The British Colonial Secretary has admitted in Parliament that many Africans died as a result of the famine in Nyasaland earlier this year. He said the number of deaths could not be accuratedly estimated, but may have been about 200 . . . An African in Uganda, Dr. Levi Lwanga, suddenly became blind while in medical training at a hospital in his country. He learned Braille in English and two vernacular languages, went to England, completed his training, and passed his examinations at a London medical school, qualifying as a physiotherapist . . . An African woman in the Belgian Congo has given birth to sextuplets. The mother and all six children are reported to be doing well.

ATTENTION

WE'RE COUNTING ON YOU

to

Renew Your Membership

(or Subscription)

Get at least one other person to join the Council ($2 a year) or subscribe to NEW AFRICA ($1 a yr.)

DO IT TODAY!

Now more than ever the Council needs the widest support in its work for African freedom and world peace.

And don't fail to get your order in for

"Africa Fights for Freedom"

by Alphaeus Hunton

with Foreword by Eslanda G. Robeson

(5c, *or* 3½ *each for* 100 *or more, plus postage*)

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

KENYA ANOTHER PALESTINE? (Cont'd)

Congress in Nairobi, capital of Kenya, removed all the documents, and arrested and held without bail Fred Kubai, African president of the organization, and Makan Singh, Indian Secretary.

The charge against the men was that they were officers of an unregistered trade union. *New Africa* (July 1949) reported the establishment of the East African Trade Union Congress on May Day a year ago. It had, in fact, applied for the required license, but it was refusel. The militant demands voiced at the organization's meeting of 5000 African and Indian workers earlier this year (see last issue of *New Africa*) apparently prompted the police to move against the organization.

The arrest of the Trade Union Congress leaders brought on the threat of a general strike. The government quickly issued a new ordinance making all strikes in "essential industries" illegal. Nevertheless, African workers in Nairobi, including even domestic employees and school teachers, quit work. Leaflets were distributed demanding the release of Kubai and Singh, a monthly minimum wage of 100 shillings ($14), and "freedom for Africans throughout East Africa."

When the workers assembled on May 18 to protest in the restricted African section of Nairobi, police were able to disperse them only after using tear gas bombs against the crowds.

The Kenya Government not only issued a blunt refusal to release the arrested trade union leaders but, four days after arresting him, added another charge against Kubai — that he was guilty of the attempted murder of Gikonyo, one of the nominated African representatives of the Nairobi Town Council. This charge stems from an incident early this year when a royal charter was conferred on the City of Nairobi.

The Kenya African Union and the East African Indian Congress declared a boycott on the ceremony in protest against the government's oppression of the Africans and Indians. Gikonyo refused to support the boycott. On his way to the ceremony to deliver an address lauding British colonialism, he was attacked and shot in the arm. Police searched vainly for the unknown assailant. Now, months later, Kubai is accused of the crime.

The end of the story is not yet. What further atrocities Police Commissioner O'Rourke will commit in the name of preserving law and order in Kenya remains to be seen. One thing is certain: Kenya Africans will fight British tyranny as did Palestine Jews.

* * *

The Union of South Africa has launched a hush-hush uranium production project, utilizing the country's gold ore. It is hoped that this will help the West maintain world atomic supremacy, says an Associated Press dispatch of May 23. Three cornered American-British-South African negotiations have been going on for months, but no agreement has yet been reached as to who — and on what terms — is to get the South African uranium.

* * *

The Council extends its congratulations to the Ethiopian Government for having made, through its Ambassador in Washington, Ras H.S. Imru, a contribution of $2000 to Howard University to aid African students attending that institution. Let us hope that others will now come forward to give similar assistance to African students at other U.S. institutions.

Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: W. E. B. DU BOIS

FROM: ALPHAEUS HUNTON

DATE: July 7, 1950

It is my thinking, and that of others with whom I have talked, that at this time it is important and necessary for a statement to be issued expressing the point of view of progressive Negro Americans on the Korean crisis.

Thus far, no organization of the Negro people has issued such a statement, although clearly the Negro people are keenly alert and sensitive to what has developed.

Because we feel that it is the proper function and duty of the Council on African Affairs to take a stand on this question, and also because of the necessity of issuing the statement as quickly as possible, we should like to propose that you draft a statement to be issued on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Council. We propose, further, that this statement be mailed out immediately to about 500 Negro leaders throughout the country for their endorsement, and that it then be released generally with such endorsements as are secured within a given time.

We suggest that the statement be of such a character as to set forth the following:

35-4-207

1. What the actual alignment of opposing forces in Korea really is. (Korean people striving for national unity and independence, on the one hand; and the bipartisan Truman administration, supported by European colonial powers and American satellite countries in the U.N., on the other hand. This explanation, we feel, is necessary to dispose of the current distortions picturing the conflict as one between the Koreans and Communists or as between the United Nations and Communists.)

2. American intervention in Korea-and the ordering of similar intervention on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, of Bao Dai in Indo-China, and of other Asian regimes obedient to the dictates of the imperialist powers - represents the logical culmination of a United States policy of support for American and Western-European imperialist objectives, evident since the end of the war. The provision of loans and guns for the crushing of the liberation struggles of such peoples has now been supplanted by outright American military intervention.

3. The failure to put a stop to the Administration's efforts to settle matters in Korea in its own way and to police the whole of the Eastern world will inevitably mean the extension of these same repressive tactics to embrace Africa, the West Indies, and other lands. Furthermore, an all-out drive to keep colored peoples all over the world in subjection must clearly have the most dire consequences for Negro people and other minorities here in the United States. (Will it become an act of treason for us to protest against the use of American Negro troops to keep their colored brothers in Korea and other countries enslaved? Will it become an act of treason even to speak the word "peace"?)

4. Neither the might of military power nor judgments handed down by any power or group of powers, which speak only for themselves and not for the world, ~~can settle the Korean war or stop the march of Korean and other peoples toward freedom.~~ First of all, foreign intervention of what began as a Korean civil war must be stopped immediately. Secondly, in the larger framework of the struggles for national self-determination in the whole of Asia and Africa, unilateral American action, with or without the support of a U.S.-dominated United Nations must give way to a general settlement based upon decisions of a genuine United Nations organization which includes the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The breaking of the present stalemate in the U.N. by the admission to that body of the true representatives of the Chinese people is the first and indispensible step toward preventing the present Korean crisis from developing into a third world war.

File H

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM : W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE : JULY 7, 1950

I think that the enclosed letter ought to be published if possible in NEW AFRICA, with of course, such ommissions as you think best. The young mans' name and address should be omitted.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lym

24-31-3

U of Mass.

Mark Folder. Protest & Plea

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

July 11, 1950

Dear Friend:

Will you kindly read carefully the enclosed statement entitled "A Protest and a Plea" which I have drafted on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs? It is our hope that you will find agreement with the views expressed in this statement and will join with others to whom I am writing in endorsing it.

I believe you will agree that at this critical hour it is of the utmost importance for all Americans to register their opinions regarding their government's policies and actions. What the United States is now attempting to do in Korea and the rest of Asia, it seems to me, places a responsibility especially upon Negro Americans to voice their opinions.

We desire to release this statement for publication as quickly as possible because of the urgency of this situation. If you will permit your name to be listed among those endorsing "A Protest and a Plea", please let me know by telegraph (or telephone, if in the New York area) this week, if possible, or not later than Monday, July 17.

49-25

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman
Council on African Affairs

WEBD:mpm
Enclosures

A PROTEST AND A PLEA 1950

In this deepening crisis of world affairs, the Council on African Affairs wishes to state its own position and that of many friends who agree with it.

We stand for Peace. We believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the swelling world-wide declaration against the use of the atom bomb at any time by any civilized nation.

It is said that America is waging war for the sake of peace. But peace in Korea, in Malaya, in Indo-China, and in other parts of Asia, Africa, and America does not mean that powerful nations can force their policies and demands upon weaker peoples. We want peace in Korea, but not a peace dictated by any foreign nation. The United States has no right to force on Koreans a government or way of life which Koreans do not want. South Africa in her treatment of colored people represents a greater challenge to world peace than Korea, but the only United States intervention there is American capital pouring into her slave-manned mines.

35-6-301

Ever since the first World War, certain powerful persons in the United States have hoped that America would replace the British empire as virtual ruler of the world and, especially, as master of the labor and destiny of its darker races. To this end America has refused to help develop the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter and is today seeking to replace political colonialism with economic and industrial world control. With utter disregard of the democracy of which we boast, this land is being forced into war by hate-preaching executives and trigger-happy generals, backed and encouraged by corporate wealth. The awful thing which we are facing today is the attempt of the United States to replace Europe in the enslavement of Asia and Africa.

This American policy the colored peoples of the world resent and oppose, and this is the real cause of the upheaval in Korea. We submit that the United Nations acted in undue haste and yielded weakly to pressure when it interfered in Korean affairs without investigation or promise of redress of grievances. Of all nations fit to arbitrate justly on the rights of darker peoples, the United States is the last, as fifteen million American Negroes can testify and as four hundred million Chinese firmly believe. Therefore, it was neither wise nor thoughtful for the United Nations precipitately to hand over Korea to American military judgment without stopping to ask why Korea is fighting.

To every objection of this sort here in America, we are given one answer: Communism. And this is the answer not only in the fatal beginning of a third World War, but to every possible question of domestic policy or plan. Always comes the same answer and the same refusal to consider or allow appeal to facts. Today, in the United States, we cannot discuss flood control or natural resources, education or health, unemployment or low wages, or discrimination, lynching and justice in the courts, without straightway being called disloyal traitors and plotters of revolution. The nation is jailing men guiltless of crime, driving the sensitive to suicide, and depriving honest men from earning a living.

Nevertheless, we maintain that it is not treason for us to protest against using black soldiers to reduce free people to slavery. It is not yet treason to work for Peace.

We demand therefore for Korea, as for Africa and the oppressed peoples of the earth, the opportunity to decide what government they will or will not endure. We deny the right of Americans to compel by force the earth to think and act like this country and to submit to that rule of organized wealth which is strangling freedom in this our own land.

- MORE -

35-6-302

First of all, foreign intervention in the Korean civil war should be stopped immediately and arbitration by honest persons of world standing offered with the clear understanding that if Koreans prefer socialism or communism they must be free to choose. Secondly, in the struggles of Asia and Africa for national self-determination, unilateral American action must give way to a general settlement based upon the decisions of a genuine United Nations organization which includes the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The refusal to recognize the rightful government of China has sabotaged the United Nations and made it the plaything of the United States. The breaking of the present stalemate in the United Nations by the admission to that body of the true representatives of the Chinese people is the first and indispensible step toward preventing the present Korean conflict from developing into a third World War.

American Negroes who have suffered slavery and caste in this land, and who, in spite of painful progress, are still neither free nor equal citizens of the United States, ought unanimously to demand for all the oppressed of the world the human rights for which we still strive in vain. The jails of the United States today are filled with Negroes whose chief crime is being black, and hundreds of black boys and girls are daily sentenced to crime and disgrace because they are the grandchildren of slaves. Problems like these are not answered by the charge of "communism", nor is this nation justified in leading the world to war in order to make men accept our economic system which millions of Americans know is itself in desperate need of betterment and reform.

We failed to help settle affairs justly in Korea when we had the chance. We have not succeededin Germany nor Japan in bringing peace and plenty. Our substitution of economic for political control has not made the Philippines free. We are champions of every reactionary regime in the world from South Africa to Bolivia and Chile. We convince nobody by blaming Russia and communism for the ills of the world.

If in the crisis and agony of the second World War we could be friends and allies of the Soviet Union and, led by Roosevelt and Hopkins, march as comrades to overthrow fascism, our failure to pursue this course under Truman, Byrnes, and Acheson is no proof of its impossibility. Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the struggles in Asia and Africa for freedom and autonomy.

Against this action we Negroes of America solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of all Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, South America, and the Seven Seas. We call the world to emancipate mankind and not to re-enslave the poor and oppressed to triumphant greed.

(Draft statement written by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois on behalf of the Executive Committee Council on African Affairs, July 11, 1950.)

A PROTEST AND A PLEA

In this deepening crisis of world affairs, the Council on African Affairs wishes to state its own position and that of many friends who agree with it.

We stand for Peace. We believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the ~~Stockholm~~ world-wide declaration against the use of the atom bomb at any time by any civilized nation. We want peace in Korea, but not a peace dictated by any foreign nation. The United States has no right to force on Koreans a government which Koreans do not want. ~~We have a right to defend our own way of life, but we have no right to compel other peoples to accept it.~~ With utter disregard of the Democracy of which we boast, this land is being forced into war by hate-preaching executives and trigger-happy generals, backed and encouraged by corporate wealth. South Africa in her treatment of colored people ~~has committed~~ represents a greater challenge to world peace than ~~[redacted]~~ Korea, but the only United States ~~army threatening Africa~~ intervention there is American capital pouring into her slave-manned mines.

Ever since the First World War, certain powerful persons in the United States have hoped that America would replace the British Empire as virtual ruler of the world and especially as master of the labor and destiny of its darker races. To this end America has refused to help develope the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter and is today seeking to replace political colonialism with economic and industrial world control. The awful thing which we are facing today is the attempt of ~~Pan-America~~ the United States to replace Europe in the enslavement of Asia and Africa.

This American policy, the colored peoples of the world resent and oppose and this is the real cause of the upheaval in Korea. We submit that the United Nations acted in undue haste and yielded weakly to

pressure when it interfered in Korean affairs without investigation or promise of redress of grievances. Of all nations fit to arbitrate justly on the rights of darker peoples, the United States is the last, as 15 millions of American Negroes can testify and as 400 million Chinese firmly believe. Therefore, it was neither wise nor thoughtful for the United Nations precipitately to hand over Korea to American military judgment, without stopping to ask why Korea is fighting.

To every objection of this sort here in America, we are given one answer: Communism. And this, in the American mind, not only in the fatal beginning of a Third World War, but to every possible question of domestic policy or plan, comes the same answer and the same refusal to argue or consider or to allow appeal to facts. Today, in the United States, we cannot discuss flood control or natural resources; education, freedom of information or old age security; unemployment, low wages; or justice in the courts, without straightway being called disloyal traitors and plotters of revolution. The nation is jailing men guiltless of crime; driving the sensitive to suicide and depriving honest men from earning a living.

For thirteen years the Council on African Affairs has been working for the emancipation of Negroes in Africa and America. During that time no single illegal act or word has ever ~~rightfully~~ been charged against us; yet by arbitrary ukase, without hearing or chance of defense, we have been publicly proscribed and persecuted. It is not treason for us to protest against using black soldiers to reduce free people to slavery. It is not yet treason to work for Peace.

We demand therefore for Korea, as for Africa and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, the opportunity to decide what government they will or will not endure. We ~~protest against~~ deny the right of Americans to compell by force the earth to think and act like this country and to submit to that rule of organized wealth which is strangling freedom in this our own

85-4-369

land.

First of all the foreign intervention on the Korean civil war should be stopped immediately, and arbitration by honest persons of world standing offered with the clear understanding that if Koreans prefer socialism or communism they must be free to choose. Secondly, in the struggles of Asia and Africa, for national self-determination unilateral American action must give way to a general settlement based upon the decisions of a genuine United Nations organization which includes the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The breaking of the present stalemate in the United Nations by the admission to that body of the true representatives of the Chinese people, is the first and indispensable step toward preventing the present Korean crisis from developing into a third world war.

American Negroes who have suffered slavery and caste in this land, and who inspite of painful progress and generous help, are still neither free nor equal citizens of the United States, ought unanimously to demand for all the oppressed of the world the human rights for which we still strive in vain. The jails of the United States today are filled with Negroes whose chief crime is being black and hundreds of black boys and girls are daily sentenced to crime and disgrace because they are the poor ignorant grandchildren of slaves. Problems like these are not answered by the charge of "communism", nor is this nation justified in leading the world to war in order to make men accept our ~~industrial organization~~ economic system which millions of Americans know is itself in desperate need of betterment and reform.

We failed to help settle affairs justly in Korea when we had the chance. We have not succeeded in Germany nor Japan in bringing peace and plenty. Our substitution of industrial for political control has not made the Phillipines free. We are champions of every reactionary regime

45-4-12

in the world from South Africa to Bolivia and Chile. We convince nobody by blaming Russia and communism for the ills of the world. If in the crisis and agony of the Second World War we could be friends and allies of the Soviet Union, led by Roosevelt and Hopkins, march as comrades to overthrow Fascism, our failure to pursue this course under Turman, Byrnes and Acheson is not proof of its impossibility. Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the struggle, in Asia and Africa for freedom and autonomy. The refusal to recognise the rightful government of China has sabotaged the United Nations and made it the plaything of the United States. Against this action we Negroes of America, solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of all Asia, Pan-Africa, the Carribean and South America and the Seven Seas. We call the world to emancipate mankind and not to re-enslave the poor and ignorant to triumphant greed.

ROUGH Draft for
STATEMENT ISSUED
July, 11, '50; 'A
PROTEST AND A PLEA'

35-6-177

In this deepening crisis of world affairs, the Council on African Affairs wishes to state its own position and that of many leaders and friends who agree with it.

We stand for Peace. We believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the Stockholm declaration against the use of the atom bomb.

But peace in Korea, in Malaya, ~~Viet Nam~~ in Indo-China and many other parts of Asia Africa and America, does not mean that powerful nations can force their ideologies on weaker peoples ~~and then call it a war for freedom. War~~. The United States has ~~made~~ southern Korea a ~~puppet~~ state ~~and quasi-colony~~, ruled by great land-holders who with American ~~aid and~~ advice have openly threatened to ~~take over~~ all Korea. ~~The facts of south Korea have never been studied and revealed, but~~ the United Nations without investigation has declared north Korea the agressor and delivered her to the military force of the United States. We want peace in Korea, but we do not want the sort of peace which the United States seeks to impose on black and yellow peoples and we solemnly protest to the world this latest attempt to enslave the dark peoples of the world.

Ever since the first world war, the United States has been ~~ambitious~~ to rule Asia and Africa as once Britain ruled. It has ~~replaced~~ political rule in the Phillipines ~~and Porto Rico~~ by economic and industrial slavery and called this freedom; it has invested billions of capital in the Middle East, Africa and South America, and by industrial and commercial control, reduced millions of people to colonial status in all but name.

Whenever we and others have protested and inveighed against this; have invoked the trusteeship clauses of the Charter of the United Nations, and called on implementation of promises of independence and autonomy for colonial peoples, ~~they~~ have been called "communists" and subversives and ~~their~~ freedom of speech and action ~~denied~~. For 15 years 1937/13 years the Council on African Affairs has been working for the freedom of Negroes. During this time not ~~a single~~ an act or word ~~which~~ has been rightly charged against this organization; yet by arbitrary ukase, without hearing or right of defense, we have been proscribed and ~~silenced~~.

We demand for Korea, as for Africa and the oppressed peoples of the earth, the right ot decide what government they will ~~have~~ or will not endure, and we protest

against the right of the profit makers of America, [redacted] by force and wealth to compell the earth to think and act as this country and to submit to the rule of wealth which is strangling freedom in this land.

We failed to help settle affairs justly in Korea when we had the chanc e. We are champi ons of every reactionary regime in the world from Greece to Turkey; from South Africa to Chili Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the Korean war or the struggle in Asia for freedom and autonomy. The refusal to recognize the rightful govern ment of China has sabotaged the United Nations and made it the plaything of the United States. Against this action we Negroes of America, solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of India, the Carribean and the Seven Seas. We know what slavery is because to day our I5 millions are but half free in this Democracy. We cal l the world to emancipate mankind and not re-enslave it to greed

Protest + plea

In this deepening crisis of world affairs, the Council on African Affairs wishes to state its own position and that of many leaders and friends who agree with it.

We stand for Peace. We believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force, or the power of wealth. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the Stockholm declaration against the use of the atom bomb.

But Peace in Korea, in Malaya, in Indo-China and many other parts of Asia, Africa and America, does not mean that powerful nations can force their ideologies on weaker peoples. The United States has erected in Southern Korea a state ruled by great land-holders wo with American advice have openly threatened to over-run all Korea. The United Nations without investigating the facts has declared North Korea the aggressor when civil war broke out and delivered her to the military forces of the United States. We want peace in Korea, but we do not want the sort of peace which the United States seeks to impose on black and yellow peoples and we solemly protest to the world against this latest attempt to enslave the dark peoples of the world.

35-4-208

Ever since the first world war, the United States has been eager to rule Asia and Africa as Britain once ruled. It has replaced political rule in the Phillipines by economic and industrial slavery and called this freedom; it has invested billions of capital in the Middle East, Africa and South America, and by industrial and commercial control, thus reduced millions of people to colonial status in all but name.

Whenever we and others have protested and inveighed against this policy, when we have asked full freedom for black Americans and have invoked the trusteeship clauses of the Charter of the United Nations, and called on implementation of promises of independence and autonomy for

colonial peoples, we have been called "Communists" and subversives and every effort has been made to deny us freedom of speech and action. For 13 years the Council on African Affairs has been working for the freedom of Negroes. Members and officials of this organization have the right to say and do what they will and be held responsible therefore under the law. But this organization as such is responsible for its corporate actions and during its existence not a single illegal act or word has been rightly charged against this organization; yet by arbitrary ukase, without hearing or right of defense, we have been publicly proscribed and persecuted. It is not treason for black men to protest against using black soldiers to reduce yellow people to slavery. It is not yet treason to work for Peace.

35-4-209

We demand for Korea, as for Africa and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, the right to decide what government they will or will not endure; and we protest against the right of the money-makers of America, by force and wealth to compell the earth to think and act like this country or to submit to the rule of wealth which is strangling freedom in this our own land.

First of all, foreign intervention of what began as a Korean civil war must be stopped immediately. Secondly, in the larger framework of the strug-les for national self-determination in the whole of Asia and Africa, unilateral American action, with or without the support of a U. S. dominated United Nations must give way to a general settlement based upon decisions of a genuine United Nations organization which includes the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The breaking of the present stalemate in the U. N. by the admission to that body of the true representatives of the Chinese people is the first and indispensible step toward preventing the present Korean crisis from developing into a third world war.

We failed to help settle affairs justly in Korea when we had the chance. We are champions of every reactionary regime in the world from Greece to Turkey; from South Africa to Chile. Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the Korean war nor the struggle in Asia for freedom and autonomy. The refusal to recognize the rightful government of China has sabotaged the United Nations and made it the plaything of the United States. Against this action we Negroes of America, solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of India, the Carribean and the Seven Seas. We know what slavery is because even today our 15 millions are but half free in this Democracy. We call the world to emancipate mankind and re-enslave the poor and ignorant to triumphant greed.

35-4-210

A PROTEST AND A PLEA

In this deepening crisis of world affairs, the Council on African Affairs wishes to state its own position and that of many friends who agree with it.

We stand for Peace. We believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the Stockholm delcaration against the use of the atom bomb at any time by any civilised nation. We want peace in Korea, but not a peace dictated by any foreign nation. The United States has no right to force on Koreans a government which Koreans do not want. We have a right to defend our own way of life, but we have no right to compel other peoples to accept it. With utter disregard of the Democracy of which we boast, this land is being forced into war by hate-preaching executives and trigger-happy generals, backed and encouraged by corporate wealth. South Africa in her treatment of colored people has committed a greater challenge to world peace than North Korea, but the only United States army threatening Africa is American capital pouring into her slave-manned mines.

35-4-363

Ever since the First World War, certain powerful persons in the United States have hoped that America would replace the British Empire as virtual ruler of the world and especially as master of the labor and destiny of its darker races. To this end, America has refused to help develope the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter and is today seeking to replace political colonialism with economic and industrial world control. The awful thing which we are facing today, is the attempt of Pan-America to replace Europe in the enslavement of Asia and Africa.

This American policy, the colored peoples of the world resent and oppose and this is the real cause of the upheaval in Korea. We submit that the United Nations acted in undue haste and yielded weakly to

pressure when it interfered in Korean affairs without investigation or promise of redress of grievances. Of all nations fit to arbitrate justly on the rights of darker peoples, the United States is the last, as 15 millions of American Negroes can testify and as 400 million Chinese firmly believe. Therefore, it was neither wise nor thoughtful for the United Nations precipitately to hand over Korea to American military judgment, without stopping to ask why Korea is fighting.

35-4-364

To every objection of this sort here in America, we are given one answer: Communism. And this not only in the fatal beginning of a Third World War, but to every possible question of domestic policy or plan, comes the same answer and the same refusal to argue or consider or to allow appeal to facts. Today, in the United States, we cannot discuss flood control or natural resources; education, freedom of information or old age security; unemployment, low wages; or justice in the courts, without straightway being called disloyal traitors and plotters of revolution. The nation is jailing men guiltless of crime; driving the sensitive to suicide and depriving honest men from earning a living.

For thirteen years the Council on African Affairs has been working for the emancipation of Negroes in Africa and America. During that time no single illegal act or word has ever rightfully been charged against us; yet by arbitrary ukase, without hearing or chance of defense, we have been publicly proscribed and persecuted. It is not treason for us to protest against using black soldiers to reduce free people to slavery. It is not yet treason to work for Peace.

We demand therefore for Korea, as for Africa and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, the opportunity to decide what government they will or will not endure. We protest against the right of Americans to compell by force the earth to think and act like this country and to submit to that rule of organized wealth which is strangling freedom in this our own

land.

First of all, the foreign intervention on the Korean civil war should be stopped immediately, and arbitration by honest persons of world standing offered, with the clear understanding that if Koreans prefer socialism or communism they must be free to choose. Secondly, in the struggles of Asia and Africa, for national self-determination, unilateral American action must give way to a general settlement based upon the decisions of a genuine United Nations organization, which includes the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The breaking of the present stalemate in the United Nations by the admission to that body of the true representatives of the Chinese people, is the first and indispensable step toward preventing the present Korean crisis from developing into a third world war.

35-4-365

American Negroes who have suffered slavery and caste in this land, and who inspite of painful progress and generous help, are still neither free nor equal citizens of the United States, ought unanimously to demand for all the oppressed of the world the human rights for which we still strive in vain. The jails of the United States today are filled with Negroes whose chief crime is being black and hundreds of black boys and girls are daily sentenced to crime and disgrace because they are the poor ignorant grandchildren of slaves. Problems like these are not answered by the charge of "communism", nor is this nation justified in leading the world to war, in order to make men accept our industrial organization which millions of Americans know is itself in desperate need of betterment and reform.

We failed to help settle affairs justly in Korea when we had the chance. We have not succeeded in Germany nor Japan in bringing peace and plenty. Our substitution of industrial for political control has not made the Phillipines free. We are champions of every reactionary regime

in the world from South Africa to Bolivia and Chile. We convince nobody by blaming Russia and communism for the ills of the world. If in the crisis and agony of the Second World War we could be friends and allies of the Soviet Union, and led by Roosevelt and Hopkins, march as comrades to overthrow Fascism, our failure to pursue this course under Truman, Byrnes and Acheson is not proof of its impossibility. Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the struggle, in Asia and Africa, for freedom and autonomy. The refusal to recognise the rightful government of China has sabotaged the United Nations and made it the plaything of the United States. Against this action we Negroes of America, solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of all Asia, Pan-Africa, the Carribean and South America and the Seven Seas. We call the world to emancipate mankind and not to re-enslave the poor and ignorant to triumphant greed.

35-4-366

40 West 46 Street
New York 19, New York
July 14, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several important decisions on policy on the part of your committee have been taken without the advice and knowledge of some of the members, including myself, who had been elected to set the policy of the committee.

In this difficult political period, this is extremely regrettable and should be changed.

Sincerely yours,

Johannes Steel

24-2-1

Bill Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

FROM: W. A. HUNTON

DATE: September 18, 1950

I am getting together material for New Africa at the present time and would greatly appreciate a brief article (one page or so) on either of the following, as you prefer: (1) Obituary on Smuts or (2) My Impressions of African Youth (at the Youth Conference abroad).

Do you happen to have the original of the attached picture, or of any other pictures taken with Africans on your last trip, which we could use in the bulletin?

WAH

W. A. Hunton

WAH:mpm

Photo Attached.

45-4-109

DR. DuBOIS LIFE MEMBER

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Vice Chairman of the Council on African Affairs and candidate of the American Labor Party of New York for the United States Senate, was on September 15 voted a life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science by its Executive Committee. This Association, founded in 1848, has a membership of 46,000, composed of leading scientists of the nation. Dr. Du Bois has been a member for fifty years and a fellow for forty-six years. His life membership exempts him from all payments of dues, while still enjoying the privileges of full and active membership. The next meeting of the Association takes place in Cleveland during the holiday season of 1950.

File - "Honors"

FOR RELEASE SEPTEMBER 18, 1950 from:

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman of the Council on African Affairs and candidate of the American Labor Party of New York for the United States Senate, was on September 15 voted a life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science by its Executive Committee. This Association, founded in 1848, has a membership of 46,000, composed of leading scientists of the nation. Dr. Du Bois has been a member for fifty years and a fellow for forty-six years. His life membership exempts him from all payment of dues, while still enjoying the privileges of full and active membership. The next meeting of the Association takes place in Cleveland during the holiday season of 1950.

##########

248-28-114

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. W. A. Hunton

FROM : W. E. B. Du Bois

DATE: September 20, 1950

I think DuBois has the original of the picture in the WORKER, page 9, September 3, 1950. Write to her at Fisk University.

Enclosed is a short statement of my impression of the Conference. You might get other pictures by applying to Miss Dorothy Gottleib at American Youth for a Free World, 144 Bleecker Street, New York City.

Fill - Hunton

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

November 13, 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Please join us in a brief but important meeting of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs on Thursday, November 16, at 1:00 p.m. at this office.

Several pressing matters of immediate organizational plans and program perspectives of the Council urgently require our collective discussion and decision.

We therefore hope you will make every effort to be present. Kindly let us know by telephone if we can expect you.

Sincerely,

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

P.S. I trust this will not interfere with your holiday. If it does, don't feel obligated to come. I can report to you at your convenience.
A.H.

WAH:lym

24-h-31-4

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. A. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: DECEMBER 4, 1950

SUBJECT: TELEPHONE

In calculating finances after the removal of the offices of the Council from this building, let me undertake personally to pay for the telephone in my office.

I am sure I can do it.

246-31-17

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS OF CAA FOR YEAR, 1950 -- JAN. 1--DECEMBER 31

INCOME

Operating Income:			
New Africa		$170.08	
General Literature	$114.72		
Robeson Pamphlet	27.00		
Africa Fights	98.12	239.84	
Membership		736.75	
General Contributions	3904.00		
PR Affairs	1337.50	5241.50	
E. Robeson Tour	3101.11		
Less Expense	1138.93	1962.18	
Total Operating Income		8350.35	~~$8350.35~~
Other Income			
Freedom Fund	459.70		
For Passport Case	91.88		
	551.58		
Less expenses of FF	99.98	451.60	
Loans	15340.00		
Less repayments	9040.00	6300.00	
Miscellaneous		50.84	
TOTAL INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES			$15152.79

DISBURSEMENTS

Operating Disbursements			
Administration			
(Rent, telephone)	2157.91		
Postage	308.51		
Prtg.-Stat.	578.48		
Supplies	94.22		
Salaries	6890.07	10029.19	
New Africa		1029.04	
General Activities		88.20	
Miscellaneous			
Garden	111.83		
General	229.19	341.02	
Du Bois Office			
Rent & Telephone	1010.00		
Secretary	2268.10	3278.10	
Loan to African Aid Comm		200.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			14965.55

Balance December 31	$187.24
From Petty Cash	20.00
Bank Balance Jan. 1.	164.73
Balance Jan. 1, 1951	$371.97

24-31-5

Cable: Newauthors

CARL COWL
Authors' Representative
PLAYS BOOKS

516 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-6782
MUrray Hill 2-3383

October 24, 1950

Re: EAST INDIAN, WEST INDIAN

by Claude McKay and Cedric Dover

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am taking the liberty of writing you with regard to the above-titled book, which is a combination of the boyhood reminiscences of Claude McKay and of Cedric Dover, and for which Dr. Dover and Hope McKay Virtue (Claude's daughter) fervently hope that you will write an introduction.

Since the time of Claude McKay's death, I have tried to get publication for his portion of the book (My Green Hills of Jamaica); but it was always just a bit too short and slight. Some months ago, Dr. Dover, who is the author of Half-Caste, told me that he, too, had written a short book about his boyhood; and he had the brilliant idea of combining the two, thus making a powerful implicit statement on race, through comparison and contrast of two colored boyhoods, one in Jamaica, one in Calcutta.

Dr. Dover's portion of the book may need some cutting, and can be considered a draft; but I am most eager to have you read it, to hear your opinion, and to learn whether or not you would consider writing the introduction.

I know that you must be extremely busy just now with your campaign; so, if you do wish to read EAST INDIAN, WEST INDIAN, just let me know when it will be convenient, and where I may deliver the manuscript.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Cowl

Carl Cowl

24-4-62

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Elliott Baker—*And We Were Young; Briar, Briar*
Edward Caulfield—*Lord Byron; The Idea*
Bernard Evslin—*The Bostonians*
Peter Hewett—*The Rule of Three*
Robert Lund—*Hour of Glory; Little Froggie*
Robert E. McEnroe—*The Silver Whistle; Mulligan's Snug*
Claude McKay—*Selected Poems*
Shirland Quin—*Here's To Us!; Men and Women*
A. B. Shiffrin—*Love, Hate, Murder*
Robert V. Williams—*Vendetta*
Philip Yordan—*Anna Lucasta*

Cable: Newauthors

CARL COWL
Authors' Representative
PLAYS BOOKS

516 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-6782
MUrray Hill 2-3383

November 7, 1950

Re: EAST INDIAN, WEST INDIAN

by Claude McKay and Cedric Dover

Dear Dr. DuBois,

At the request of Dr. Cedric Dover, I am forwarding the attached letter to you.

I look forward to hearing from you soon with regard to the above-titled book.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Cowl

Carl Cowl

24-1-38

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Elliott Baker—*And We Were Young; Briar, Briar*
Edward Caulfield—*Lord Byron; The Idea*
Bernard Evslin—*The Bostonians*
Peter Hewett—*The Rule of Three*
Robert Lund—*Hour of Glory; Little Froggie*
Robert E. McEnroe—*The Silver Whistle; Mulligan's Snug*
Claude McKay—*Selected Poems*
Shirland Quin—*Here's To Us!; Men and Women*
A. B. Shiffrin—*Love, Hate, Murder*
Robert V. Williams—*Vendetta*
Philip Yordan—*Anna Lucasta*

December 7, 1950

Mr. Carl Cowl
516 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

My dear Sir:

Answering at this late date, your letter of October 24, may I say that I will be glad to read the McKay-Dover book, and to write an introduction if I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-4-03

Corres. c

March 17, 1950

Mrs. Alice B. Crawford
762 St. Nicholas Avenue, Apt.8
New York, New York

Dear Alice:

I meant in the last letter to ask you not to encourage Du Bois to return to New York soon. She had a good long and enjoyable visit. It ought to last her sometime.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-14

Crawford.

May 31, 1950

Mrs. Alice Crawford
762 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alice:

I am very sorry that I could not come to your concert, May 21, but I was working too hard on my book.

I am sending, however, the cost of the two tickets which you expected me to buy. I hope it was a success.

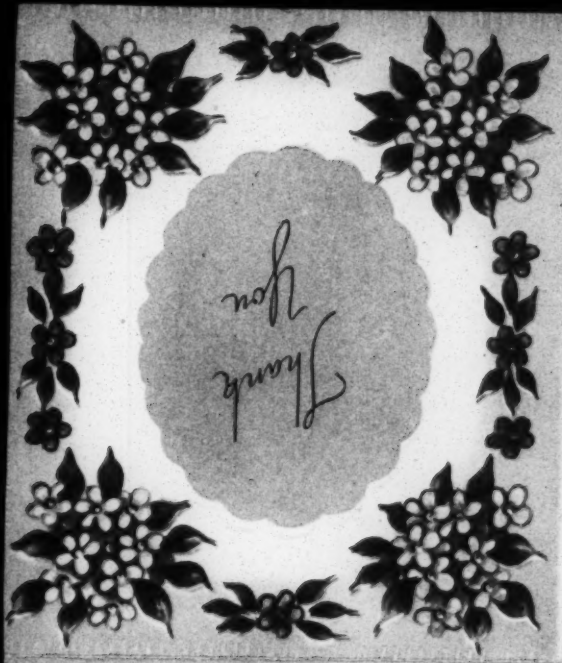
My best regards to you and Fred.

Very sincerely yours,

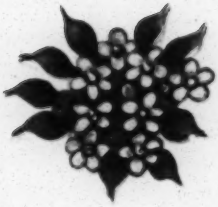
W. E. B. Du Bois

24-1-37

WEBD:lm



24-15-11



With a world
of Appreciation
For your
Thoughtfulness

Alice

[Crawford]

Dear Cousin William:
I greatly appreciate your response to my notice concerning my concert.
This was a try-out to see if I could still carry-on.
Vocally & artistically I believe it was a success. I'll therefore prepare for more concerts
Love. Alice

24-1-36

[Crawford]

762 St Nicholas Ave
New York 31 N.Y.

Dear Coram Williams:

We received your note and the check. We were happy to hear from you, and appreciate your thoughtfulness, but we did not spend much as we shared the things we bought, so are returning it.

It was a pleasure to help chaperon DuBois to we enjoyed your apartment. We are glad that we could help you in this way.

Let us know when we can see you, and when you're appearing places and we'll try to be there.

Best regards to Mrs Murphy Ted joins me in this

Love,

Alice

703
MADE IN U. S. A.

July 26 - 34

SINCERE
Sympathy

[Crawford?]

All who knew
your loved one
Are thinking of you today.
And sharing your loss
With understanding
and deepest sympathy.

Alice & Fred

Cruz, C.

December 19, 1950

Mrs. Alice Crawford
762 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alice:

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year

for you and Fred.

Here is the picture which I promised.

21-1-42

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

246-26-12

OTELIA CROMWELL
1815 THIRTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

August 9, 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

You and your family have our sympathy in the loss that has come to you. But the warmth of respect and

affection that she awakened
in all who knew her will
keep her as a precious memory.

Best wishes always,

Otelia Cromwell

Ready for Sent

CROWN PUBLISHERS
419 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Cable Address: Letout New York • Telephone MUrray Hill 5-8550

September 7, 1950

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Enclosed are the page proofs of a forthcoming novel, TAFFY by Philip B. Kaye. The author is a Negro preacher, well acquainted with Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, which is the background of his story.

We are holding up the jacket for quotes, and if you like the book, will you wire me collect? We will appreciate any comment you may care to make.

Sincerely,

Robert van Gelder/ba
Robert van Gelder
Editor

RVG:ba

24-8-29-27

September 18, 1950

Mr. Robert Van Gelder
Editor
Crown Publishers
419 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of September , and the page proofs of your novel, CATHY. You must of course realize that a man as busy as I am cannot stop his work and read a novel at the mere request of a publisher.

The proofs are here for your disposal.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req to write articles

Jamianagar
Delhi

15-4-1950.

To,
Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway. New York.

348-29-6

Dear Mr. DuBois

It gives us great pleasure to inform you that for the first time a Marxist magazine called " CULTURE AND THE PEOPLE" is going to be published in English from Delhi, starting from the month of June, 1950.

We hope that with the active cooperation of the Progressive Writers Association and the various Marxist clubs in the Universities of India, we shall be able to maintain a standard comparable with that of the "MODERN QUARTERLY" of England and the "SCIENCE AND SOCIETY" of America.

In this connection we would very much like to obtain the benefit of your help and advice. It would give our readers great encouragement if we could publish a letter in our first issue expressing your views on the importance of such a magazine being published in India.

If sometimes in future you could write an article for our magazine we would greatly appreciate the favour.

Hoping to hear from you soon

Yours sincerely

Salamatullah

Salamatullah.

Rais Ahmed

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o "Masses & Mainstream
83[redacted] Broadway,
New York, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Corr - 66

First fold here

Third fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address :—
R. Salamatullah
P.O. Jamianagar,
Delhi, India.

To open cut here

June 1, 1950

Dr. Salamatullah
P. O. Jamianagar
Delhi, India

My dear Sir:

I have received your letter of April 15, concerning you new magazine, CULTURE AND THE PEOPLE, I shall be very glad to see copies and if there is anyway in which I can cooperate with you, it will be a pleasure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-29-7

Czechoslovakia

24-19-2 [Czechoslovakia]
[1950]

On the occasion of the anniversary
of the liberation of Czechoslovakia on
May 9, 1945
the Acting Consul General and Madame Kyjovsky
request the honor of your company
at a reception
on Tuesday the ninth of May
from six to eight o'clock
at the
Czechoslovak Consulate General
6 East 67th Street

RSVP
6 East 67th Street
New York 21, N. Y.
TR 9-2020

264

[Czechoslovakia]

May 31, 1950

Mr. Kyjovsky
Action Consul General
of Czechoslovakia
6 East 67th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Mr. Kyjovsky:

I am indeed sorry that absence from the city made it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation to the anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia on May 9.

May I mention to you that my granddaughter, Du Bois Williams, will probable attend the [redacted] Student Congress in Prague during August. I should be very glad of any courtesies that you or the Consul General could render her on that visit. She is a young girl of 17, and I want her to see as much of the world as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-19-3

[Czechoslovakia]

PHONE NORTH 3300

VELVYSLANECTVÍ ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ REPUBLIKY
CZECHOSLOVAK EMBASSY

WASHINGTON 8. D. C.

PŘI ODPOVĚDI UVEĎTE Č.
IN REPLY REFER TO NO.

7127/50
JV/sda

August 17, 1950

Dr. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have the honor to convey to you the greetings of the Czechoslovak Committee of Partisans for Peace on the occasion of the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace in Prague.

Yours sincerely,

J. Vinař

Jan Vinař
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

24-19-6

PHONE NORTH 3300

VELVYSLANECTVÍ ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ REPUBLIKY
CZECHOSLOVAK EMBASSY
WASHINGTON 8. D. C.

PŘI ODPOVĚDI UVEĎTE Č.
IN REPLY REFER TO NO.

6768/50
JV/sda

Special Delivery

August 9, 1950

Dr. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

I have the pleasure to inform you that this Embassy has been authorized to grant you a Czechoslovak visa in connection with the invitation which has been extended to you to attend the coming Peace Conference in Prague. If you will forward your passport to us we will attach the visa and return the passport immediately.

I sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to attend the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

J. Vinař

Jan Vinař
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

24-19-8

September 18, 1950

Mr. Jan Vinar
Charge d' Affaires a.i.
Czechoslovak Embassy
Washington 8, D. C.

My dear Sir:

May I thank you for your letter of August 17, and say that my visit to Prague was most interesting and informing. I am under obligations to the Czech Committee for giving me the opportunity to visit your country.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

47-19-7

Jill

↓

The Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia
and Mrs. Široký
and
The Acting Permanent Representative
of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations
and Mrs. Nosek
request the honor of your company
at a showing of Czechoslovak films
Brigade — Steel Town
Song of the Prairie — Prince Bajaja
on Friday, the first of December 1950
at seven o'clock

300 Park Avenue
New York
(Sherry)

R. S. V. P.
Trafalgar 9-2020

24-19-38

CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC CULTURE
4 5th Dpt. (Cultural Relations)
PRAHA III. NA TRŽIŠTI 9.

No. 121.043/50-IV/6. Prague, September 1, 1950.

Dr. William E. Du B o i s ,
23 West 26th Street,
N e w Y o r k .

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is a pleasure for me to send you in the enclosure a small set of photographs - a keepsake of your days spent in Czechoslovakia.

Permit me to express at this occasion once again our deep appreciation of your presence in Prague and of your contribution to our common cause of peace.

Let us hope, that your stay in Czechoslovakia, your understanding of our way of life in a people's democratic country will help to better the understanding of our peaceful policy by the people of your country.

I am arranging simultaneously that you receive regularly the CZECHOSLOVAK LIFE and PRAGUE NEWS LETTER, two periodicals in English publishing up-to-date information on Czechoslovakia.

With all best wishes

most sincerely yours,

František Vrba.

24-19-9

September 18, 1950

Mr. Frantisek Vrba
Czechoslovak Republic
Ministry of Information and Public Culture
Praha III, NA Trzisti 9
Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Vrba:

I have received the photographs which you kindly sent me and thank you heartily for remembering me. I had a most interesting visit in Czechoslovakia and shall not forget your hospitality and thoughtfulness.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD: lm

24-19-10

CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRICAL AND LITERARY AGENCY

Telegrams: DILIAG, Prague
Phones: 351-40, 346-20, 345-73

JEČNÁ 6, PRAGUE II
Czechoslovakia

V-gb/č- 8919

11.4.1950.

24-15-39

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
N e w Y o r k , N.Y.

Dear Sir,

We owe your address to International Publishers of your city.We have here large publishers particularly interested in acquiring the Czech rights of your book THE SOUL OF BLACK PEOPLE. We need a reading copy for the publishers interested and beg you to send us one at your earliest convenience.We will give this book our personal attention and see to it that the publisher concerned makes his decision soon.

Faithfully yours

Czechoslovak Theatrical and
Literary Agency

Ludvík Žáček

731 Chapel Street
Norfolk, Virginia
February 23, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
NewYork 10, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Please accept this belated greeting on your 82nd birthday. You deserve to be congratulated on writing on two more volumes on your birthday. I wish to add my congratulations and best wishes on this occasion.

I heard you speak on "War and Prejudice" at Virginia Union University in Richmond in 1916 when you were the house guest of Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Simpson and the next day the Rev. E. D. Caffeem and I secured an automobile and carried you to several historical places in Richmond. When we went to the Mechanics Bank at 3rd and Clay, John Mitchell Jr. joined us and we went to other places inculding St. John's Church on Churchill where Patrick Henry made his "Give me liberty or death speech."

24-4-32

Whilewe were at St. John's Church the attendant recited Patrick Henry's speech for us and you went into the pew whene Henry stood and stood there for a while in silence.

I also heard you at commencement for the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College at First Baptist Church, Bute street, in June, 1947.

I have excerpts of, your testimony on August 8, 1949, beforemthe House Committee on Foreign Affairsmin which you rightly pointed outnthat "Russia and Communism are not your enemies" James N. Rhea, an intelligent Journal and Guide reporter, and I have often talked about your intelligent and stteemanlike position dn international affairs.

Rhea and I often discuss your point of view on racial and international questions and we feel indebted to you for your broad position and intelligent attitude ~~xxxxx~~ on world problems.

I wish to congratulate you on your ~~xxxxx~~ record. I have always thoughtna lot of you for, your intellectualism and liberalism. God bless you.

Most sinferely yours,
Thomas L. Dabney
Thomas L. Dabney

~~When I was a poor struggling student at Virginia Union University, I sold the Crisis and supported the NA CP without which I would have died in dispair. I owe my spisirual existemee tedThe Crisis undwr your editorship and the NA CP under the guidance of the late James Weldon Johnson.~~

tld

March 17, 1950

Mr. Thomas L. Dabney
731 Chapel Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Thank you very much for your birthday greetings. I remember that visit to Virginia Union University and my correspondence with you later.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-4-33

February 17, 1950

Mr. Wendell P. Dabney
238 East Fourth Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Dabney:

I have your card. Lay off that "Christian" on my brotherhood! I try to serve the Lord, but the adjective is not accurate.

I shall read the March EBONY, although I do not need confessions from Bishop Ransom: I know him!

While in Cleveland recently on a lecture tour, I had a call from our good and charming friend, Wilda. We talked about you and she told me of the great dinner. I am so sorry I was not there.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

September 18, 1950

Mr. Wendell P. Dabney
238 East 4th Street
Cincinnatti, Ohio

My dear Dabney:

I have returned from Europe and am doing business at the above stand. I will be glad to hear from you at any time. I am delighted that you got the letter I sent from Paris.

I shall hope to see you sometime in the future. With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-3-1

[W. P. Dabney]

Cuernavaca 9/21/50

Dr. W. E. B.
Newyork Senator?

Thanks for the letters. One came yesterday. My recent mention of you - was item on front page - longer on 4th page. If you did not get it let me know. I was in answer to your choice Communication from Paris - brief but laden with wisdom. Oh how you're "Sho" doing Some Travelling in many ways!
Best wishes, Yours, Dabney

24-2-11

Maybe Folder Compass

THE DAILY COMPASS

164 DUANE STREET • NEW YORK 13, N. Y. • WORTH 4-5400

November 30
1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I should like to express our very real appreciation of your approval to have your name on the enclosed invitation for the reception to honor Mr. Thackrey.

As I explained to Mrs. Murphy, the invitation does not necessarily require your presence at the reception. However, if it is at all possible for you to spend an hour or so with us on the evening of the 20th, it would be most gratifying. Should you be able to do so and desire some transportation to get to and from the hotel please let me know, as I am sure we will be able to help you.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Abraham Zeitz

Z:w

You are cordially invited
to attend a

Reception

to honor

TED. O. THACKREY
Founder, Editor and Publisher of
The Daily and Sunday Compass
New York's only independent
progressive daily newspaper

Wednesday Evening December 20th
at Eight O'clock

Barbizon-Plaza Hotel
101 W. 58th Street
New York City

R.S.V.P.

[Daily Compass]

You are cordially invited
to attend a

Reception

to honor

TED. O. THACKREY
Founder, Editor and Publisher of
The Daily and Sunday Compass
New York's only independent
progressive daily newspaper

Wednesday Evening December 20th
at Eight O'clock

Barbizon-Plaza Hotel
101 W. 58th Street
New York City

R.S.V.P.

THE COMPASS, since its inception, has been a strong voice raised in behalf of progressive ideals and democracy in a world at peace.

THE COMPASS shares the heritage of many brave attempts to establish free and independent newspapers. We have reason to be grateful for its continued publication . . . an honest source of news and interpretation.

THE COMPASS, throughout the year, guides scores of thousands through the turmoil of our embattled generation.

Please join us this one evening to tell

TED THACKREY

that he is not alone in this historic effort to continue an independent newspaper devoted to principle.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thomas I. Emerson
Elinor S. Gimbel
J. W. Gitt
Lillian Hellman
Corliss Lamont

THE COMPASS, since its inception, has been a strong voice raised in behalf of progressive ideals and democracy in a world at peace.

THE COMPASS shares the heritage of many brave attempts to establish free and independent newspapers. We have reason to be grateful for its continued publication . . . an honest source of news and interpretation.

THE COMPASS, throughout the year, guides scores of thousands through the turmoil of our embattled generation.

Please join us this one evening to tell

TED THACKREY

that he is not alone in this historic effort to continue an independent newspaper devoted to principle.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thomas I. Emerson
Elinor S. Gimbel
J. W. Gitt
Lillian Hellman
Corliss Lamont

alfred + Martha
Leuzahn 1781

Norma
6208 So University Street
Chicago, Illinois

Ma - Ha 4-4730

Mike + Elizabeth
Fremont 8-5-5-94
Fremont

THE DAILY COMPASS
164 DUANE STREET • NEW YORK 13, N. Y. • WORTH 4-5400

Dec. 5, 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is just a note to thank you for your article in reply to Henry A. Wallace, and to explain why you won't see it in the paper this week-end.

Ted and I discussed it at length, and felt at the end that it would be better to hold off a while in view of the rapid rate of development of the international picture. We thought that the time for analysis of Wallace's thinking was perhaps the time of at least a momentary lull in the swift movement of events. We thought that more attention could be focussed on the debate, and more good derived from it, after this immediate crisis had settled a bit--or at least until the outlines of the crisis were clearer.

Therefore we are temporarily holding back publication. I think, however, that we will probably schedule it for an early date--perhaps even the weekend of Dec. 16, or perhaps the 23rd.

As soon as it is definitely scheduled, I'll let you know, in case there are any additions or changes you wish to make because of new events.

Meanwhile I am sending you this small check. I wish it could be larger, but I think you will understand our financial limitations. We have had to set this figure as our maximum contributor's fee.

Sincerely,

Tom O'Connor

Managing Editor

24-28-20

Req for Info

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

January 26, 1950

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing a doctoral dissertation on the geographic and economic problems in the sugar cane industry of Jamaica. I have investigated the contributions of the African slave to the economic development of Jamaica in the many references in our libraries here and am interested in your statement in Black Folk, Then and New in the second paragraph on page 142. Are you able to give me the complete reference you made of Dunbar? I'd like his full name, title of the book or article, publishing company, date, and page if you happen to have the notation on file.

I spent the entire summer in Jamaica last year and am looking forward with anticipation to visit the island again this coming summer.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Danklefsen

Mildred Danklefsen

24-b-29-44

24L-29-45

March 17, 1950

Miss Mildred Danklefsen
Department of Geology and
Geography
Western Reserve University
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Miss Dandlefsen:

Answering your letter of January 26, I regret that I canno find just now the exact reference to Dunbar; but I think you will have no difficulty if you lood in any large public library.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[D'Arbussier]

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32. NEW YORK

May 5, 1950

To whom it may concern:

Mr. Gabriel D'Arbussier, a French citizen and a member of the Negro race, resident in Dakar, French Senegal, was educated in France and has spent much of his life there. He is an official of the Rassemblement Africain Francais and much interested in the development of French black Africa. I and my friends would be very glad to have him visit the United States and tell us of late developments in Africa, a continent in which we have great interest. If he came we would want himto deliver several lectures and would guarantee the expense of his stay.

For my biography, one may consult "Who's Who".

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

24-31-6

November 28, 1950

Mr. & Mrs. Eugene Davidson
1331 R. Street, N. W.
Washington , D. C.

My dear Mr. & Mrs. Davidson:

I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed my stop with you, chiefly because it was such a pleasant surprise. I had not planned on stopping with you because I knew that since the passing of your mother, entertaining guests would be difficult; and I had not heard of Eugene's marriage.

May I again congratulate him on this marriage; very few of our colored men want to marry women with brains; I don't know whether it is modesty or fear! I am glad Eugene rose above it whatever it is. I had a very pleasant stop with you and a nice Thanksgiving dinner with my daughter.

My very best regards to you both and please give my love and regrets to Ophelia and her family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

21-6-29

January 28, 1950

Mr. Harry E. Davis
1050 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Davis:

I am coming to Cleveland to speak February 5, for the Glenville Area Community Council of 660 Parkwood Drive, Mrs. Francis Williams, Chairman.

They want to make hotel reservations for me, but I thought I would better see first if my regular stopping place was in business at the old stand.

Let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

January 31, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Referring to your letter of January 28th, I find I am going to be absent from the city commencing Saturday, February 4th. However, I have arranged with my brother, Russell, to take care of you during your stay in Cleveland. Please write him at 1088 Parkside Road, advising him of the time of your arrival and the length of your stay.

I am sorry we won't be able to have one of our usual chats, but my plans were made sometime ago. However, I am sure you will be satisfied, as you were before, with Russell.

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

hed ;jm

24-6-21

[Davis]

1050 East 98th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There is just a word of sympathy on the death of your wife after long years of usefulness and happiness to you.

These things happen to all of us, and there is very little we can say. But I have learned that kindly words from friends are a source of comfort in times of distress, and it is in that spirit that these notes are written.

Sincerely
Harry E. Davis

24-26-13

February 15, 1950

Mr. & Mrs. Russell Davis
1088 Parkside Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Davis:

I want to thank you so much for your hospitality while I was in Cleveland. I enjoyed it very much.

On the morning of that last breakfast, it looked for a while as though the electric stove had me groggy on the ropes; but at last I said that no piece of mechanism was going to lick me and so I went out and found that I had turned on the hot point and the oven, instead of the front burners!

After turning on the burners properly we got on very well. I did think of washing the pots and pans but decided I better not undertake that; I might not do it right.

I caught the train for Detroit and was met at the station and lectured there and had three lectures in Chicago and came to Boston for two lectures and finally last night reached home.

I had a very enjoyable trip and thank you for your part in it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

file negro Digest

H. RYERSON DECKER, M.D.
1010 PROFESSIONAL BUILDING
429 PENN AVENUE
PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

March 23, 1950

W. E. B. DuBois
% Negro Digest
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I was interested in reading your presentation in the "Negro Digest" for the month of March, entitled "Paul Robeson - Right".

It seems to me that your view point regarding Russia, her present government and conditions needs re-orientation. Certainly if you face the facts as presented by ample demonstration coming from close observers, who are in the know, you would realize that the greatest slave system in the world is in force in their labor camps. You would realize that Russia's big objective is world domination and our destruction. Her whole ideology is entirely foreign to the principles of our government. We have only to follow the course of events in the neighboring countries to her, to realize what portends for the rest of the world.

I think your premises as to our motives in this country and the motives in Russia are entirely erroneous. I think Paul Robeson needs to know these things, quite as much as you do. A man with your background and standing, ought to be leading your race in the principles of American democracy and liberty, rather than the contrary.

Very truly yours,

H. R. DECKER, M. D.
Chairman of Americanization Committee
Pennsylvania Society SAR

HRD:vw

24-4-36

March 30, 1950

Dr. H. Ryerson Decker
1010 Professional Building
429 Penn Avenue
Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

I have visited the Union of Soviet Republics three times in the last 25 years. I have seen both European and Asiatic Russia and many of the chief cities. I am familiar with much of the literature on Russia both by Russians and others.

My conclusion is that Russian labor is not enslaved; that Russia does not seek world domination; that her ideology differs from ours but is a great effort for human good which we are already in many ways following; that her neighboring countries are better off than ever before.

I believe that my knowledge of the motives and actions of this country are quite as good as yours and that whatever leadership of the Negro race in America I have been able to furnish has increased democracy in this land.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-4-37

Corr. D

H. RYERSON DECKER, M.D.
1010 PROFESSIONAL BUILDING
429 PENN AVENUE
PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

April 1, 1950

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N Y

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of March 30, 1950, in reply to a recent letter of mine.

My chief complaint with reference to your attitude is that you are condemning the handling of the negro race in this country and lauding Communism and the present dictator government of Russia for its free institutions. I can easily understand why, on your visits to Russia, you saw nothing of slave labor camps. Certainly the testimony that is authentic, speaks in terms of there being from ten to fifteen million humans in these camps for one reason or another, under most deplorable conditions.

When you assume that Russia does not seek world domination, you are passing over basic tenets of communism, which includes an avowed purpose to undermine and overthrow any government opposed to it by fair means or foul. Dear Mr. DuBois, get your eyes opened, so that you can be of really greater service to your race and country.

Very truly yours,

H. R. DECKER, M. D.

HRD ;vw

24-6-26

July 7, 1950

Mr. Samuel R. Delany
2250 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Delany:

I want to thank you very much for your cooperation in my wife's funeral. Everything went well in Great Barrington.

Kindly send my your bill at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-26-26

[Delaware Fellowship Commission]

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
TELEPHONE 5-2556

Feb. 8, 1950

Dear Mr. DuBois,

The Delaware Fellowship Commission would like to have you speak at its March meeting on Wednesday evening, March 1, at the Y.M.H.A. We thought that we'd like to have you speak about something like this - "Living up to Our Convictions". This is no attempt to phrase it, but just an idea of what kind of talking we need. If this this is too trite, then choose your own poison.

We'd also like to have you appear on radio in an interview with a Rabbi, a Protestant minister, and a lawyer,

P.S. - Our enclosing our monthly publication. 348-25-22

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

TELEPHONE 5-2556

24/6-25-23

Louis Redding: We'd like this for Wednesday ~~Monday~~ if possible, or Thursday morning if Wednesday can't be arranged for all concerned.

We can promise the small sum of $50 for ~~the~~ your appearance, and great appreciation and esteem for your distinguished services through the years. The ~~first~~ former fact may be interesting to you, but the latter is of greater value (smiles).

Use the event you can't come for March 1., then we can arrange for the following Wednesday - March 8.

We'd like to know if the date suits you as soon as possible.

Sincerely, Grace Goens

NEWS NOTE

THE DELAWARE FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION

Box 64

Wilmington, Delaware

Volume II | JANUARY 1950 | No. 1

24-b-25-24

FELLOWSHIP MEETING

The next regular membership meeting of the Fellowship will be held on Thursday evening, February 2, at 8:15 at the Walnut Street Y.M.C.A. The Fellowship has started to function and results of its activities are becoming more and more evident. At this February meeting important action filled reports will be made by the various committees already functioning.

Ralph Rose of the American Friends Service Committee will be on hand to enlighten us as to the parallel activities of that organization.

Be sure the delegates from your organization attend. The Fellowship meetings are open to everyone and your guests are welcome.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS

On Sunday evening, February 12, at 8:30 Carey McWilliams famous researcher and author, will speak at the Y.M. Y.W.H.A., 6th & French Streets. The meeting will be under the sponsorship of the Y.M. Y.W.H.A. and the public is invited. Y.M. Y.W.H.A. members are admitted free, but non-members are required to pay a 50¢ admission.

This is an excellent chance to hear one of the best qualified authorities of our time discuss "Civil Liberties in the Modern World".

Another meeting of importance in our community will be sponsored by the Edna Reibman Chapter of the B'nai B'rith. This meeting will be held in the B'nai B'rith Building at 900 Washington Street on Tuesday evening, February 21, at 8:30.

As this meeting takes place during "Brotherhood Week", the theme "Brotherhood" has been chosen as the topic for the three speakers making up the panel. These individuals through their activities and example, and from their great fund of information on the subject are admirably fitted to lead this discussion. These speakers are: Mrs. Evelyn Dickey, President Wilmington Federation of Teachers, AFL; Mr. Louis L. Redding, Attorney, and Mr. I. B. Finkelstein, Chairman Jewish Community Relations Committee, etc. Following brief remarks by these eminent proponents of Brotherhood, the floor will be opened for general discussion. Mrs. Irvin Freiberg will be the presiding officer and informs us that the public is welcome and that there is no admission charge.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

In addition to the report of the Workshop and Hospital Committees, a report on the Fellowship delegation to the recent F.E.P.C. mobilization will be given. The newly reorganized F.E.P.C. Committee of the Fellowship Commission is well underway with its study of the situation in Delaware and will soon report its recommendations for action.

The Library Committee is gathering statistics and literature on matters pertaining to Fellowship objectives and is making arrangements for providing a central location for its availability.

The Program Committee is preparing an important public meeting for March with an Internationally famed speaker. Watch for announcement.

The Fellowship Commission has set up a Drama Committee to supply productions for stage and radio. Those with or without this kind of experience are urged to report their interest to Miss Gwendolyn Redding, Chairman, at once.

Are you musically inclined? Want to sing or play in an integrated group. There's also a Music Committee headed by Harry A. Anderson. Better get in touch with him - but NOW!

WORKSHOP

The February meeting of the Delaware Workshop of Human Rights will take place on Thursday evening, February 23rd. The location of the meeting will be announced at the Membership Meeting on February 2, or can be learned by calling Mrs. Benjamin Sklut, 5-4921.

DUES

The chances are, your dues are due. Make certain your organization has sent in its dues. If you're an individual member, make doubly sure you're paid up.

DELEGATES

The Fellowship Commission will be as strong or weak as its delegates are strong or weak. Organizations should select its delegates with the utmost care and should see to it that time for reports of delegates be placed on the agenda of all organization meetings.

34b-25-25

REPORT OF WORKSHOP OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Its Origin, Purpose, and Objectives

Upon recommendation of Mr. Harry Bluestone, Executive Director of the Y.M.H.A., the Delaware Fellowship Commission initiated as one of its projects a community discussion group. It was fully accepted and was felt that a program of this kind would serve as the educational arm of the Commission. Mrs. Benjamin Sklut was appointed by the Fellowship Commission as chairman of a committee to organize such a group.

In view of her experience and ability in this field, Mrs. Evelyn H. Dickey, President of the Wilmington Federation of Teachers, became discussion leader. A large and representative committee met and with the guidance of Mrs. Myron Harrison, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Women, the program and objectives of the group were outlined.

It was decided that our first objective would be the formation of a coordinated community group, consisting of individuals and representatives of organizations interested in social problems. Primary purpose outlined is study of such problems as the treatment afforded members of minority groups in hospitals, employment, theatres, recreation, etc. and to develop a program for consideration of the needs of the community, to remedy discriminatory conditions, and recommendations to the Fellowship Commission. (All represensatives of organizations are urged to keep their groups informed).

The course to be taken in cases where action is decided upon was the following: Those organizations affiliated with Fellowship will endorse the program, while the unaffiliated organizations can lend their support, as they see fit.

The second objective of the Workshop decided upon was the development of leaders, who in turn develop similar groups within their own organizations. The Workshop then becomes "the research arm" of the Fellowship Commission.

Our ultimate goal is the promotion of understanding and equality among all national, religious, and racial groups.

PLACE OF MEETINGS

Meetings are held regularly on the fourth Thursday of each month in members' home, where the atmosphere is warm and social, as well as educational. All newcomers are introduced, and everyone is encouraged to contribute, regardless of whether or not his viewpoint agrees with that of the group as a whole.

ACTIVITIES TO DATE

Our first meeting, as were all the succeeding ones, was very well attended. Since it was recommended by the group that any surveys in the field of human rights already made be utilized, it was agreed that the lack of hospital facilities for Negroes and racial discrimination in other medical areas be the first problem for our study.

Miss Pauline A. Young was appointed chairman of a committee to make a survey of the situation with the assistance of the following committee: Mr. William Duffy, Mr. Norman Salus, Mrs. Grace Goens, Mr. Louis Redding, Mrs. Ann Scarborough, and Dr. Leon Anderson.

24-L-25-26

DIGEST OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HOSPITALS

The committee regarded its assignment as two-fold: (1) fact-finding, as to the policies of the city hospitals toward Negro patients and Negro physicians and (2) recommending a strategy for the purpose of altering, modifying, and/or eradicating practices inimical to the public welfare.

The numerous discourtesies extended Negroes in the use of Christian names of adult patients, designation of lavatories for "Colored"; labeling of stretchers "Colored"; shunting of Negro visitors to certain elevators; telephone greeting of "Colored Ward" to callers; etc. were reviewed. A study was made, also, of the refusal to accept Negro girls as nurses, and the lack of professional recognition of Negro physicians in the hospitals, and in the State.

It was learned from Dr. Anderson that three of Wilmington's seven Negro physicians are members of the New Castle Medical Society and of the A.M.A. For the past two years membership has been opened to all doctors. Dr. Anderson, who has been on the courtesy staff of the St. Francis Hospital for eleven years, has been a member of the New Castle County group for two years, and of the A.M.A. for one year. Estrangement and professional isolation are probably factors in the current non-participation of the other Negro physicians.

Two surveys of Medical and health facilities available to Negro citizens were considered. The first was a questionnaire-type sponsored by a Y.W.C.A.-N.A.A.C.P. committee, sent out in the name of Mrs. E. Paul duPont, in January, 1946 to fifty organizations receiving State aid. No follow-up came of this study. The other survey was made in 1949 by the State Board of Health, through the Welfare Council of Delaware, Inc., Division on Physical and Mental Health--entitled "Survey of Health Services for Negroes in Delaware".

These recommendations for a changed policy in Wilmington hospitals were adopted unanimously at the FELLOWSHIP meeting of December 1, 1949:

1. Elimination of racially discriminatory practices in these hospitals as pertains to patients and physicians.

   a. In clinics, wards, private and semi-private rooms.

2. Elimination of racially discriminatory practices in hospital employment.

   a. Orderlies, nurses, maids, dietitians, maintenance personnel, etc.

3. Elimination of racially discriminatory practices in personal relations.

a. Use of given names of adult patients.
b. Labelling of lavatories, wards, equipment and other facilities as "Colored".

4. That nursing classes of these hospitals be opened to qualified Negro girls and young women.

5. That courtesy and regular staff appointments no longer be withheld from Negro physicians at these hospitals.

These recommendations were approved and submitted to the Fellowship for action. The Commission offered slight change, and Miss Young was appointed to head the Hospital Committee for Fellowship.

This activity has aroused considerable interest in the community, and has been further stimulated as a result of the very favorable publicity derived from the participation of Miss Young, and others of her committee, in the open Medical Forum at the Academy of Medicine. The undisguised antagonism, by Dr. Washburn, Public Health Commissioner, toward the elimination of all these above-mentioned discriminatory practices resulted in a reaction from the large audience of sympathy and some understanding of the glaring inequalities accorded Negro citizens.

Public opinion gives evidence of sympathy toward this program, and it was recommended at the Workshop that letters from individuals and from the Fellowship Commission be sent to the newspapers for the excellent coverage extended by the newspapers to this matter.

A second problem undertaken by the Workshop, and subsequently turned over to the Fellowship for action, was the approaching appearance in Wilmington, December 12 to 18, of Dr. Hyman Appleman, an evangelist who spreads a vicious anti-Semitic doctrine. Although the group had no intention whatever of attempting to deny Dr. Appleman his right to a platform, it was felt that Reverend Ballbach, pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church, under whose auspices the appearance was made, should be interviewed and shown the damage to the community resulting from preaching a divisive doctrine.

The group viewed the problem as being more than one of Anti-Semitism and felt that a permanent committee should be set up to study this kind of action produces inter-group tension. The more immediate problem of Dr. Appleman's series of talks was passed on to Fellowship for action and there a committee consisting of Mr. Wendell Aldred, Mrs. Evelyn Dickey and Mr. James A. Gardner was appointed to confer with Rev. Ballbach.

The interview was obtained, at which time it was emphasized to Rev. Ballbach that in place of Dr. Appleman's insidious innuendoes, it is more important to preach the true Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Rev. Ballbach insisted that he was unaware of Dr. Appleman's anti-Semitism, and asked that committee furnish documentary evidence. This was obtained, and the committee is planning another meeting with Rev. Ballbach.

Each night meeting of the evangelist's performances was covered by our representatives. It was noted that his meetings were not as well attended as in previous years, and that his speeches were considerably less offensive. It is of importance, also, that pressures such as ours have been responsible for newspapers and radios refusing to accept inflammatory advertising or material. A number of Jewish groups, also, have done an effective job, in exerting this "Quarantine Treatment".

In the little more than three months of its existence the Workshop has made great strides. Its vitality can only spell success.

Respectfully submitted,

Gloria Weisberg, Corresponding Sec.
Pauline A. Young, Chairman, Hosp. Com.
Ruth Sklut, Chairman, Workshop Com.

COPY

Feb. 15,1950

Dear Mrs. Goens:

I just returned from my lecture trip last night. I had several lectures in the west and New England. I will talk for the Fellowship commission, March 1.

My subject will be "Freedom", which will cover what you have in mind. Also the radio matter is all right.

I shall be in New York now until the 22nd when I leave for the week-end in Chicago for the Progressive convention.

Best regards to you and Dr. Goens.

Very sincerely,

01-85-10

[Diamond]

You are cordially invited to

A Reception

for

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Noted Negro Anthropologist and Historian

and

The Reverend Joseph Fletcher

Professor of Christian Social Ethics

Cambridge Theological Seminary

Dr. Fletcher and Dr. DuBois will have just returned from Prague where they were attending the International Executive Committee meeting of the World Partisans for Peace.

It promises to be a most stimulating evening. Please let me know that you can come.

Sincerely,

Freda Diamond

Sunday evening, September 17th at 8:30 P.M.

Blue Room, Hotel Russell

corner 37th Street and Park Avenue, New York City

R.S.V.P.

140 East 37th Street

New York City

24-6-27

40 Charlton St
New York 14
May 15 1950

Dear Mrs. Du Bois -

Forgive my presumption
that my mention of
a long ago and far away
stroll with you
interests you today ...
With love and long time
affection I'm sending
it any way.
In case you've forgotten
I am the daughter of
Beatrice Thompson. L.A.

Very sincerely
Louise.

Mrs. Anita Dickinson

12 3rd page 33s

May 31, 1950

Mrs. Anita Dickinson
40 Charlton Street
New York 14, New York

My dear Anita:

Thank you for your note. I of course remember you with great pleasure and am glad to know that you are still in New York and still busy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-28

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM 5611 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
170		284000

W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

010		120512

SERVICE MAN DA Costa DATE 1/30/52 MO. DAY YR.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A 6	006325	✓
B10X	005060	✓
S 7	001400	✓
A E	570635 4	✓

24-19-52

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES

TICKET NUMBER
511

CUSTOMER APPROVAL L. Murphy

HOURS WORKED

PATENTED-MOORE BUSINESS FORMS, INC., NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

FORM B-4
REV. 6-47
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

CREDIT No. 577262

577262
N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE	REQUISITION NO.	DATE ORDER REC'D	SHIPPED FROM	DATE SHIPPED	CREDIT DATE	BILLING DISTRICT
					1-31-50	NEW YORK
SALESMAN	**ACCOUNT AT**				**VIA**	

SHIPPED TO

W. E. B. Dubois
23 W. 26th St.
N.Y.C.

TERMS
NET 30 DAYS

QUANTITY	DICTAPHONE EQUIPMENT	MODEL	SERIAL NO.	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	CREDIT MEMORANDUM				
	To cancel part of Inv. # 913297, dated Dec. 1, 1949. Maintenance from Feb. 1, 1950 to Dec. 1, 1950				
1	Acoustic Machine @ $ 10.83 ea. A6-6325 (10 months returned credit for unused portion of maintenance.)				$ 10.83
	Machine permanently out of use.				

24-19-57

February 20, 1950

Dictaphone Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I have machine no 6325AO. I understand that you would be willing to buy it.

Will you let me know what it will be worth to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-10-12

FORM B-3
REV. 1-48
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

PLEASE REFER TO THIS NUMBER WHEN REMITTING

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

INVOICE **No 175091**

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE	REQUISITION NO.	DATE ORDER REC'D	SHIPPED FROM	DATE SHIPPED	INVOICE DATE	BILLING DISTRICT OFFICE
			N.Y.	Mar 18th	Mar 21, 1950	NEW YORK
SALESMAN	**ACCOUNT AT**				**VIA**	
Riggle					Riggle	

SOLD TO

Dr DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City.

SHIPPED TO

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

QUANTITY	DICTAPHONE EQUIPMENT	MODEL	SERIAL NO.	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
1	# 15802 Sound Modifier				$ 2.35
				Sales Tax	.05
					$ 2.40

23C-50

PAID
MAR 24 1950
Dictaphone Corporation
By

MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

Dictaphone

May 11, 1950

Mr. Carol Lyttle
District Manager
Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sir:

More than any other organization with which I have ever had contact with, yours seems to need integration.

One part seems to have no idea what the other part is doing.

My home is:

409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Which is not in the Bronx.

My Office is at:

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

To which you send regularly a service man to take care of my machines.

Why not get together with yourself?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

11-61-24

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM 241 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

090 120512

SERVICE MAN Hoffmann DATE 9/15/50 DAY MO. YR.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE	QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES
B10X	005060	✓			
S7	001400	✓			
AE	570635 3	✓			

24-19-54

Filed Dictaphone

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES

TICKET NUMBER 76105

CUSTOMER APPROVAL L. Murphy

HOURS WORKED

PATENTED—MOORE BUSINESS FORMS, INC., NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM 881 REV 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
170		284000
110		120512

W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

SERVICE MAN HUBBARD DATE 11-30-50

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
B10X	005060	✓
S7	001400	✓
AE	570635 3	✓

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES

TICKET NUMBER 18439

CUSTOMER APPROVAL W E B DuBois

HOURS WORKED

[Irene Diggs]

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

Personal

16 February 1950

My dear WEBD, Thanks so much for the explanation. At least I feel better. . . I wrote a note to Mrs. Murphy because from our telephone conversation I thought you were on lecture tour. I had a wonderful time in New York. Saw "A MEMBER OF THE WEDDING, LOST IN THE STARS, THAT LADY AND THE COCKTAIL PARTY . . . CHILD OF MAN, MAN ON THE EIFFEL TOUR, BICYCLE THIEF, MONELLE - and believe it or not had two little parties myself besides invitations to lunch and dinners and a cocktail party in the village.

24-6-6

Your article in the NEGRO DIGEST is wonderful and we are all so please with your reference to our beloved president. He is still riding high. His latest episode has been with the Dean of Men who has been with Morgan for more than twenty-five years without being absent a single time - he has been sick about a month and on last Sunday he received a letter from the President saying he had been removed from the pay roll as of February first! But I should like to report that the President is again eating another big slice of humble pie . . . The Dean is back on the payroll and will not return to the College until March 1st.

Also I understand even though a new salary scale has been established by the Board of Trustee and approved by the governor it will not affect my salary, that is, all those who should get a raise will except me!!!!! However the comptroller has already asked. why!!!

While in New York I had dinner with the Ivy's and they gave me the low down on the White situation - seems as if he has been asked to move all his possessions from the 40th street office . . . Also Cedric Dover is back in England since his lovely wife has left him . . . Should be writing so much but our conversations seem to get less frequent. I had a lovely note from Mollie Lee - why don't you write to her any more?

According to present plans will probably be in New York for a couple of days beginning March third.

With best love as always,

Nella

March 17, 1950

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I shall be glad to have advanced knowledge when you come again to New York.

Du Bois has been here on a visit and had a good time for nearly ten days, in the Herald Tribune and Times Forum and the Columbia Scholastic Press Association.

I have been lecturing in Ohio and Chicago and a number of other places. More lectures than I really wanted but the pay offered was good, so I took them.

Do you remember Miss Nash? I don't.

Let me know in advance when you are coming. I hope you are getting on all right.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-7

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

20 March 1950

Dear WEBD:

According to present plans I shall be in New York for the Easter vacation which begins April fifth and ends the Monday after Easter - entirely too short. As you perhaps know I was in New York the same week Du Bois was.

I had lunch with one of the editors of Macmillian Publishing Company and the biography of Aleijadinho and some chapters of the proposed book "The Negro in the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata: Uruguay, Argentina and Chile" are being read by him and a group of editors. I am prepared for a "No" but will be glad to get a criticism from Macmillian.

So far I am getting along all right. However, a new salary scale has been set-up and the minimum for my rank is $5,100 which is considerably more than I am getting and if my salary is not raised to at least the minimum for my rank I rather think I shall inquire into the reasons why. Do you think I should?

I do not remember even the name Grace R. Nash. She graduated in 1944 which means she was there while I was away in 1943. However you could get her grades from Mr. Whittaker's office which might remind you as to what kind of student she is.

Yesterday I went over to see Yolande and Mrs. Du Bois for a little while. Du Bois was out to a meeting.

Don't overwork - even if the pay is good!

With love,

Mac

24-5-9

Diggs

May 19, 1950

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Nell:

I know that I am too late to give you that information about the Du Bois circle, but here it is: The Niagara Movement, was founded at Niagara Falls in 1907, formed local organizations all over the country.

The Rev. Mr. Waller who had a church in Baltimore, brought up the idea of having auxilary women's circles. A few were formed: one in Boston I think; but the one in Baltimore was the most important and was called the Du Bois Circle. It still exists and is the only organization representing the original Niagara Movement.

Let me know how things come out in Baltimore.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-5-10

c
o
p
y

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
1101 Connecticut Avenue N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

June 16, 1950

What would you suggest that I do next ?
Hello
19 June 1950

Professor Irene Diggs
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Professor Diggs:

We are sorry to learn from your letter of June 10 that the Faculty-Trustee Committee of Morgan State College has upheld the decision of the Administration, which we understand to have been that you will receive no increases in salary until you have secured a Ph.D. degree from an American university. We have noted your information that, in addition to having earned the B.A. and M.A. degrees in American universities, you took work in the amount of 90 semester hours at the University of Havana, from which you received the Ph.D. degree.

24-2-18

In regard to your question concerning the way in which this Association might be able to help you, please understand that the American Association of University Professors works entirely in the realm of persuasion. The Association is not an accrediting agency and is unable to require action of any kind by a college or university administration. Furthermore, your situation does not directly involve the principles of academic freedom and tenure set forth in the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure, which was adopted jointly by this Association and the Association of American Colleges, and has been endorsed by a number of national educational organizations. We have not gone into the question of the value of the Ph.D. degree given by the University of Havana and we should prefer not to do so, since we are not prepared to evaluate the degrees of foreign universities.

Our view of your situation was fully set forth in our letter to you of April 18, 1950. If you request us to do so, we are willing to address a letter to the Administration of Morgan State College setting forth our understanding of your situation, repeating the views expressed in our letter of April 18, and requesting comment by the Administration of Morgan State College. You should decide whether you wish us to do this, having in mind the possible effect of our intervention on your relationship with the administration of Morgan State College. We shall take no action until we have heard further from you.

Very sincerely yours,

George Pope Shannon

GPS:RBP

File Diggs

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
BALTIMORE - 12, MD.

25 October 1950

Dear WEBD:

Campaigning! Well, Well! More power to you. What will you do if you win - wouldn't you be surprised . . .

This is just a note to tell you some of the nice things happening to me: last Thursday on the top floor of the Department of the Interior I was interviewed for a Voice of America broadcast by the Department of State, International Broadcasting Division. It was absolutely unrehearsed and spontaneous - I was scared to death they would ask me something with reference to the "problem" that I would not want to answer in a few words but there were only questions about my interest in Brazil, Latin America, etc. and absolutely no mention of race. When it was all over they presented me with a record of the interview.

24-5-8

I was also invited to a cocktail party in the Brazilian Embassy on Wednesday afternoon and a reception* which was a reception given by the Ambassador and his wife for intellectuals from Portugal and Brazil, members of the State Department and persons interested in Luso-Brazilian studies.

I may be in New York the weekend of the tenth for two minutes and of course will spend the Thanksgiving holidays there. All for now . . .

With best love as always,

Mella

* in the Portuguese Embassy

Diggs

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Please comment briefly on the candidate's: Ability and training as a teacher or librarian:

She is an A.B. of the University of Minnesota; an A. M. in Sociology under me at Atlanta University; a Ph. et Litt. D., University of Havana. She was my secretary for eight years and research assistant for two years. She has taught sociology for three years.

2. Qualifications for the position of Director of Courses or Administrator:

She is a scholar in social science and an excellent administrator. While my secretary she acted as business manager of Phylon magazine, the organ of the University.

3. Personality, reputation and character:

Pleasing personality, good reputation and excellent character. She has had experience in directing employees, influencing students, and meeting strangers.

4. Experience with and ability to get along with foreign nationals:

Her experience in Cuba and on her long journey in South America was eminently successful.

5. Ability to speak foreign languages:

She speaks Spanish and knows something of Portuguese and French.

Other remarks: I have known Dr. Diggs since 1934. For a year she was a student under me when I was he d of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University. From 1936 to 1944, she was my secretary and for two years my research assistant. I think she would make a good administrator or director. She left my employ of her own choice and to my regret to accept a college appointment.

15 July, 1950.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have just read in the Pittsburgh Courier of the passing of dear Mrs. Du Bois - and that news fills me with sadness. One of the chief joys of my life lies in the many friends and friendships which I have made thru the years. Dear Mrs. Du Bois was high - very high - on that list. Rest to her dear soul!

I have thot of you and her many, many times since the day you rushed her - so sick, so sick! - from Baltimore to New York, where she might have the best in medical attention and skilled nursing. These have been hard years for you - demanding much in courage and bravery and fortitude, I know quite well. May strength and courage still be yours!

My sister's health has been none too good and so I have been here in Louisville

61-51-42

now more than two years.
I sent her to Miami in the
late winter. Her two daughters -
one lives here, the other lives
in Detroit - accompanied her;
and they spent two weeks
in Miami and one week
at Nassau in the Bahamas.
(They found the Alexanders -
Ernest and Sallie - in
the same Nassau "hostel"
with them. Sister and
Sallie had met way
back in 1918 at a party in
the Lincoln House on
West 63d Street in New
York City - but of course
neither of them remembered.
But I remember it!)

The trip was a good thing
both for my sister and
for her daughters. I remained
here at the home and
kept the home fires burning
both literally and figuratively,
and literally especially!
Greetings to Kipland - whom
I have known since 1902 -
now almost half a century -
and to her daughter, who

Knows me work at all!
827 South Preston St.
Louisville, 3, Ky.
Sincerely always
Augustus Trowbridge

July 26, 1950

Mr. Augustus G. Dill
827 South Preston Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

My dear Mr. Dill:

I was delighted to get your letter of July 23, and to find that you are living and well. Many persons have asked me how and where you were and I had not been able to say.

The loss of Mrs. Du Bois was great, but of course expected for the last four years, during which time she had been a bed-ridden invalid. I was so afraid that I might not live long enough to give her the best care until the last. Her end came peacefully June 26, and she is buried in Great Barrington.

Kindly let me hear from you from time to time and know how things are going. I am well and able to do a considerable amount of work.

DuBois Williams, my granddaughter sailed for Europe yesterday to attend the World Youth Congress in Prague. She will also have a look at Paris and London.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lym

24-15-20

Boothe

May 13, 1950

The Diplomatic Press and
Publishing Company
30 Cotswold Gardens
London NW 2, England

Gentlemen:

I understand that you wish me to write a pamphlet on the Negro question in the United States, from 3500 to 4000 words long for the International Studies Series.

I shall be glad to undertake this if you will write me with some detail and perhaps send me a specimen copy of the pamphlets already published.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-8-43

The Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co.

DIRECTOR
HARRY RICHTER,
B. POL. SC. (BER.). DIP. INT. LAW (THE HAGUE)

13, COTSWOLD GARDENS,
LONDON, N.W.2.
TELEPHONE : GLADSTONE 6797

June 7th,1950.

Diplomatic Bulletin
WEEKLY NEWS BULLETIN ON EVENTS IN THE DIPLOMATIC WORLD

•

MONTHLY LIST OF THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR CORPS
MONTHLY LIST OF NEW MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR CORPS

•

THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR MISSIONS IN LONDON AND THE GOVERNMENTS THEY REPRESENT
ANNUAL REFERENCE BOOK

•

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH SERVICE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

•

Travel News
A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM

•

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We thank you very much for your letter dated May 13th, from which we have noticed with great pleasure that you are willing to write a 4,000 words' booklet on the Negro question in the United States for our "International Studies" series.

We beg to enclose some recent specimen copies already published in this series.

The retail price of this booklet, 16 pages, would be 1 shilling per copy, and we would very much like to suggest a royalty of 1 d. per copy sold, i.e. £ 4.3.4 for every thousand booklets, payable to you as the author.

We shall be very pleased to receive the manuscript as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

THE DIPLOMATIC PRESS AND PUBLISHING CO.:

HR/M.

P.S.

Could you supply us also with a suitable map for reproduction ?

24-1-21

December 28, 1950

Mr. Harry Richter, Director
THE DIPLOMATIC PRESS AND PUBLISHING COMPANY
13, Cotswold Gardens
London, N. W. 2
England

Dear Sir:

Answering your letter of June 7, 1950, I am enclosing herewith the manuscript of a booklet for your "International Studies."

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Booklet

24-1-22

Professor Dubois Rottweil, 18. Jan. 50

Dear Professor Dubois,

you surely will be very astonished to get a letter from the South of Germany. I have a favour to ask you! Could you help me to come into contact with some younger Negroes?

I have found your name in a german Magazine. In an article about Albert Schweitzer your name was mentioned: that you have written an article about the famous doctor.

Since longer time I have a love for the Negro-race. In Paris I made the acquaintance of a Negro, who was so kind to me that I shall never forget him. I was a soldier when I passed very happy weeks with this young friend. The unhappy cruel

24b-29-46

war has destroyed this friendship. The mentality and disposition of Negroes is "natural" and very tender as I felt. I am born in Berlin where I studied. In these years I often had the chance to invite Negro-students into my home. This young Negro from Paris gave me his address. But I have lost all my papers and [illegible] have forgotten his address.

I'm 34 years old, unmarried, librarian. Don't smile, dear Professor: but I need a good friend in my life. Could this not be possible to find such a friend who is a Negro?

In Germany we have Circles and Clubs where one can find such a friend. But no Club in Germany can arrange a friendship with a young Negro.

2.)

I am sure it will not be too difficult for you to help me. Dear Professor, I have tried to come into contact with some Negroes. I wrote to an American in New York - but he answered that he has no connection with Negroes. We Germans don't know your race as the Americans do. Also we don't know the difficulties ~~of~~ what the Negroes have. I myself have a love for Negroes. I have no prejudice in race-questions. On the contrary I long for a Negro-friend.

Will you help me, dear Professor? Perhaps you know some Younger men who are interested in a correspondence with me. Of course it would be [redacted] nicer for me to find a partner whom I could see, invite or visit.

But perhaps you will find a way for me. Dear Professor, that is my frank demand and petition. I hope it will be possible to find a way. Could you send me perhaps some newspapers or magazines edited by Negroes? You see: I have thousand questions!

24.2-29-47

I have a studied philosophy and literature and theology. I am a christian. But it does not matter if the wanted friend is a studied man. He may be a good-hearted man who wants a friend for his life: that is all.

Dear Professor, I wait for your answer and hope you will help me.

Yours sincerely

Werner Dobbeck

14b ROTTWEIL

RUHE-CHRISTI-STR. 21

French Zone

Germany

I speak English French and Dutch.

March 17, 1950

Mr. Werner Dobbeck
14b Rottweil

Ruhe-Christi-Str. 21
French Zone
Germany

My dear Mr. Dobbeck:

I have your letter of January 18, and I recommend that you correspond with the Young Progressive Organization in Columbia University, New York, and in the University of Chicago.

Also I am sending you the address of the President of Fisk Universiy, which is a Negro institution in Tennessee. I think he can answer some of your questions.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

248-29-48

154

STERLING
Chicago
N 5391

Eph-36-14

When Sorrow Befalls

[Dodge]

Our road through life, however straight,
Will always turn, at last,–
And now, beyond that final turn,
Someone you love has passed –
But there is comfort in the thought
Of your reunion there
Beyond the turning in the road
Where life is bright and fair!

Mrs Chas H. Dodge

c/o Greenville

Sincerely,

Inez M. Gardner Dorsey

A Message of Sympathy

2-26-27

No word of mine
can comfort you,
Of that I'm well aware,
But may it help to know
your friends
All sympathize and care.

10 AS 7986
COPYRIGHT MCMXLVII
RUST CRAFT BOSTON, U. S. A.

10 AG 784P
AN American Greetings CARD
CLEVELAND ⊙ U.S.A.

24 Nov - 26 - 11

With Sincere Sympathy

A message of condolence

for you

in your sorrow.

Fannie Howard Douglass

[Douglass (Fred.) High School]

RALPH W. RECKLING
PRINCIPAL

IRADELLE B. WILLIAMS
VICE-PRINCIPAL

HARRY R. PARKER
SPECIAL ASSISTANT

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
FREDERICK DOUGLASS HIGH SCHOOL
CALHOUN AND BAKER STREETS
BALTIMORE - 17, MARYLAND

February 10, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois

Class 12B2 wishes to express its thanks for the very illuminating and interesting talk about Russia that you gave us at the invitation of our classmate, your granddaughter, Du Bois Williams.

We enjoyed also the question period which followed your talk and were sorry that we could not have had a longer one.

Again, we thank you for giving us this pleasant and wise counsel and wish for you continued happiness and success in your work.

Respectfully yours,
History Class 12B2
Allendell Pollick, Teacher

24-8-26-23

March 17, 1950

Mr. Cedric Dover
3 St. Peters Square
London W 6
England

Dear Mr. Dover:

I have just got your address and hasten to write and greet you. We miss you here and hope you will come back if possible.

The New School has become, I think, rather cautious. I am doing no work for them this year. I hope you will be able to do some literary work

Let me hear from you at your leisure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DU Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-19

3 St. Peter's Square, London, W.6

NGD

10 August 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I heard today from George Padmore of your bereavement. A great human relationship, to which you have given so many years of love and selfless devotion, has been severed – and it leaves me mute and unable to express my feelings and my deep affection for you: perhaps you will let me say (what I have never had the courage to say before) my love for you. You have known, and survived, so many griefs ~~and~~ that this great sorrow will also be resolved in your philosophy. I am hoping this will be so; in fact I know it must be so. Please feel that your many freinds are wholly with you.

I will write of other matters very shortly.

Yours sincerely,

Cedric Dover

27-11-9

September 18, 1950

Mr. Cedric Dover
3 St. Peters' Square
London W. 6
England

My dear Mr. Dover:

Thank you very much for your kind words and especially for the copy of the book, which I shall read with great interest.

I appreciate your friendship and shall hope to see you again one of these days.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-11-20

3 St. Peter's Square, London, W. 6. 3 November 1950

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I understand that Mr. Carl Cowl is sending (or has sent) you East Indian, West Indian by Claude McKay and myself. He hopes, as I do, that you will be able to find the time to read it and write an evaluatory Foreword for it. In more callow days I once asked Bernard Shaw to write a Foreword to a book of mine. He replied: "If it is a bad book it would neither help you nor do me credit if I introduced it; if it is a good book it needs no introduction." I feel that East Indian, West Indian is "a good book" and I thought it needed no introduction, but I have come to realise how very appropriate a Foreword from yourself would be. For you are the Father of the movement towards coloured unity and, outside America, I have been perhaps your most vocal disciple. Moreover, in its authorship alone (I believe it is the first by an Indian and a Negro) the book is a practical expression of coloured unity, while its intention is to show, through reminiscences of childhood in Calcutta and Jamaica, some of the shaping influences that create this sense of unity. The resemblances are, I think, quite striking – all the more so because there was no collaboration between Claude and myself and there could hardly be two writers more separated by temperament and political convictions.

The criticisms I have had are as follows:

1. Claude McKay's part is very slight. So it is, but he is dead and nothing more can be done about it. I feel, too, that this account of his childhood is the best and most surprising thing that Claude ever did, for it is benign, charming, completely without venom and full of meaning under its apparent simplicity – and I am very keen that it should be published and preserved.

RTO

24-4-67

2. It is not "dramatic". But it is not meant to be – and the universal complaint against Richard Wright's Black Boy is that it is over-dramatised.

3. ~~It~~ West Indian should be deleted, and I should continue the book as my own story. Apart from the obvious point of honour involved, this criticism shows gross misunderstanding of my purpose, which is essentially to provide a sociological study, autobiographically treated and with some regard for style, of childhood in two supposedly very different parts of the coloured world. This has never been done and I believe it is important.

4. The last section – "The Vast Similitude" – is not relevant and should be deleted. This criticism has been made by some who are evidently afraid of its content. Progressives, on the other hand, have said that it is the best thing I have written and that I must resist suggestions to delete it. Technically, it is an appendix, additional to the "story", but it is not an afterthought. It's intention is to give the feel of the sense of coloured unity, in a contemporary setting and personally approached, and in so doing to lend additional understanding to those who read the two accounts of coloured childhood. Without it these accounts would be interpreted too much as merely personal reminiscences, whereas their purpose is as contributions to a deeper understanding of the coloured world.

I have thought about this book for many years and there is not much I can do to improve it, except to ask you to give it the distinction of a Foreword by yourself which will discuss it, criticise it, sharpen its implications and perhaps summarise again the germinal ideas which you have pioneered for so long. How much, and for how long, you have been the Master and myself the pupil is clear even from this book, though I shall reserve for a later autobiography a portrait of yourself and a discussion of your great rôle in the emancipation of the coloured world.

With every good wish,

Yours very sincerely,

Cedric Dover

Ans. Nov 21
Yes

P.S. I have written about some other matters separately

3 St. Peter's Square
London, W. 6
4 Nov 1950

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I wrote you yesterday through my agent Carl Cowl, but omitted one point that might not have appealed to him and to Hope McKay. It is that Claude McKay has been much used by Catholics and anti-progressives, but this last book makes no mention of Catholics (though referring a good deal and very sympathetically to rationalism), while its few ~~very~~ references to communism are ~~very~~ friendly and understanding. In fact, his only criticisms are of America. Therefore, this book brings him back into our fold – and this, too, is important.

I have sent you separately twelve variously inscribed copies of Brown Phoenix. It seems to me that these might be sold, after the usual collection, for at least one dollar each at your smaller meetings as my small contribution to the Council's funds. And I shall happily send further copies for the same purpose if these are sold. I will also set aside a proportion of my royalties (if any!) on East Indian, West Indian for the Council, whose work seems to me to be of exceptional importance.

24-4-65

You might also be interested to know that I have decided to use my collection of books and materials on "race and colour" – which is perhaps the most extensive in Britain – as the basis of a collection (which I am now working on and elaborating) for some academic institution in London that will give it special accomodation. I want, with your permission, to call it the W.E.B. DuBois Collection – and I hope that you will remember it from time to time when you come across

duplicates or other unwanted material.

I have an enormous amount of work to come in the fairly near future: (1) a book in the press on Eurasian poetry socially considered; (2) a large sociological study, now in draft of Negro poetry; (3) a book of ideas, persons and places to be called I Keep and Pass; and (4) the integration of a great mass of material, much of it from sources never considered by the race experts, into a book which will revalue and extend the whole problem of race and research on race. This I am doing now — and when these tasks are done I shall feel that I have carried out the first phase of my intention to survey and to penetrate within my coloured world. I wish I had worked harder and more purposively, but at least I hope you will not be ashamed that The Souls of Black Folk and The Negro started a Eurasian boy in his early teens along a path he has never lost sight of for over thirty years. I remember, too, how generously you helped with my magazine The New Outlook in 1925 — and that my first non-scientific note in America was published in that year in The Crisis under the names J Mercia Hegner Wood and myself — a coloured solidarity note as I recall.

24-4-60

Has Colour and Democracy been published by Padma Publications (Bombay) yet?

There have been times recently when I could easily have felt ashamed of being a coloured man, if it were not for the inspiration of countries like China and individuals like yourself. I never thought I should see Nehru being so pathetically diplomatic, or that even the New Crisis and N.A.A.C.P. would be so craven as to pass and publish its ~~list~~ lickspittling resolution on Korea (Oct. No., p. 586).

With every good wish, Yours very sincerely,

Cedric

24-H-10

November 22, 1950

Mr. Cedric Dover
3 St. Peters Square
London W. 6
England

Dear Mr. Dover:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town on vacation and is not expected to return to his office until December 1.

I will place your letter before him when he returns.

Very sincerely,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Sent on "Aid" Stationery

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

April 11, 1950

Mr. Olin Downes
205 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Downes:

Dean Dixon has just returned from Paris. We want to have a small cocktail party for him on April 16, or thereabouts.

He will talk about his plans which include a concert under our auspices with Negro symphonic music, including a tone poem by a black South African.

Could you attend the cocktail party and could we list you as one of the hosts?

I know this is asking much of a busy man but I hope you will assent.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

246-31-9

N.A.D.

[Rachel Davis DuBois]

204 E 18th St.
New York City
July 28-50

Dear W.E.B.D.:

I received your sad letter with its note of thankfulness that you were enabled to care for her until the end. The memory of the boy who never grewup was in your notetoo.

As I write, the voice of Todd Duncan comes over the air singing "Cry the Beloved Country-Cry the Wasted Youth". The music makes one realize how universal is that cry. I suppose we can accept, a, shall 9 say, healthy death which comes at the end of a completed life. One summed up in the words "Mine eyes have seen and my ears have heard and I have done all I could"-but we must cry for the wasted youth. How piercing is that cry today.

This letter is not written to console you for somehow you have learned to take it and move on-but to share with you a sorrow of our family which is one reason why you have not heard from me. My youngest brother's youngest son has had his mental growth stopped at five. He had a very high fever two years ago. We have finally put him in a special see Linn institution at Vineland New Jersey. But what an experience it is to grow physically beautiful and strong and yet not be able to teach him. At least Death sets us free, sometimes I think terribly free "to go on swiftly toward our goal".

I am in and out of town during the summer. I feel that there is a differnt road ahead for me tho I am not quite sure what it is.

Harpers has just published my third book "Neighbors In Action"

Faithfully
Rachel

Nathan's wife died last week.

24-15-17

25 Jones St.
New York 14, N.Y.
June 28, 1950

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please accept my sincere sympathy and regret on the death of your wife.

I don't know whether you remember me, but my husband, Donald and his mother were both very fond of Mrs. DuBois, and saw a good deal of her in Paris as well as when they were living in New York. Please also extend my sympathy to your daughter, Yolande

Sincerely
Dorothy Duff

64-26-37

24-26-21

Prairie View A. and M. College,
Prairie View, Texas
July 23, 1950

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

As you can see by the above, I am here at Prairie View. I am staying with the Banks and of course Mrs. Banks and I often speak of you. It was just this morning (Sunday) when we were breakfasting together that I asked how Mrs. Du Bois was and Mrs. Banks told me that she had passed not so long ago.

Please accept my belated condolences. It's been some time since I saw you and the feel I have for consoling you may be somewhat dull but I do want to say that in my life I have found that hallows left in my life have somehow become less and less aching voids as I have lived each moment away from them. Not much consolation you say! Just keep living each moment that comes to you as best you can

(over)

and soon you'll find the great hollow aches less and less and it will somehow assume the proportions of a benediction. Fluffy nonsense which you don't need, doubtless! I send it to you though out of what I believe to be my understanding of the great, hidden, and even subconscious source of strength your wife was to you.

I'll be here until August 5th. Drop a line if you have time & care to.

Sincerely
Catherine J. Duncan

REV. JACOB A. DYER
3663 NOSTRAND AVE.
BROOKLYN 29, N. Y.

Nov. 16, 1950

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing in the hope that I will be privileged to have a conference with you within the present year. I would like to discuss with you some personal matters and a racial issue.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from the Department of the Army to Congressman Adam Powell, and a copy of my own statement of the same case. Steps have been taken in the matter and some adjustments have been made. However, I am not satisfied, and plan to take further steps. I would be glad for the privilege of explaining all details to you and getting your advice before proceeding further.

24-6-30

Yours respectfully,

Jacob A. Dyer

Jacob A. Dyer

November 22, 1950

Rev. Jacob A. Dyer
3663 Nostrand Avenue
Brooklyn 29, New York

Dear Sir:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town on vacation and is not expected back in his office until December 1.

When he returns I shall place your letter and request before him.

Very sincerely,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Dear Mr Yer.

This matter of which you write in your letter of — belongs to the legal dept of the Navy - I would advise you to write them.

24-6-33

November 27, 1950

Mr. Jacob A Dyer
3863 Nostrand Avenue
Brooklyn 29, New York

Dear Mr. Dyer:

This matter of which y u write in your letter of November 16, belongs to the legal department of the NAACP, and I would advise you to write them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-31

Req. for Interview

REV. JACOB A. DYER
3663 NOSTRAND AVE.
BROOKLYN 29, N. Y.

Dec. 9, 1950.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 W. 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In response to yours of November 27, I must state that the results to which I referred in my letter were obtained through the legal department of the N.A.A.C.P. However, there is an aspect of this matter on which I would like to have your personal opinion. Can you oblige me with an ~~in~~terview?

Yours respectfully,
Jacob A. Dyer.

24-A-22-9

Corr. D

Eliot House E-51
Cambridge
Tuesday, May 9th

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Perhaps you have heard by now of Dr. Dana's recent death. I am just as anxious as before to carry out the plans we made together while he was alive. And I am grateful for your interest and cooperation.

Will you let me know when you are arriving in Cambridge so I may meet you at the station and lend any assistance I can?

As you know, my commencement takes place this June twenty-seconth. I'd like to talk with you that week, if I may, and to have you as my guest for dinner here at Eliot House.

Respectfully and
sincerely,
John Dyson

24-6-25

Carr. to

May 13, 1950

Mr. John Dyson
Eliot House E-51
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Dyson:

I shall be in Cambridge, June 21, for commencement, as it is the 60th anniversary of my graduation.

I have hotel arrangements already made. If you will write me at the Hotel Bellvue, I will arrange to have a talk with you if possible before I leave.

I am very sorry indeed, to hear of the death of Dr. Dana.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-24